This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

6000995781

RANKÉ'S

HISTORY OF

THE PAPACY.

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

LEOPOLD RANKE

A

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY,

POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

IN THE

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES;

BY

LEOPOLD RANKÉ,

PROFESSOR EXTRAORDINARY OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

Translated from the last German Edition.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY,

BY THE REV. J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, ETC. ETC.

VOL. I.

BLACKIE AND SON:

QUEEN STREET, GLASGOW; SOUTH COLLEGE STREET, EDINBURGH;

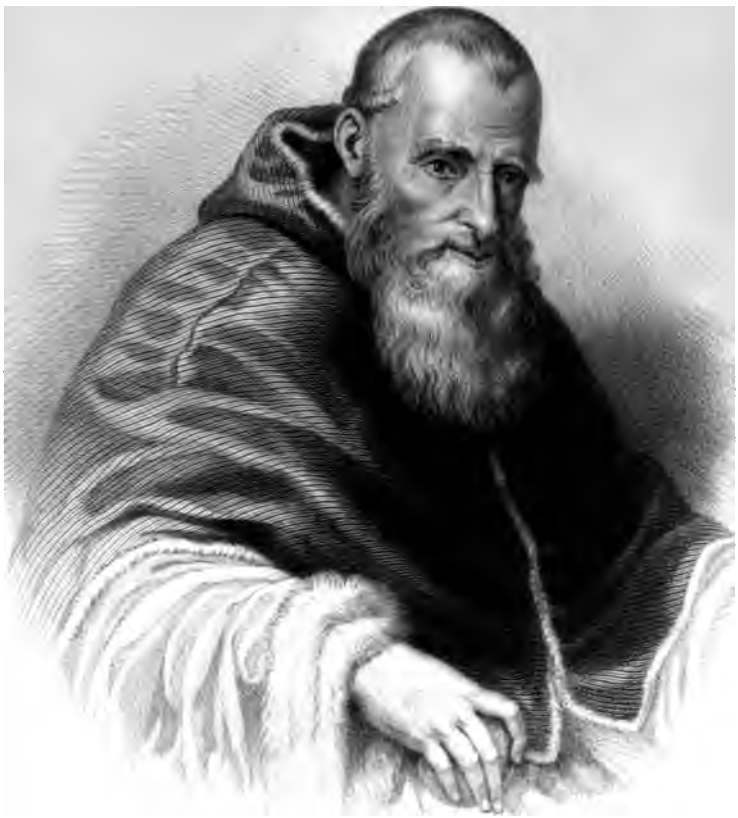
AND WARWICK SQUARE, LONDON.

MDCCCLI.

~~246. a. 166.~~

110. c. 223.

GLASGOW:
W. G. BLACKIE AND CO., PRINTERS
VILLAFIELD.



POPE PAUL III.

HENRY IV.

KING OF FRANCE

WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

CONTENTS—VOL. I.

Page

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.....ix-lvi

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.....1-10

CHAPTER I.—THE ROMAN POPES, THEIR CHURCH AND STATE IN THE XVI. AND XVII. CENTURIES—Epochs of the Popedom—Christianity in the Roman Empire—The Popedom in union with the Frankish Empire—Relation to the German Emperors—Gradual Independence of the Hierarchy—Contrasts between the 14th and 15th Centuries.....11-42

CHAPTER II.—THE CHURCH AND THE STATES OF THE CHURCH AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE XVI. CENTURY—Extension of the States of the Church—The Secularization of the Church—Direction of the Human Mind—Opposition in Germany.....42-67

CHAPTER III.—Political Complications—Connection of the Reformation with these.....67-102

BOOK II.—BEGINNINGS OF A REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM—Analogies of Protestantism in Italy—Efforts towards Internal Reformation—Attempts to effect Internal Reformation and a Reconciliation with the Protestants—New Orders—Ignatius Loyola—First Sittings of the Council of Trent—Inquisition—Gradual Completion of the Jesuit Institute—Completion of the Jesuit Institute—Conclusion.....103-175

BOOK III.—THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—Paul III.—Julius III.—Marcellus II.—Paul IV.—Remarks on the Progress of Protestantism during this Reign—Pius IV.—The Later Sessions of the Council of Trent—Pius V.....176-277

BOOK IV.—STATE AND COURT—THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.—Administration of the States of the Church—Finances—The Times of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.—Gregory XIII.—Sixtus V.—Extirpation of the Banditti—Leading features of the Administration—Finances—Architectural Enterprises of Sixtus V.—Change in the Direction of the Mind in general—The Curia.....278-377

Page

BOOK V.—Counter-Reformation—First Period—1563-1589—State of Protestantism about the year 1563—The Popedom's Resources for the Conflict—The First Jesuit Schools in Germany—Commencement of the Counter-Reformation in Germany—Violent Proceedings in the Netherlands and France—Resistance of the Protestants in the Netherlands, France, and Germany—Antagonist Principles in the rest of Europe—Crisis in the Netherlands—Progress of the Counter-Reformations in Germany—The League—Savoy and Switzerland—Expedition against England—Assassination of Henry III. 378-500

BOOK VI.—Internal Oppositions of Doctrine and Political Power—1589-1607—Ecclesiastical-Political Theory—Opposition of Doctrine—Last Times of Sixtus V.—Urban VII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. and their Conclaves, 1590, 1591—Election and character of Clement VIII.—Henry Fourth's Absolution—Ferrara under Alfonso II.—Conquest of Ferrara—Commotions among the Jesuits—Political Position of Clement VIII.—Election and First Measures of Paul V.—Dissensions with Venice—Decision of the Affair of the Jesuits—Conclusion 501-633

PREFATORY NOTICES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

It was with some reluctance that I undertook the task of translating the following work for extensive circulation in a popular shape. Its tone, so much less decidedly protestant than that of the "History of the Reformation," made me doubtful how far it might not cool down those feelings of honest indignation against the popedom which Dr. Merle D'Aubigné's work is so well fitted to inspire. Still I felt great confidence in the impression to be produced by an authentic narrative of facts, and the intimate acquaintance which the labour of translating has given me with Professor Ranke's pages, confirms me in the conviction that the extensive circulation of them in English is likely to be safe and useful.

The natural impression produced by a perusal of this History of the Popes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is certainly that felt by Francis Vettori of Florence, when contemplating the popedom three hundred years ago. "He who attentively considers," says he, "the Gospel (la legge evangelica), will see that the pontiffs, albeit they bear the title of Christ's vicar, HAVE BROUGHT IN A NEW RELIGION, WHICH HAS NOTHING OF CHRIST IN IT BUT THE NAME.*

Yet so creditable to the popedom has Professor Ranke's work been thought by its adherents, that they have hailed its appearance as a triumph to their cause!

Such persons cannot, like the Florentine, have *attentively considered the Gospel.* Were the popedom a natural development of evangelical Christianity, did the lives of the popes purely reflect that of Jesus Christ, they would not, when they had the power to shed blood, have been the bloody persecutors of those who clung to the Scriptures; they would not, in these days of their comparative impotence, be the virulent enemies of the free circulation of the Bible.

To most readers, the extreme moderation which marks the following history, will rather deepen the impression that the persons whose characters it so graphically and authentically delineates, were impostors on a stupendous scale, and he must have a perverted mind indeed, who can see Christ in the profligacy of an Alexander, the warlike ambition of a Julius, the voluptuous refinement of a Leo, the profane swearing of an Adrian, the fierce bigotry and drunken vehemence of

* See Appendix, No. 16.

a Paul, the gloomy fanaticism of a Pius, not to speak of those who, while they professed to be burdened with the chief care of the world's salvation, dribbled away life in political intrigues, in building palaces, laying out gardens, and contriving paltry schemes for the aggrandizement of their nephews. Some popes were, unquestionably, men of no ordinary genius. Sixtus V., for example, was capable of conceiving and executing vast and original designs. But these, together with his decision of purpose, his oriental barbarism, and unwincing cruelty, remind us, not of Jesus Christ, but of Ali Pacha, to whom, besides, he seems to have borne no small personal resemblance.

That any men should see the claims of the popedom confirmed by such an exhibitition of character, is marvellous indeed. Yet their case is but a fulfilment of the woe denounced on those who "receive not the love of the truth that they may be saved." God sends them "strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." In perfect consistency with the "deceivableness of unrighteousness," which was to attend the great apostasy, we find that not a few of its chiefs have been men of more than ordinarily attractive qualities, and some possessed of religious sentiments that have made them appear as "angels of light" to the deceived.*

The extreme moderation with which the author has traversed a period of history so fraught with events calculated to call forth the utmost intensity of feeling from every honest protestant, may be accounted for on other grounds than that of mere religious indifference. It is too true that "innumerable symptoms appear of a prevailing disposition to contemplate the doctrines of popery with less disgust, and to witness their progress with less alarm than has ever been known since the Reformation. All the zeal and activity are on one side, and while every absurdity is retained, and every pretension defended, which formerly drew upon popery the indignation and abhorrence of all enlightened Christians, we should be ready to conclude, from the altered state of public feeling, that a system once so obnoxious had undergone some momentous revolution. We seem, on this occasion to have interpreted, in its most literal sense, the injunction of 'hoping all things, and believing all things.' We persist in maintaining that the adherents of popery are materially changed, in contradiction to their express disavowal; and while they make a boast of the infallibility of their creed, and the unalterable nature of their religion, we persist in the belief of its having experienced we know not what melioration and improvement."† Such are the words in which the eloquent Mr. Hall deplored this indifference in 1823, and it is impossible to deny that our author largely partook of it during the composition of his work. His preface to the first volume, writ-

* In Italy the Popes could only prompt cruelty from a distance; they could not, like St. Dominic, see with their own eyes an order enforced by which fourscore persons were beheaded, and four hundred burnt alive. See Quarterly Review, vol. vi. p. 321.

† The works of Robert Hall, A.M., vol. iv. p. 227.

ten about twenty years ago, shows that he was then convinced that the popedom, no longer formidable, might be considered as nothing more than one of the petty monarchies of Europe. Hence, in treating of its history, he seems to have thought it well to avoid perpetuating irritation by reviving old feuds, tearing open old sores, repeating tales of superstition, imposture, and bloodshed, beyond what was absolutely necessary; and to this he must further have been urged by the ungraciousness of such a course on the part of a protestant, residing in Italy, lying under numerous obligations to members of the Roman church for access to important sources of information, and constantly receiving those courtesies, which in some Romanists flow from natural sweetness of temper, in others from the calculations of an interested policy.

But that the author's former impressions of the impotency and insignificance of the popedom have undergone a total change, will be seen by comparing the above-mentioned preface with the conclusion to the third edition of volume third of the German, or volume second of this edition. Can we doubt, then, that had he written all along under the same conviction of the *present* vigour and ubiquity of the popedom's influence, its character as a religious imposture would have pressed itself much more upon his regard?

Be it remarked, too, that his object was rather to present a series of individual portraits, in the highest degree original, rich, and various; to illustrate the progress of literature and the fine arts; and to analyze the civil government of the popes in Italy, than to trace the history of a great apostasy, for the vindication of God's honour, the defence of truth, and the instruction of mankind.

It has been the author's endeavour, likewise, to illustrate what was *least* known to protestant readers, and that by opening up fresh mines of materials, chiefly Roman catholic and Italian.

Let us suppose that this state of things had been reversed, that all that Professor RANKE communicates relating to the individual characters of the popes, and the peculiarities of their civil and ecclesiastical administration in Italy, was already well known, and that his rich and previously inaccessible materials presented hitherto unknown details on the proceedings of the Inquisition in Italy and Spain—on the causes and consequences of the Reformation in the different countries of Europe—on the desolations of the Thirty-years war in Germany—on the invasions of the Palatinate by Louis XIV., and his treacheries and cruelties to his own Reformed subjects—that the author, moreover, had been obliged to protestant friends and authorities for his materials, and had worked them into shape amid protestant sympathies and prepossessions, and how very different would have been the tone of his work, how much more lively the indignation produced by it.

Yet all that well-known history of fraud, oppression, and cruelty, remains unshaken as before. Nothing will be found here to invali-

date a single page of it. The blood of the slain sends forth as loud a cry as ever from the ground that drank it in, was scorched by the flames that consumed them, or whitened by their bones where they sank and died while fleeing from the oppressor. No panegyrics pronounced on the popes can stifle or arrest that cry. "The wonderful and monstrous system which, in the dark ages, was substituted for the religion of Christ," continues as ever to be "the greatest monument of human genius, human wickedness, and human weakness, that was ever reared."* Nay, this very history of the popes of two whole centuries, which were ushered in with the revival of learning and the fine arts, and the bringing forth of the word of God from its long concealment, a history composed almost entirely from accounts left by Roman catholics and Italians, who wrote beyond the reach of protestant witnesses to control or refute the wildest extravagance of eulogy when they chose to indulge it, only illustrates the above description, and confirms the more awful one of Holy Writ.

The author makes no allusion to apocalyptic views of the popedom. These, however, are perhaps only the more strikingly illustrated by his labours. In proof of this, the reader may turn to Mr. Elliot's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, particularly to the commencement of the second volume of that now well-known work. There he will find, too, that even the indefatigable industry of Professor RANKE has not exhausted all the materials that might be brought to bear upon the history of the Popes, and that that history acquires a fresh interest when viewed as a fulfilment of those Scriptures, not one tittle of which was to pass away till all was fulfilled.

* Quarterly Review, vol. vi. p. 317.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF THE POPEDOM:

By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES, by LEOPOLD RANKE, has no need of an introduction. It is universally allowed to be one of the best historical works of our time, and its author one of the greatest of modern historians. Accordingly, on being asked to write a preface to that work, my first thought was to decline the task. Afterwards, however, I resolved to undertake it, conceiving that I should thus find an opportunity, such as had not otherwise fallen in my way, of giving my views on certain facts relating to the popedom, which, in a work published against my History of the Reformation, have been put forward as calculated to establish the divine origin of the papal system.[1] I felt happy, besides, to seize

[1] La Papauté considérée dans son origine et son développement au moyen age, ou réponse aux allégations de M. Merle d'Aubigné dans son *Histoire de la Réformation au 16me siècle* par l'abbé C. M. Magnin, Dr. en Théologie. Genève, 1840. [The Popedom considered in its origin and its development in the middle age, or Reply to the allegations of M. Merle d'Aubigné in his History of the Reformation in the 16th century, by the abbé C. M. Magnin, D.D. Geneva, 1840.] A later edition has appeared in Paris.

so natural an opportunity of expressing my esteem for the learned author of the History of the Popes.

The qualities that distinguish him as an historian are already known to Germany, France, and England, so that I may dispense with pointing them out. Mr. Ranke has a manner of his own; he writes with spirit, his narrative is full of life and interest, his researches are conscientious and profound. The importance of the documents on which his labours have been bestowed is universally admitted; these documents have been hitherto unknown even to Italian historians, so that Mr. Ranke's writings possess a certain charm of novelty which warmly interests the reader.

It is no doubt true, that together with some notable excellencies, they have also some defects. One might object that he has not always carefully scrutinized the authorities he has made use of; that among these there might be found, for example, party writings, in which no confidence could be placed. The remark may have been made in Germany or in England, that his history, with all its excellencies, does not, nevertheless, form an historical whole; that it is rather a beautiful fragment than a beautiful whole. But how can we expect perfection—are there not spots in the very sun?

I do not enter into these various criticisms. I have no desire even, in this introduction, to start on a parallel course to that of Mr. Ranke. Rather would I transport myself into quite a different sphere. If every volume launched before the public ought to join *utile dulci,*

I leave the *dulce*, the interesting, to Mr. Ranke; he understands it better than I do, and I am content, very obscurely, to work out a little of the useful.

If there be any one quality that peculiarly distinguishes Mr. Ranke, it is his impartiality. It will be seen from his preface that he thinks he may be more impartial as a Protestant and a German than were he an Italian or a Roman Catholic, seeing that these must be easily carried away by personal prepossessions and antipathies. This is very true; but may not even the law of impartiality be carried too far? If one makes such an effort to avoid inclining towards the left, will not the result be that, without intending it, we shall incline too far towards the right? Beyond doubt such and such a protestant historian of our day, (Hurter, for example, in his History of Innocent III.) by striving to be impartial, has become very partial, but in quite the opposite direction from that which he dreaded.

Now is it so with Mr. Ranke? I am far from saying so; I make no assertion. But what may have given room for the charge brought against him in this respect, is that the *History of the Popes* has been translated and recommended in France by the most decided papistical doctors.

The translator, M. de St. Cheron, looks upon Mr. Ranke as an apologist of the papacy. "Mr. Ranke," he says in his preface, "guards and defends the Church and its heads against unjust attacks and multiplied slanders, intelligently appreciates their position, their

mission, their duties, &c. Mr. Ranke's History of the Papacy will do more for the cause of religion than M. Le Maistre's book, du Pape, (on the Pope,) which has so many charms for a (Roman) Catholic."

The journal that enjoys most credit of those devoted to the papal system in France, *l' Université Catholique*, is of a like opinion with M. de St. Cheron. "Ranke," it says, "speaks for the most part of the popes of whom he treats, with esteem, one might say sometimes with affection;" and at another place, "Ranke has been accused in Germany of writing history from a catholic point of view, and his work produces, it is said, in this respect, much effect in England."[1]

It is probable that the admiration of the Popedom, and even of the Jesuits, spoken of by M. Cheron and the *Université*, is something very subjective, and that this admiration being very strong in themselves, they have too easily persuaded themselves that it existed to the same degree in the book which they translated or which they read. There are not wanting, for all that, passages in the History of the Popes, which betoken an impartial yet sincere Protestant. Moreover, we must not forget that the French translation has been convicted by a Paris journal, *le Semeur*, of a *pious fraud*, a manifest infidelity, in the translation of a very important passage. In fine, if the Roman Catholics of Paris have believed Mr. Ranke as near Rome as

---

[1] Université Catholique, Juin 1837.

Mr. Hurter, his German History, *Deutsche Geschichte*, the title of which has been changed in England, and which is called there very improperly, The History of the Reformation, may convince them that they are grossly mistaken, and that Mr. Ranke is a man of far greater reach of mind than the historian of Innocent III.

Accordingly, I avow my respect for the point of view from which Mr. Ranke contemplates his subject and for his individuality, but I willingly add, since I have been asked to do so, that my own individuality would have led me to treat the History of the Popes from a somewhat different point of view. In the eyes of the popes themselves and of their partisans, the doctrinal side of the papacy is of the essence of the system, and so ought it to be regarded in our eyes. As the pope openly professes being the representative of the Son of God on the earth, one must either cast himself at his feet, or reject him as a usurper and a blasphemer; I avow that here I do not see how there can be any compromise *(juste milieu)*. Time, a few generations, or even a few years, may suffice to legitimate a new race of kings; but even thousands of years could give no such sanction to him who puts himself in the place of the King eternal. To write the history of the popes as I would write the history of the kings of France or England, is what would seem to me an impossibility. Never could I cease seeing in the pope, first and foremost, one who usurps the rights of Jesus Christ, and who at the same time tramples upon the rights of the Church.

The popedom may be attacked from different points of view: the two most important of these are catholicism and evangelicism.

Two great systems, in point of fact, held sway in the Church previous to the epoch of the Reformation.

1st. The *evangelical*, which is the primitive system, but which extends only to the commencement of the second century. Then the Word of God reigned supreme, and a living faith in the grace which that word proclaims, was regarded as entirely sufficient for saving the sinner; but at the commencement of the second century, the void left in the Church by the death of the apostles, and the invasion of the house of God by the human element, brought about a general alteration in the spirit and organization of the Church, and a great crisis ensued.

2d. Then began the *catholic* or *episcopal* system; it was not till later, no doubt, that the episcopate came to be considered as the necessary, divinely-instituted form of Christian society; it was not till later that communion with an episcopate connected with the apostles by an unbroken succession, was required as a condition of salvation; but dating from the second century these ideas began to take shape, and the congregational episcopate of Ignatius prepared the way for the hierarchical episcopate of Cyprian. That system, with some shades of difference, prevailed in the Church down to about the eighth century.

3d. It was about this epoch that the third system,

that of the *popedom*, began. It had long been in progress, and the pride of the popes fondly dreamed of sovereignty. Then it was that the church of the West, feeling the need of a chief to govern it, that immense hierarchy, at once secular and religious, which had been formed in the course of the preceding period, admitted the pretensions of Rome. *Catholicism* passed into *Romanism*, and the *monarchical* regimen took the place of the *aristocratical* that had preceded it.

These three systems, which followed each other before the Reformation, have divided Christendom ever since the great revolution of the sixteenth century; and all who bear the name of Christians are now ranged under one or other of these three forms.

All reformed Christians, among whom are to be found the evangelical members of the episcopal churches of England and America, hold of the *evangelical* system.

The churches of the East, and the high church party in the church of England, hold of the *catholic* system.

The Romanists and the *Tractarians* hold of the *papistical* system.

To leave the third of these systems for the second, amounts at most to a half reformation; and I need not say that the first of the three has all my sympathies; notwithstanding, in what I am about to say, I am willing to confine myself to some objections to the third system, drawn from sources supplied by the second. In point of fact it is chiefly in tradition, in the his-

tory of the Catholic period, that the partisans of the popedom seek their arguments; this is what Dr. Magnin in particular has done in his treatise on the Popedom; I must go down accordingly into a field which is not mine, reserving to myself, however, liberty to return to the ground which is properly mine, at the close of this introduction. It is interesting to see that the papist cannot keep his ground at the catholic point of view; how much less then at the evangelical point of view!

Mr. Ranke says a few words in his first chapter on the original sources of the popedom, but does not dwell on the subject at any length; he merely points to it as an utterly baseless pretension, that in the first ages of the Church, or indeed at any time, the bishops of Rome had a universally acknowledged primacy.

In the first book of my *History of the Reformation*, I have endeavoured to note the main sources of the papal hierarchy, and not wishing to repeat here what I have said there, I would simply refer the reader to that work. It is the considerations I presented then that have been attacked by the Roman catholic doctor above mentioned, in his work on the Popedom; he states, indeed, that he has not read more of my work than that first book, being but the fourth part of the first volume! I know not whether the pope, or some other of his superiors, has forbidden his reading the rest; there is, however, not a little on the papacy question in the other books as well.

I look upon the purely human origin of the popedom as so important a fact that I take the liberty to insist upon it, and thus to extend the few lines which have been given to the subject by the illustrious author of the History of the Popes in the sixteenth century.

The popedom is a fact the present existence of which is owned at once by its friends and its enemies, but there is this grand difference betwixt its partisans and its adversaries—

The latter affirm that the popedom has gradually grown out of circumstances purely human, and that it was brought about by a great aberration from what is right.

The former maintain that it was given by God along with the gospel itself.

But what is it that the friends of Rome do in order to prove their assertion? Excepting the passage, "Thou art Peter," &c., which has nothing at all to do with the question about the pope, or Rome, or spiritual supremacy, of which, as has been demonstrated by the Sorbonne doctor, Elias Dupin, the fathers of the church gave a very different meaning from that attributed to it by Roman divines,[1] and for which I would refer to ancient or modern writings,[2] these divines rest precisely on those human circumstances which explain, quite naturally, the origin of the popedom, and insist on concluding from them that it is of divine institution. Their reasoning might thus seem specious

1 Du Pin, De antiqua eccl. Disciplina. De primatu Petri, cap. i. § 1.
2 See Saumaise, Blondel, Baur, Bost, &c.

to minds that do not pay much attention to it; but a moment's examination suffices to make it bear the contrary way.

In this question it is of importance that we distinguish the *East* from the *West*. The pretensions of Rome were never admitted by the East, but they have been and still are recognised in a part of the West. I commence with the latter.

THE WEST.

What were the human and natural circumstances to which Rome in the West owes its present primacy?

I.—The church of Rome, like every other church, exercised ecclesiastical authority within itself. Thus Theodotus having said at Rome, towards the close of the second century, that Jesus was *man* but that he was not *God*,[1] the church excommunicated him. Such facts were of ordinary occurrence; they took place in all the churches. Nevertheless, who will doubt that Rome took advantage of them in times of old, in order to establish her supremacy, when we see that it is precisely on such facts that it is made to rest in part at the present day by her defenders?[2] At this rate there would be as many popes and popedoms in Christendom as there are churches and bishops.

---

1 Epiphan. Hæres. liv.
2 La Papauté, par le docteur Magnin, p. 44.

II.—According to the belief of Christian antiquity, the bishops formed a body of themselves, in such sort that although each of them was specially established over certain places, the interests of the church at large were confided to the vigilance of the whole. The so-called Apostolical Constitutions declare[1] that "the universal episcopacy is committed to all;" and Cyprian says[2] that if any one of this college shall fall into a heresy, let the rest see to it.[3] This was what was done by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; and he was consequently called the "great steward of souls, the physician for the maladies from which the church is suffering, a man who is very careful of all the churches,[4] and such that no one was held in more respect throughout the West."[5] This was done also by Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, and hence he was called "a man such as that none other could give better counsels in church affairs, the watchful president, the common father of the churches."[6] What! a bishop of *Samosata* called the *common father*, the president of the churches! Fancy but these titles given to a bishop of Rome, and figure what airs of triumph the Roman catholic doctors would then assume! What was done by Eusebius and Athanasius many other bishops did too. Would it not be surprising that the bishop of Rome alone should not do it? But strange to say, he has the arrogance to conclude, from that intervention common to all, in

[1] Lib. vi. c. 14. [2] Ep. 67. [3] Subveniant cæteri. [4] Πάσων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν.
[5] Basil. Epp. 66, 69, 82. [6] Basil. Epp. 138, &c.

favour of his own primacy, of his pretended privilege; and, further, this is what his defenders, one after another, have done to the present day.

Let us advert to one of the facts on which the popedom rests its pretensions.[1] Faustinus, bishop of Lyons, seeing Marcianus, bishop of Arles, fall into the heresy of the Novatians, wrote about it to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and to Stephen, bishop of Rome; so that we see those two bishops put on the same level. Cyprian moves first in the matter; he writes to his *brother* Stephen what he ought to do.[2] "It belongs to us to see to it," says he, "to us who hold the balance for governing the Church."[3] If Cyprian asks the bishop of Rome to write to the Gauls, and thus to concur in the denunciation of Marcianus, far from founding his request on any prerogative belonging to Rome, he founds it, on the contrary, on the idea of the universal episcopate of all. He reminds Stephen not that he is head of the church, but that the priesthood is a body attached by the cement of fraternal concord[4] in such a manner that, should any member of this college rend the flock of Christ, *the others* ought to come to the rescue. He adds, "for although we are *many pastors* (not one pope and his subordinates!) nevertheless we feed but one flock, and we ought to gather together and to support all the sheep whom Christ has purchased by his sufferings and his blood." This is decisive; and yet this very instance

---

[1] La Papauté, par le docteur Magnin, pp. 44,45. [2] Ep. 67.
[3] Gubernandæ ecclesiæ libram tenentes. [4] Concordiæ mutuæ glutino copulatum.

is one of the proofs alleged by the partisans of the popedom in favour of their system;[1] which is tantamount to saying how rotten are the foundations on which it stands. To understand the reasoning employed by Rome, it suffices that we look in the church at the present day for such facts as those on which the popedom rests its claims. Reinwald's *Acta historico-ecclesiastica seculi XIX.*, vol. for 1837, contains, in the midst of papal briefs and circulars from the patriarch of Constantinople, letters written by the pastors of the Canton de Vaud and the dean of the classes of Lausanne, to the king, to the pastors, and to the president of the Synod of the Netherlands, in favour of the dissenters of that kingdom (pages 786—790). Still more recently, June 1845, the Rev. Dr. M'Farlane, minister of Greenock, and moderator of the Free Church of Scotland, has written to the pastors of the Canton de Vaud themselves, calling upon them not to give way in the struggle they have to maintain with an Erastian power which would degrade the church. One might sometime hereafter, according to the system of Rome, argue from these letters that the dean of the classes of Lausanne, or the minister of Greenock, should be proclaimed "Sovereign Pontiff of the universal Church."

III.—The Christian churches, once that they became established in the great cities of the empire, sent

---

[1] La Papauté, par le docteur Maguin, p. 50.

missionaries into the countries with which those cities were connected. It was thus that Christianity spread at first from Jerusalem into Syria, into Asia, into Greece, Egypt, and Italy. Then from Alexandria it was carried to Cyrene, and into Middle and Upper Egypt, then from Asia Minor to Marseilles and Lyons, and among the Gauls; then from Rome to Carthage in proconsular Africa, and afterwards also into the Gauls; then from the Gauls themselves into Germany. Now, to prove the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over other bishops, an argument is drawn from that bishop having done what all other bishops did—from his having propagated the gospel...and to increase the force of this argument, to the doubtful facts of G gory of Tours there is added the fable of Lucius king of the Bretons, related by an historian of the eighth century, according to which this king had in the second century asked pope Eleutherius for missionaries. Innocent I. himself (402—417) one of the first bishops of Rome that made violent efforts to extend their jurisdiction over other churches, assigns as a ground for his new pretensions, not a primacy, not St. Peter and his history, but the simple consideration that it was by the zeal of his predecessors that the gospel had been diffused through Italy, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the Gauls.[1]

Now if we have here, as we are told, the basis or one

---

[1] Epis. 25 ad Decentium, an. 416

of the bases of the popedom, is it not evident that there would be legitimately as many popes as there have been bishops animated with missionary zeal? In the course of the last twenty years, there have gone forth from the city of Basel many more missionaries for all the countries of Asia, Africa, &c., than we see left Rome during the three or four first centuries. Thus one might even claim for Basel the honour of being "the mother, the queen, the mistress of the churches of Christendom."

IV.—The consideration enjoyed by the various bishops of Christendom in the second century was in proportion to the rank of the city where they resided. But Rome was the seat of the empire. This is one of the causes of the popedom which I have investigated elsewhere, in my History of the Reformation.[1] The friends of the popedom, in their eagerness to weaken this induction,[2] would fain deny the splendour and the power of that city which they are accustomed nevertheless to call the eternal city; but never will they bring people to believe that neither splendour nor influence belonged to that superb city which Pliny called "the territory chosen by the power of the gods to be the mother of all others;" which Symmachus lauds as "the mother of nations and princes, and the first place in the world to which people resort from all quarters;" which Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, greets as the city

[1] Emerald edition, vol. i. p. 11; 8vo edition, vol. i. p. 22.
[2] La Papauté, par le docteur Magnin, ch. 6.

distinguished above all others in the world; of which Cassiodorus says that "all things are comprised in it, and that what passes there is almost presented before the eyes of the whole earth;" and speaking of which the celebrated historian of the popes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries says, "If the importance of a provincial capital gave a particular importance to its bishop, much more reason have we for assuming that it must have been so in the case too of that ancient capital which had given its name to the whole empire."[1]

Nor was it only that Rome had an imposing name; its bishops became ere long the richest in the world, and we all know the influence attending wealth. For a series of ages the treasures of the world were to be found in Rome; wealthy Christians among the Romans made valuable donations to the church. Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan historian of the fourth century, says that the bishops of Rome, enriched by the gifts of matrons, had themselves taken about in carriages, were richly dressed, gave profuse entertainments,[2] so that their repasts exceeded what appeared on royal tables." Ammianus Marcellinus[3] and St. Jerome[4] speak of a wretched pagan, called a consul, a sacrilegious person and an idolater, who, attracted by this wealth, used to say with a smile to pope Damasus, "Make me bishop of the city of Rome, and I will instantly be a Christian."

---

[1] Histoire de la Papauté, par Ranke, publiée par de St. Chéron, rédacteur de l'Univers, I. p. 29.

[2] Epulas curantes profusas. [3] XXVII. 3.

[4] Ep. ad Pammachium adv. errores Joannis Hier. II. 165.

Other reasons besides were added to those derived from that glory and that wealth. The church assumed the form of the empire. Antioch in the East, Alexandria in the South, and Rome in the West, surpassed all other cities. Antioch ranked third in the state, and its bishop had the third rank in the church; Alexandria ranked second in the state, and its bishops second in the church; Rome was the metropolis of the empire, and its bishop ranked first in Christendom.

And what now would the partisans of the popedom be about? They adduce in favour of the spiritual supremacy of Rome, passages in which a precedence in point of rank is conceded to the church of the capital of the world; *because of the more powerful principality which happens to be there!*... It is thus that St. Irenæus,[1] in combating the mysteries of the Gnostics, says, "that had the apostles had secret instructions they would have confided them to those whom they established over the churches; that it would be too long to enumerate in one volume the successions of all the churches,[2] and that he would for that reason content himself with recalling to mind the church founded at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul." And why is it Rome that he selects? "Because," says he, "ON ACCOUNT OF THE MORE POWERFUL PRINCIPALITY, every church, that is to say, the faithful that are in all places, must necessarily repair towards

[1] Adversus hæreses, lib. iii. cap. 3. [2] Quoniam valde longum est.

that church."[1] In point of fact, if any wished to know the oral doctrine of the apostles, no city was better fitted for that purpose than Rome, to which, on account of its more powerful principality, people repaired from all parts: "some," says Seneca, "from ambition, others from the necessary calls of some public charge, others from having business to transact as delegates, others from love of liberal studies, others from friendship, others in looking for employment,"[2] &c.; and others, we shall add, in the times of partial persecution, *propter potentiorem principalitatem*, to plead the cause of the Christians before the emperor. All the consistories of the reformed churches of France are perfectly equal, and nevertheless the consistory of Paris enjoys a consideration and even an influence above the rest, solely *propter potentiorem principalitatem* of the capital of the kingdom. Might not the same be said of the bishop of London, who, on account of the capital at which he resides, exercises an episcopal oversight over the Anglican churches of the continent? Do not the ministers of Edinburgh, Berlin, and other capitals, derive some advantages from the towns where they reside? Such nevertheless is one of the grand proofs of the popedom!

---

[1] Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, *propter potentiorem principalitatem*, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles. All the manuscripts except that of Clermont have *potentior*, not *potior*, which, moreover, would amount to the same thing, and it is in its proper meaning of *repair to*, not *agree with*, that the word *convenire* is employed, not only by Cicero, but further by the Vulgate, by the councils, and by Irenæus himself.

[2] Consolat. ad Helviam, c. 6.

V.—To proceed, the internal and *spiritual unity of the invisible church, consisting in faith and love,* was, at an early date, confounded with the external unity of the visible church, which manifests itself in certain forms. This is what was done particularly by Cyprian in what he wrote on the unity of the church. An external representation of that unity was ever felt to be wanted, and it was sought for in a certain primacy over the other apostles, which was claimed on behalf of St. Peter—a primacy altogether opposed to the word of God, and to the essence of the Christian economy expressed in these words: *all ye are brethren.*[1]

Even here, already there was something erroneous, and yet there is a wide difference between this error and the idea of a primacy on the part of the Roman bishop. Peter might have been regarded as the representative of unity, without there being the smallest question about Rome. And in point of fact, in Cyprian's famous treatise on *the unity of the church,* the words *Rome, Roman church, Roman bishop,* do not once occur. Let us but imagine a Roman catholic doctor of our days, writing on the unity of the church, should we not at every page find something about Rome and the pope? . . but Cyprian says not a word about them. What, this unity was at Rome, and Cyprian is silent about it! Here, it appears to us, is a proof of the nullity of the Roman pretensions, the force of which it is quite impossible to resist. Nevertheless, astonishing

[1] Matt. xxiii. 8.

fact! this treatise of Cyprian's is, on the contrary, the main argument of a late defender of *the Popedom*, who introduces the passage he quotes with these words: *Let us conclude with a passage which ought to have made us dispense with every other.*[1] And what is there, then, in this famous passage, selected out of Cyprian's whole book? There is this, Reader, mark it well, that Christ, after his resurrection, gave equal power TO ALL[2] his apostles,[3] that the other apostles were certainly THE SAME THAT ST. PETER was; that they were endowed WITH AN EQUAL SHARE OF HONOUR AND POWER.[4] It is true that some of the defenders of Rome admit that here there are several interpolations, not to be found in the oldest manuscripts. The most important of these additions of posterior invention is that where it is said, that *the primacy was given to Peter.* But Cyprian, in his 71st epistle to Quintus, while faithful to his idea of unity derived from Peter, positively declares that Peter did not insolently assert, or arrogantly assume any thing for himself, so as to say that he had the primacy,[5] and that those born after him should obey his orders. How would he himself have spoken elsewhere of such a piece of insolence? Now a cause which rests on interpolations is very lame. And yet in these very interpolations *there is not a word about Rome.* Rome, it must be confessed, has a singular fate in that

---

[1] La Papauté, p. 50. [2] Omnibus. [3] Parem potestatem.
[4] Pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis.
[5] Ut diceret se principatum tenere.

the writings that establish her supremacy and primacy, say not a word about her.

VI.—Let us proceed somewhat further. Rome could not fail to be not only politically, but ecclesiastically too, as regards the *West*,[1] the first church among her equals. Neither Antioch, nor Jerusalem, nor Alexandria, could *ecclesiastically* recognise any primacy in her; St. Augustine calls the church in the East "the root of the churches of the West,"[2] and consequently *the root of Rome.*

But it was quite otherwise as respected the Latin world. While several churches of the East, Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, &c., had had apostles for their founders and teachers, Rome alone, throughout the whole West, had that honour. The New Testament positively tells us that Paul taught there. To Rome alone, of all the Latin churches, there had been sent a letter which had received a place among the canonical books. It would appear even, according to a tardy tradition, that another apostle besides, namely, Peter, had made it his place of residence for a time. The fact of this latter apostle's dying at Rome, appears, in truth, to be altogether apocryphal, since Clement, bishop of Rome, writing from that city, while he takes care, in speaking of the martyrdom of Paul (95), to notice its taking place there, *τερμα τῆς δύσεως*, says he, on the limits of the West, *ἔπι τῶν ἡγουμενων*, in presence

[1] Prima inter pares. [2] Epp. 52.

of the chiefs of the empire, contents himself, on the contrary, with simply relating the fact of the martyrdom of Peter, without the addition of any circumstance that shows, as in the case of Paul, that he had suffered that martyrdom at Rome. Nor does that Roman bishop even say anywhere in his epistle, that Peter had ever been in his church. Meanwhile the undoubted residence of Paul, and the report which afterwards gained credit of the residence of Peter, a report which we have no wish entirely to contradict, sufficed to make Rome the most respected church of the West, and to lead to its being considered as the chief church, the mother church, of all the Latin countries.

This is what Cyprian points to in his 55th epistle, when he speaks of the journey to Rome of the schismatic Fortunatus. But does Cyprian here admit that any supremacy belonged to the bishop of Rome? No, on the contrary, he complains that he allows himself to be moved by the threats and the terrors of an excommunicated person.[1] And what ecclesiastical doctrine does that holy bishop of Carthage establish in that letter? Uniformly the same. "To each pastor," says he, "has been given his share of the flock, let each of them guide and govern, as one who has to render an account of his doings (not to a pope, but) to the Lord."[2] Speaking then of those schismatics, who, after being condemned in Africa, sought to gain the bishop of Rome by intimidation, he adds, "unless a small num-

[1] Te minis atque terroribus commotum. [2] Rationem sui actus Domino reddituruus.

ber of desperate and lost persons think that the authority of the bishops established in Africa, and who have already condemned them, be less."[1] Thus, according to Cyprian, the authority of the bishops of Africa cannot be considered as less than that of the bishops of Rome, unless it be by DESPERATE AND LOST schismatics.

And it is not on one occasion alone that these principles are proclaimed; they re-occur every where, they are the constant voice of the church. Cyprian says elsewhere:[2] "Each of us does not establish himself bishop of bishops, and does not subject his colleagues by a tyrannical terror to the necessity of obedience, for every bishop has, according to the liberty and the power that appertains to him, his own will, and *he cannot be judged by another*, as he himself cannot judge. But we abide the judgment of Jesus Christ, who is our Lord to all, and who *only and alone*[3] has the power of placing us in the government of His Church, and *to judge of our proceedings*."

The illustrious father writes, moreover, to Stephen, bishop of Rome:[4] "We do violence to no one, we give the law to no one. Every one that has been set over the Church has the free exercise of his discretion,[5] having to give an account of his doings to the Lord." Cyprian goes still further; he exercises this power of redressing the wrongs of the bishops, a power which

---

[1] Si paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur.
[2] Concil. Carthaginiens. de baptizandis hæreticis. [3] Unus et solus. [4] Ep. 72.
Voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unus quisque præpositus.

the Sorbonne doctor, Du Pin, has very well proved before us, to belong to all.[1] The bishops of Spain having applied to the bishop of Carthage on the occasion of the bishops Basilides and Martial being convicted of infidelity, Cyprian wrote to them: "Your ordaining of Sabinus (in the place of Basilides) cannot be annulled; for this reason, that Basilides, after his crimes had been discovered and his conscience laid bare by his own confession, having repaired to Rome, deceived our colleague Stephen (the bishop), who is at a great distance from you, and who is ignorant of the truth of the matter, and because he has obtained from him unjustly a sentence restoring him to the bishopric from which he had been justly deposed. If there be any of our colleagues," says he, a little lower down, "who neglect the divine discipline, and who rashly communicate with Basilides and Martial, let not that trouble your faith, for St. Paul has said, . . 'that they which commit such things are worthy of death, and not they only, but those also that have pleasure in them that do them.'"[2] Such is the deliberate opinion of the most illustrious Father of the third century on the bishop of Rome's acts of supremacy. . .

No doubt the Christians of the West attached a high value to the apostolic sees, which they regarded as the central points of the Church. But it was not Rome alone that they held in such particular esteem; it was all the churches founded by Apostles. Hence Augus-

[1] Diss. 2da. cap. 2. [2] Rom. i. 30-32.

tine[1] says to that heretic: "What is done to you by the see of the Roman church, which Peter once occupied, and which is now filled by Anastasius, or by the see of the church of Jerusalem, in which James once sat, and in which John now sits, with both whom we are united in catholic unity?" Here Jerusalem and Rome are placed in the same rank, even by a bishop of the *West*.

More than this: people addressed themselves to other churches besides that of the metropolis, even although they might not be of apostolic origin. Thus it is that the third council of Carthage resolved, in the year 397,[2] to consult the brethren and colleagues Siricius (bishop of Rome) and Simplicius (bishop of Milan), as to whether children that had been baptized by the Donatists might become ministers. Here then we see *Milan* now associated in point of privilege with Rome. But further, what is made of that consultation? Here we see how little a church thought itself bound by such advices; the two bishops of Rome and Milan replied in the negative, and the council of Africa, A.D. 401,[3] resolved, considering the penury of ministers, and in opposition to the advice of the two Italian bishops, "that those baptized as children among the Donatists should be consecrated in the catholic church." It farther ordained that this should be communicated to the bishops of Milan and of Rome: "for," adds the council, "this

[1] Contra litteras Petiliani, cap. 51, vol. 9. [2] Harduin Concil. gen. i. 968.
[3] Labbei S.S. Conc. ii. p. 1639.

had been forbidden by those sees."[1] "*Those sees,*" says the council, putting them in the same rank, and doing the contrary of what they had decided. Here then, was there aught else than a friendly consultation?

It had become usual in the empire to adopt the custom of Rome as the rule in cases of doubtful jurisdiction.[2] It was this respect for Rome, joined to the idea of that church having had an apostle in its bosom, which led Ocius to propose to the western council of Sardica to decree, if it thought fit, that if, during the troubles of Arianism, a bishop was tried unjustly, according to him, it should be proposed to Julius, bishop of Rome,[3] to examine whether or not the trial should be recommenced. "The Synod replied: such is our pleasure."[4] But there is nothing in all the acts of the council that any wise indicates a Roman supremacy. It was not then the bishop of Rome who was then to try the case anew, but it was the council; and according to the doctor of the Sorbonne, Richer,[5] the privilege of being empowered to cause the trial to be opened anew, was granted to Julius only as a personal tribute of respect.[6] In the West, even this decree, which did not concern the East, remained without effect. The councils of Carthage for the years 407 and 418, resolved that whoever should appeal from them to Rome,

---

[1] Ex his enim sedibus hoc fuerat prohibitum.—Labbei S.S. Conc. ii. p. 1643.
[2] Tunc jus, quo urbs Roma utitur, servare oportet.—Digest. i. tit. 3, l. 32.
[3] Julio Romano episcopo. [4] Synodus respondit, placet.
[5] Hist. Concil. general. tom. i. c. 3, § 4.
[6] Nominatim de Julio, non de sede apostolica loquuntur.—Ibid.

instead of appealing to the church of Africa, should be *excommunicated;* and A.D. 419, Apiarius, a pastor who had been deposed, having appealed to the bishop of Rome, and the latter having caused the canon of the council of Sardica to be presented to the council of Carthage, as a canon of the council of Nice, the African bishops, surprised at not finding this decree in their copies, caused searches to be made at Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, discovered the fraud, and wrote to the bishop of Rome, that he had only to regulate his proceedings according to the order of Nice, and not to interfere with foreign dioceses.[1]

As for the rest, the bishops of Rome, who were most enamoured of domination, far from speaking at that time of a popedom that came from the Lord, said themselves, that the privileges which they claimed for their see, had not at first belonged to it, but had been subsequently bestowed upon it by *the decrees of the doctors.* The hierarchical Innocent I., at the commencement of the fifth century, says, "the FATHERS HAVE DECREED[2] by a divine, not a human sentence, that whatever should take place in the province, even at a distance, ought not to terminate without being submitted to the cognizance of this see;"[3] and pope Zozimus says, in the fifth century,[4] "the DECREES OF THE FATHERS have given this apostolical see, in honour of the blessed Peter, a

---

[1] Harduin Concil. i. p. 1241. Rich. Hist. conc. gen. i. c. 3, § 6.
[2] Patres decrevere. [3] Ep. 27, and Carth. Conc. Labbei S.S. Conc. ii. p. 1282.
[4] Ep. ad Episc. Afr. ibid. 1558.

certain special respect."[1] All this superabundantly establishes the independence of the churches and of the bishops.

VII.—Thus, as Zozimus says, the Fathers had not conceded to Rome as yet anything beyond a *certain respect.* In the fourth century, it was only within the diocese of Rome that the pope exercised the rights of a patriarch. The bishop of Milan, absolutely free, exercised these in the diocese called that of Italy, and even the bishops of Apuleja and Ravenna were independent. "But," says de Marca, archbishop of Paris,[2] "the Roman pontiffs made violent efforts to bring over to their party the bishops of the most illustrious churches, by various ways and means." They began with Eastern Illyricum. This country having been detached, A.D. 379, from the Western, in order to be united with the Eastern empire, its bishops cared little for an union with the East, which was unceasingly agitated with theological disputes, and their chief, the bishop of Thessalonica, dreaded the supremacy of so near a neighbour as the bishop of Constantinople. Accordingly, the bishops of Rome found no great difficulty in getting him to attach himself to them as vicar of the Roman see.[3] An opportunity much of the same kind ere long presented itself in the Gauls, but it was not so fortunate in its results. The bishop of Arles in-

[1] Patrum decreta peculiarem quamdam *sanxere* reverentiam.
[2] De concordia sacerdotii et imperii, lib. v. cap. 19. [3] De Marca, v. 19 and 20.

sisted that he was metropolitan of the Gauls. His colleagues disputed this claim. He resolved to seek the support of Rome, which was delighted to recognize his rights, by calling him at the same time its vicar. But the metropolitans of Vienne, Narbonne, and Marseilles, resisted this innovation, notwithstanding all threats, and Hilary, bishop of Arles, himself so far forgot his new *vicariat*, that having deposed Chelidonius, he would not permit the sentence he had pronounced to be reviewed at Rome. Leo the Great in consequence deprived Hilary and his successors of the privileges that Rome had bestowed upon them; which did not prevent them from maintaining their primacy in the Gauls.[1] Thus the finesse and the ambitious efforts of Rome were not everywhere crowned with equal success.

VIII.—The bishops of Rome long based their claims on the various motives we have enumerated, and which were connected with the privileges of their city. But in the fourth century the supremacy of the city of Rome received a severe blow, and was transferred to Constantinople. Soon, too, the bishops of Rome, looking about for some new stay which might prop them in a new position, began to maintain that they had inherited from St. Peter, rights that made them superior to other bishops. Thus, in 431, the Roman legates at the council of Ephesus declared that "St. Peter, the foundation of the universal church, lives and judges in

[1] De Marca, v. cap. 32 and 33.

his successors." Forthwith Leo the Great (A.D. 440 to 461), insists on this idea, which gradually gained credit in the West, but which the East could so much the less admit, as the primacy was attributed there to the church of Jerusalem, and to the apostle James. Such, then, is the origin of that singular alliance which has been established between Peter and Rome. Perhaps had Constantinople never been founded, it would never have been thought of.

IX.—Meanwhile, that same imperial power which had transported the capital to Constantinople, for some time after that opposed the developments of the Roman primacy. The emperors then exercised in the church an authority which placed itself far above the pretensions of the popedom. And if the partisans of Rome could find passages that attributed to that church what was then attributed to the imperial power (improperly, no doubt), they would stand on stronger ground than at present. The emperors declared at that time what, amid the diversity of doctrine that prevailed, was to be held as true and catholic.[1] Eusebius tells us of the emperor Constantine: "Taking the chief care of the church of God, when there were those who disagreed in the various provinces, he, in virtue of his being *common bishop, established by God,* convoked the councils of God's ministers."[2] Constantine, writing to the

[1] Hanc legem sequentes (the Trinity) christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti, they said (Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 1. De fide catholica).

[2] De Vita Constantini, i. 44.

council of Tyre, enjoins that it should be seen to that respect was paid to the "decrees given out by the emperor for the truth."[1] And the tribune Marcellinus was sent, A.D. 411, into Africa, to put an end to the controversy between the Catholics and the Donatists, with full dogmatical powers: "We appoint him judge of the controversy," says the emperor.[2] Optatus of Mela, who is quoted among the number of the supporters of the popedom, himself contends for this imperial supremacy in matters of faith. "The empire is not in the church," says he, "but the church is in the empire; and there is nobody above the emperor, unless it be God himself, who has made him emperor."[3]

But not only did the clergy look up to the emperor as supreme judge, but, further, the bishop of Rome considered it as a distinction highly honourable to him, to be judged only by the emperor himself. This is what is established by the letter of the council of Rome to the emperors Gratian and Valentinian, A.D. 378. "This holy man (Damasus), in having recourse to you," says the council, "does nothing new; he follows the example of the fathers; for did not pope Sylvester, when accused by sacrilegious persons, follow out his cause before your father Constantine?"[4]

Here we see what was done by the popedom in the West. We ask any man of upright and honest mind,

---

[1] De Vita Constantini, iv. 42.

[2] Cui quidem disputationi, principe loco, te judicem volumus residere. (Gesta collat. Cart. Opt. Milev.)

[3] Opt. Milev. iii. 3. [4] Sirmond App. 78.

if it be possible to see in it what the Roman catholics see and have seen there, and if ever there was a power founded on a more complete deception!

Let us now pass to the East.

THE EAST.

Shall we find in the East what the West has not presented? Shall we find the popedom better established there?

No; it is well known in what manner, down to this hour, the East meets the pretensions of the popes. This opposition of the East to the anti-Christian domination of Rome is nothing new; it dates from the very commencement of Christianity. In the East, the opposition to Rome was quite a different thing from what it was in the West. Far from owning the popedom, the bishops of the East would not permit even the bishops of the West, and the church of Rome in particular, to intermeddle in the affairs of their churches. Let us prove this by some examples.

I.—The churches of Asia and the churches of the West had different customs with respect to the day to be observed for the celebration of Easter. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, happening to be at Rome about the middle of the second century (A.D. 160) for other objects, spoke of these customs to the bishop of Rome, Amicetus; and not only did Polycarp not desist from

the practice which he had received from the apostle John, but Amicetus, acknowledging that in this there was nothing that should disturb the evangelical peace between them, wished the bishop of Smyrna to take his place in presiding at the celebration of the Eucharist in his own church.[1] In the year 190, Victor, bishop of Rome, with whom Roman intolerance commences, allowed his wrath at the opposition of the East to get so much the better of him, that he excommunicated the bishops of Asia. He had no idea of exercising an act of jurisdiction, and simply suspended his communion with them, as *every* bishop was authorized, and even obliged to do, when a church had in his opinion departed from the truth. But what followed? Irenæus, a western bishop, sharply reproved Victor,[2] telling him that thus "to rend the church of Christ was to eat the feast with the leaven of malice and unrighteousness." At the same time, *no regard was paid* in Asia to the threats of the bishop of Rome. Peace was afterwards re-established, and the Asiatic churches, in no wise allowing themselves to be influenced by the Roman practice, persisted in observing their own.[3] This affair, which so clearly manifests the independence of the East, is, notwithstanding, one of the principal proofs of the popedom.[4] . . It must be poorly off, indeed, to employ arguments that demonstrate precisely the opposite of what is intended to be proved.

[1] Euseb. v. 24. [2] Ibid.
[3] Graviter erravit iste Pontifex (Victor), says Du Pin himself (page 547.)
[4] Magnin, p. 45.

II.—The third century supplies us with another example of the independence of the East, and even of the preference which the Eastern bishops gave to the customs of Jerusalem. Firmitian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian,[1] says to him: "*Those of Rome* do not observe in all things *what has been transmitted from the beginning;*" and "it is in vain that they put forward the authority of the apostles, whether as to the day on which Easter should be observed, or as to many other holy things;[2] it appears that there are some diversities among them, and that people do not equally observe there what is observed at *Jerusalem.*" This Eastern bishop says at another place: "To the custom of the Romans we oppose a custom also, but it is that of the *truth,* holding from the commencement that which has been transmitted by Christ and the apostles." At another place still: "Let us leave what has been done by Stephen (bishop of Rome), lest, recollecting his audaciousness and his insolence, we distress ourselves too long about those things that have been maliciously done by him." Further still: "Stephen has dishonoured[3] the holy apostles Peter and Paul, speaking as if they themselves had taught these things; they who, in their epistles, held heretics in abhorrence." Such is the opinion of one of the holiest bishops of the East, in the third century, with respect to Rome, its bishop, its customs, and its pretensions. Let any one compare this opinion

[1] Ep. 75. [2] Circa multa alia divina sacramenta. [3] Infamavit.

with that of the present partisans of the popedom and judge.

III.—The most venerable document on the ecclesiastical constitution of Christian antiquity, is the council of Nice in the fourth century. Now the sixth canon of that council, confirming what existed already, as is remarked by the archbishop of Paris, la Marca,[1] simply establishes three great metropolitans, those of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, as having the oversight of several provinces. It says, "let the ancient practice that prevails in Egypt, in Libya, and in Pentapolis, subsist; to wit, that the bishop of Alexandria have power over all these countries, as it is also a custom for the bishop who is at *Rome*. In like manner ought the privileges to be preserved at Antioch, and the churches that are in the other provinces." The 7th canon, without ranking the church of Jerusalem with the churches of the three great cities of the empire, recognises in it, however, a certain place above others. Such, then, is the language of the first universal council. Here still, *not a word* is said about the primacy of Rome! . . What have her partisans done in order to escape from this overwhelming authority? They have thought the simplest thing they could do was to interpolate in the Latin version these words: *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*—"The Roman church has always had the primacy." But it must be con-

[1] L. i. cap. 3, § 5.

fessed that almost all the ultramontanes themselves have acknowledged that this Roman addition was suspicious, and have abandoned it. But this apocryphal phrase supplies an argument whose force any one may perceive. What Rome has wished *to add* to the Council, is a proof of what was *wanting*. Thus then, here too, we have a nullity acknowledged by our opponents themselves.

IV.—The affairs of Athanasius supply us with new examples of the independence of the East. Julius, bishop of Rome, not having wished to acknowledge the judgment of the bishops of the East, the latter having met at Antioch, warmly complained of this, and Julius having represented that he was willing to pronounce, not alone, no doubt, but in communion with all, the Eastern bishops opposed this pretension. "They (the Western bishops) have contemplated (the Eastern bishops say) the introduction of a new law,[1] to wit, that the bishops of the East should be placed under the jurisdiction of those of the West."[2] The Eastern bishops say further: "We have called upon them several times not to *reverse* the law,[3] not to make the tradition of the church of no effect,[4] and not to put any wise[5] above the most holy councils and bishops of the East, those of the West."[6] "They endeavour," they fur-

[1] Novam legem.
[2] Ep. Syn. Sardic. (Philop. habiti) ad Donat. Labbei S.S. Concil., ii. p. 704.
[3] No subverterent legem. [4] Ne traditionem ecclesiæ frustrarent.
[5] Aliqua in parte. [6] Ibid. p. 705.

ther say of the Romans, "to introduce an innovation abhorrent to the ancient practice of the church,[1] they wish that what has been established by the Eastern bishops in a council should be renewed by the Western bishops, and in like manner, that all that has been done by the Western bishops should be solemnly adopted by those of the East;[2] but it is according to their very great malice that they act thus."[3] One cannot place confidence in the bishops that wrote this letter, as far as relates to doctrine, but when we have to do with historical facts, known of all, such as that of the practice which had to that time prevailed in the church, even a pagan historian might be admitted as a witness. The partisans of the popedom themselves have had recourse to such references.[4] How much more ought we to believe a testimony signed by the hands of seventy-three bishops.

V.—We have already noticed that it was to the church of Jerusalem that the primacy of the East was attributed. Rome would be fortunate, indeed, could she claim for herself passages as significant as those which we find relating to Jerusalem in the most illustrious fathers. St. Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus (towards the year 370), says in a work against heresies: "There are fifteen bishops of the circumcision, and that at Jerusalem, whose authority ought to be followed by

[1] Quam horret vetus consuetudo ecclesiæ. [2] Ab Orientalibus solveretur.
[3] Ep. Syn. Sardic. (Philop. habiti) ad Donat. Labbei S.S. Concil., ii. p. 708.
[4] La Papauté, p. 33.

ALL THE WORLD."[1] At another place Epiphanius says: "James first occupied the episcopal seat (at Jerusalem), *the Lord having first given over to him his throne upon the earth.*"[2] Although Rome with such passages could not enslave the church, her pretensions (were it Rome instead of Jerusalem that we have to do with here) would be a little more solid than they are at this moment.[3]

VI.—The bishop of Byzantium had for a long while maintained but a very inferior part, being even subordinate to the metropolitan of Heraclea. But Byzantium having, under Constantine, become the seat of empire, the same reason that had raised Rome soon raised Constantinople, and the second œcumenical council, which was held there in 381, declared that "the bishop of Constantinople should have the rank of honour,[4] next to the bishop of Rome, because it is *the new Rome.*"[5] Thus it is not a supremacy or a jurisdiction that is attributed to Rome, but a simple *rank of honour,* and that distinction, according to the council, does not arise from any spiritual advantages, but from its being the capital of the empire. So well aware were the bishops of Rome of what this canon signified, that they did not at first choose to receive it. At the same time, this second œcumenical council showed its

---

[1] Παντα κοσμον.—Hæres. lxx. 10.

[2] Πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ.—Hæres. lxxviii. 7.

[3] See further, Photius Codex, 275, Chrysostom Hom. in Act. 15, &c.

[4] Τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς. [5] Con. 3.

complete independence of the West by regulating, without its participation, all the ecclesiastical affairs of the East, and by openly pronouncing in favour of the Meletians, whom Rome rejected, recognised Meletius as bishop of Antioch, and not Paulinus, with whom Rome was in communion, even named Meletius its president, and when he died, appointed Flavian to be his successor at Antioch without troubling itself about Paulinus, the bishop recognised by Rome.[1] Assuredly here we have the second universal council of the Christian church showing little respect indeed for the decisions of the bishop of Rome.

VII.—By and bye we have a new example of the independence of the East. Maximus having been deposed from his episcopal dignity at Constantinople, on account of his being imbued with the Apolinarian heresy, and Nectarius having been established bishop,[2] the bishops of Italy took up the defence of Maximus, and invited the bishops of the East to repair to Rome to examine the matter. But the latter refused, and replied as follows: "As for the administration of each church, you know that there is an old ecclesiastical law, and a decision of the holy fathers of Nice, by virtue of which the bishops of the provinces, acting in concert with their neighbours, ordain the ministers for the good of the churches. Therefore it is, that in the general council we have constituted bishop of the church of

[1] Theodor. iv. 35. [2] Theodor. Hist. eccl. v. 8.

Constantinople, Nectarius, a most venerable and holy man, with the consent of all, in presence of the emperor Theodosius, and by the suffrage of the whole clergy and of the whole city. In the ancient church and apostolical city of Antioch, in Syria, the bishops of the diocese of the East have established Flavian, the whole church giving their suffrage. And as for the church of Jerusalem, *which is the mother of all the other churches,* we give you to know that it has for its bishop the most venerable and the most holy Cyril: let faith and love be confirmed in us, and then we shall no longer say, as we have been forbidden by the apostles: 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, seeing that we are all of Christ.'"[1] Thus do the bishops of the East inform the bishops of the West, while convened at Rome by Damasus, that they take Nectarius for bishop of Constantinople instead of Maximus, who was acknowledged as such by Rome; that Flavian was placed at Antioch in the room of Paulinus, with whom Rome communicated; and they add, not without intention, that it is Jerusalem that is THE MOTHER OF ALL THE CHURCHES. Here further, we have a strange subordination! No doubt, the West, which took little interest in the speculative questions by which the East was distracted, subsisted in the universal church as a kind of imposing mass, which, when a decision had to be formed, in ranging itself on the side of one of the parties, threw a very heavy weight into the balance.

[1] Theodor. Hist. eccl. cap. 9.

But in such cases, nothing more was thought of than merely an influence, without jurisdiction, without authority. One sees how, when people had to do with the decisions of Rome, the East contrived to resist, and to do the very opposite of what Rome had decreed.

VIII.—After the universal councils of Nice and Constantinople, the greatest authority to be found in those ages is the universal council of Chalcedon. The second of those councils had given to the bishop of Constantinople, as well as to the bishop of Rome, no more than a privilege of honour. That of Chalcedon went farther. It says in its twenty-eighth canon:

"We have decreed these things touching the privileges of the most holy church of Constantinople, the new Rome. In fact the fathers have justly attributed privileges to old Rome *because that city had the empire.* But, influenced by the same consideration, a hundred and fifty bishops, friends of God, have attributed *the same privileges*[1] to the most holy see of new Rome, judging, on good grounds, that the city which is honoured both by the empire and the senate, and which enjoys equal privileges with Rome, an older queen, ought to be elevated like her[2] in ecclesiastical affairs, being the next after her."[3]

The council then establishes the bishop of Constanti-

---

[1] Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. [2] Ὡς ἐκείνην.
[3] Beveridge, Synodikon I. iii. and Hardouin Concil. II. 626.

nople patriarch over the dioceses of Pontus, Asia Minor, and Thrace.

It was, no doubt, a matter of necessity that one see in the church should be No. 1, and another see No. 2, but this order apart, Constantinople is declared by the council to have THE SAME privileges as Rome, TO BE AS SHE WAS!... Nothing could be more painful to the bishop of Rome. He dreaded lest Constantinople should become more important than even Rome, and that the bishop of that new capital might one day claim the first rank. Accordingly, he had enjoined his legates vigorously to resist the bishops who wished to raise themselves, alleging as their ground for doing so the importance of their residencies. It was in vain that the Roman legates combatted the twenty-eighth canon, in vain did the bishop of Rome afterwards reclaim against it. Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 472, exercised the rights that the council had given him, and the emperor Justinian, in one of his laws,[1] says that "the church of Constantinople is the head of all the other churches." The ecclesiastical power followed the same progressive course at Constantinople that it had done at Rome, and this was very natural.

We shall not proceed any farther. What we have said will suffice to make the complete independence of the East in the first ages evident. The separation

[1] L. 25. C. de S. S. Eccles.

always became wider and wider. We know from what time the church of the East has broken even those ties of Christian brotherhood which, during the first ages, united her to the Latin church. From the moment that the popedom was decidedly formed at Rome, the East could no longer act in concert with the West: that institution necessarily brought about the separation. The cause of the schism then is Rome. The East had no idea of receiving a master altogether new, and of whom it had never known anything. It never ceased to recall the fact that it was with it that the universal church originated, and that it was from Jerusalem and Antioch that Rome itself had received the faith. Down to our own days it still calls itself emphatically catholic and orthodox; and when, as we are told by the missionary Wolff in his voyages, one of those eastern Christians whom Rome has re-attached to herself by means of numerous concessions is asked, "Are you a catholic?" "No," is the immediate reply, "I am papistian, (papist)!"[1]

In the East as well as in the West the cause of Rome is lost in every case in which a sincere and upright spirit is brought to the study of antiquity.

The partisans of the popedom seem to believe that there is no explaining the existence of that power, unless one admits that it proceeds from a higher source than man. Nor can I but say that, like them, I believe that in the fact of the popedom there is an inter-

1 The Rev. J. Wolff's Journal, London, 1839, p. 225.

vention more than human. I think that the popedom is clearly foretold in the Word of God, as a work of the spirit of darkness;[1] and I farther believe that the time is not far off when, as St. Paul says,[2] "*The Lord will destroy it with the breath of his mouth.*"

I conclude with recalling what I said at the commencement, that the field of catholicism, which I have accepted for the discussion of the sources of the popedom, is not that which I plead for as my own. The same distance that separates the popedom from episcopal catholicism, separates also episcopal catholicism itself from evangelical Christianity.

I do not mean to say by this that there cannot be in the last system ministers called bishops, and exercising certain special functions: what I reject is dogmatical episcopacy, not constitutional episcopacy; what I combat is the idea that in order to a man's being a member of Christ's body, it is not enough for him to be united to the Saviour by a real and living faith; what I point to as a heresy, is the strange opinion that in order to belong to Christ, one must be connected with an external organisation which goes back, or rather which pretends to go back to the apostles. But, presbyterian though I be myself, I know how to respect a moderate episcopacy.

---

[1] Apocal. xvii. and xviii.; Daniel vii. 20—26; 2 Thessal. ii. 1—12.
[2] 2 Thessal. ii. 8.

The evangelical system is the pre-eminence of spirit above form; the catholic system is the pre-eminence of form above spirit. According to the former, it is in the connection of a soul with Christ that that soul's connection with the church is involved; according to the latter, it is in the connection of the soul with the church that there is involved that which it bears with Jesus Christ.

The same difference presents itself when we have to do with God's ministers. According to the evangelical system it is grace, spiritual capacity, that legitimates the charge of the ministry, and that procures it; whereas, according to the catholic system, it is on the contrary the charge, the ordination to the holy ministry, that communicates grace—spiritual capacity.

Further, it is the same, if we have to do with the commencement of the church, according either to the popedom or catholicism, the external church comes first. Christ first of all founds a certain ecclesiastical organisation which ought then, in virtue of certain privileges, to act upon the internal, on the spiritual. According to evangelical Christianity, on the contrary, the internal Church comes first; Christ by his spirit first of all saves, converts souls, and these converted souls unite themselves into a community, forming the external and visible church.

Spiritual life is the real tie of the members of the Christian community, according to the evangelical system; adhesion to the hierarchical unity represented by

the episcopacy, forms this tie according to the popish and catholic doctors.

Religious equality subsists in the evangelical system notwithstanding the aristocracy of its office-bearers, for the charges with which they are invested are less a dignity than a service, and their authority proceeds not from their persons but from the Word of God and the action of the Spirit. But in the catholic as well as in the papal system, religious equality disappears, the authority of the office takes the place of the authority of the Word, the bishop becomes the exclusive channel of the divine favours, and thus stands as mediator between God and the Christian people.

This will suffice to show the difference between my point of view and that of catholicism. To say the truth, catholicism is in its principles further removed from evangelical Christianity than it is from the papal system itself. After having combatted the popedom on the catholic domain, I might attack it on the evangelical, but I will not do so: truly it were too easy, and I content myself with having demonstrated the falsehood of the pretensions of popery without even quitting the arena which the adversaries have adopted.

It is this falsehood which one ought to bear in mind while perusing Mr. Ranke's beautiful work. Never ought we to forget that the power whose history he writes, is a usurping power which has sought to trample on the crown of Jesus Christ, and to load with chains the people whom the Saviour came to set free.

This History of the Popes is sure to be read with continual interest; something new will be learned at every page; one will always more and more admire the felicity with which the author has contrived to combine the most profound researches with a narrative brought out in the strongest relief; only, in reading it, let the πρωτον ψευδος, the primitive and hereditary lie of the popedom, never be forgotten.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE vast power of Rome in ancient times, and during the middle ages, is universally known; and in more recent times, too, she has long exercised a renovated influence over the world. After the desertion she experienced in the former half of the sixteenth century, she contrived once more to become the centre of faith and opinion to the Romish nations of southern Europe,[1] and made bold, and not seldom successful attempts, to bring the rest, a second time, under her dominion. Of this period of renovated vigour, ecclesiastical and political, of her rejuvenescence and internal development, of her advance and decline, I now propose to give at least an outline.

It is an undertaking which, however defective it may prove, could never have been attempted, had I not found opportunities of availing myself of some means of assistance hitherto unknown. These and their sources I am bound first of all generally to indicate.

I have already elsewhere[2] mentioned what may be found in our Berlin manuscripts.

[1] That is, Italy, France, and Spain, all three retaining, to this day, in their languages and institutions, strong traces of their ancient incorporation with Rome. TR.

[2] In the Preface to the "Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries." TR.

But, next in order, there is no doubt that Vienna is much richer in treasures of this description.

In addition to its essentially German basis, Vienna has also a European element; in all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, manners and languages the most various come into contact, and Italy in particular, in full life, presents itself there. The literary collections too have a comprehensive character. This directly flows from the political and geographical position of the state; its ancient connection with Spain, Belgium, and Lombardy; and its near neighbourhood and ecclesiastical relations with Rome. There people have ever liked to bring from abroad, to hold, to possess. Accordingly, the original and native collections of the Imperial Royal Library are in themselves of great value. To these, some foreign acquisitions have of late been added. From Modena a number of volumes, similar to our Informazioni,[1] have been purchased from the house of Rangone, and from Venice, the inappreciable manuscripts of the Doge Mark Foscarini; among these, there are the owner's preparations for the execution of his literary work, Italian Chronicles, no farther trace of which is anywhere to be found; and from the effects left by Prince Eugene, there has been received a rich collection of historical and political manuscripts, which that prince, who also held a high rank as a statesman, had amassed without any such precise object. When we think of the insufficiency of most printed works on modern history, it is impossible to look through the catalogue without feelings of satisfaction and hope—so much knowledge not yet brought out, such a future harvest of studies! And yet, a few steps farther, Vienna offers still more important aids. The Imperial Archives

[1] A name given to a collection of MSS. in the Royal Library of Berlin, extending to forty-six folio volumes, and entituled Informazioni Politiche. It is composed of reports, particularly of Venetian Ambassadors, instructions, and memoranda for high functionaries entering on office, narratives of conclaves, letters, speeches, reflections, and notices. See Preface to the "Ottoman and Spanish Empires." Tr.

contain, as may at once be supposed, the weightiest and most authentic memorials for German and general history, but particularly for that of Italy. It is true that of the Venetian Archives, by far the greater part, after many removals from place to place, have found their way back to Venice; yet a not unimportant mass of Venetian papers is still to be found in Vienna; despatches, original, or copies, extracts therefrom, made for the use of the state, and called Rubricaries; relations of events not unfrequently in the only copies extant, and of great value; official registers of public boards and offices, chronicles and journals. The notices to be found in this volume with respect to Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. have been drawn in a great measure from the Vienna Archives. I cannot sufficiently commend the unreserved liberality with which I was allowed access to them.

In general, I should here, indeed, particularize the manifold aids and encouragements I have received in my design both at home and abroad. Still I entertain some hesitation, whether justly I know not. Too many names would require to be mentioned, and among these some of great eminence. My gratitude might look almost vain-glorious, and give to a work which has every reason to make a modest entrance into the world, a show of splendour which it might never realize.

Next to Vienna, my attention was mainly directed to Venice and to Rome.

The great families in Venice were almost universally accustomed at one time, besides a library, to have also a cabinet of manuscripts adjoining it. From the nature of things, these bore mainly on the affairs of the republic; they showed what part had been taken by the family in public proceedings; and they were preserved as memorials of the family, and for the instruction of its younger members. Some of these private collections are still extant, and more than one of them were opened to me. By far the greater number have gone to ruin in the

havoc of the year 1797, and since. That more of them have been preserved than one would suppose, is mainly to be ascribed to the librarians of St. Mark, who in the common wreck endeavoured to save as much as the resources of their institution would allow. That library in fact preserves a considerable store of manuscripts, which for the internal history of the city and state are of indispensable importance, and of some value as respects the state of things in Europe. Only we must not expect too much. It is apparently a new possession; casually accumulated from private collections; wanting in completeness, and without any precise plan. It is not to be compared with the treasures of the state's Archives, especially as these are now arranged. On the occasion of an inquiry into the conspiracy in the year 1618,[1] I have already given a sketch of the Venetian Archives, and will not go over the same ground. For my Romish object, it behoved me above all things to have laid before me the reports of ambassadors on their return from Rome. Yet it was most desirable, that for this too I might be able to make use of other collections; we can nowhere avoid meeting with breaks, and these Archives, after so many removals, could not fail to have suffered many losses. By going to different places, I collected eight and forty reports upon Rome, the oldest dating from 1500; nineteen for the sixteenth, and one and twenty for the seventeenth century, a series almost complete, and broken only here and there,—only eight, it is true, for the eighteenth century, but these are highly instructive and welcome. In the case of by far the greater number, I saw and made use of the originals. They comprised a vast amount of notices, highly worthy of being known, proceeding from direct evidence, and that had passed away with the lives of contemporaries; and it

[1] The Abbe Saint-Real has given an account of this conspiracy in French, which has been considered one of the most fascinating works in any language. Tr.

was these that first gave me the prospect of a continuous narrative, and encouraged me to attempt it.

For the means of verifying and extending these it is clear that I could look only to Rome.

But was it to be expected that a foreigner, holding another faith, would be permitted there to range at will through the public collections, for the purpose of exposing the secrets of the popedom? This were perhaps not so unseemly as it appears, for no research can bring to light any thing worse than what unfounded conjecture takes up and the world once holds for true. Yet I cannot boast that it was so. I was enabled to take note of the treasures in the Vatican, and to avail myself of a number of volumes for my design; nevertheless the freedom I could have desired, was nowise secured to me. Fortunately, however, I had access to other collections, and from these I could obtain information which, if not complete, was at least adequate and authentic. At those times when the aristocracy was in its bloom—that is, chiefly in the seventeenth century—through all Europe the families of distinction which conducted public affairs, kept in their possession likewise a part of the public documents. Nowhere was this so much the case as in Rome. Those Nephews who happened to be in power, and who at all times possessed the utmost plenitude of authority, regularly bequeathed to the princely houses which they founded, as a perpetual possession, a good share of the state papers collected by them during their administration. It formed part of the family provision. In the palaces they built, there were always some large rooms, commonly in the upper part of the building, destined for books and manuscripts, which would then be duly filled by each generation as had been done by its predecessors. The private collections are here in a certain respect public too, and the state archives are dispersed, without any one taking offence at it, in the houses of families of distinction who have administered public

affairs. Almost just as the overplus of governmental power fell into the hands of the papal families; as the Vatican gallery, although distinguished by its choice collection of master pieces, cannot compete in compass and historical importance with some private ones, such as the Borghese or Doria galleries, so does it happen that the manuscripts preserved in the Barberini, Chigi, Altieri, Albani, and Corsini palaces, are of inestimable value for the history of the Roman popes, civil and ecclesiastical. The Archives of State, an establishment of comparatively recent standing, is peculiarly important from its collection of documents relative to the middle ages: part of the history of that period must wait here for persons to investigate it; yet, so far as my knowledge goes, I must believe that it will throw little light on later centuries. It loses all its importance, if I have not been purposely deceived, before the splendid treasures contained in private collections. Each of these, as must be evident, embraces that epoch chiefly in which the pope of the family reigned; but as the Nephews, even after that, assumed an important position, as each possessor of a collection was studious to extend and complete it when once begun, and found sufficient opportunities of doing so in Rome, where a literary commerce in manuscripts had been formed, there is none which does not gratify us with elucidations of other periods, both later and earlier. The richest of them all, in consequence of some most productive inheritances in this as well as other articles, is the Barberiniana: the Corsiniana has from the first been compiled with the utmost circumspection and care. I was fortunate enough to have it in my power to avail myself, and that too in some instances with unlimited freedom, of all these collections, together with some others of minor importance. There was thus presented to me an unlooked-for prize of authentic and pertinent materials. The correspondences of the [1]Nunciaturas,

[1] That is, of the office of the Nuncios. Tr.

with the instructions that were given and the reports that were brought back; copious biographies of several popes, written with the less restraint from their not having been destined for the public; biographies of distinguished cardinals; official and private journals; investigations into particular transactions and circumstances; opinions and recommendations; reports on the administration of the provinces, their commerce and industry; statistical tables; accounts of receipts and disbursements: by far the greater part of which were as yet unknown, and composed by persons possessing a living knowledge of their subjects, and of a credibility which, it is true, by no means excludes examination and sifting criticism, but only as one would question the communications of well-informed contemporaries. The oldest of these writings that I have been able to find, relates to the conspiracy of the Porcari against Nicolas V.;[1] only a few others fell in my way for the fifteenth century; with the commencement of the sixteenth they became, at every step, more and more comprehensive and numerous; they follow the whole course of the seventeenth, in which so little is known on good evidence about Rome, with pieces of information which are on that account doubly desirable. From the commencement of the eighteenth, on the other hand, they fall off both in number and inherent value. By that time, however, both state and court had lost not a little of their influence and importance. At the end of the Work I shall examine minutely these Roman MSS., as I have already done the Venetian, and supplement whatever I may discover in them worthy of notice that I have not been able to touch upon in the course of the narrative.

Then for these there comes an indispensable limitation, on account of the already unusual mass of materials, presented in so many unprinted and printed documents.

[1] About the middle of the fifteenth century. Tr.

An Italian or a Roman, a Roman Catholic, would handle the subject very differently. In consequence of the impression produced on him by personal veneration, or possibly, as matters now stand, by personal hatred, he would give his work a peculiar, and, I doubt not, a more brilliant colouring: he would on many points too, be more copious, more ecclesiastical, more local. In this, a Protestant and a North German can never vie with him. He, again, keeps himself much more indifferent towards the papal government: he must at once avoid a warmth of representation, such as arises from prepossessions or prejudices, and would produce a certain impression in Europe. For any such ecclesiastical or canonical detail, from first to last we have no true sympathy. On the other hand, in the position we occupy, there are presented other, and if I mistake not, purer historical points of view.[1] For what remains at the present day to give importance to the history of the papal power? It is no longer its peculiar position as regards us, for that exercises no further actual influence, nor produces apprehensions of any kind: the times in which we had any thing to fear, have passed away: we feel ourselves all too well secured. It can be nothing but its secular developments and influence. Yet the papal power has not been so unchangeable as people suppose. If we look beyond those fundamental principles which enter into the very essence of its being, and which it could not submit to lose without compromising its existence, it is in other respects always affected, even in its internal constitution, the same as any other, by those destinies which have befallen mankind in Europe. As the universe revolves, as one or other nation takes the ascendant, as ordinary life moves on, real metamorphoses

[1] Which it has now been found impossible to alter in consequence of occurrences which have taken place since the first publication of this book. Generally speaking, the author in reviewing this volume has found admission for but a few additions and alterations, not affecting essentials. (Note to the second edition.)

enter into the papal government, into its maxims, its struggles, its pretensions; and, above all, its influence has undergone the greatest changes. If a man cast his eye over the catalogue of so many names all sounding much alike, throughout that long series of ages from Pius I. in the second century, to Pius VII. and Pius VIII., our contemporaries in the nineteenth, he may be impressed with the idea of uninterrupted constancy. But here we must not allow ourselves to be blinded to the truth: in point of fact, the popes of different periods differ from each other not much otherwise than different dynasties in a kingdom. For us, who stand without, the contemplation of these changes is at once felt to be of the utmost interest. We behold in them a part of history in general—of the aggregate of the world's developments; not only in periods of unquestioned domination, but still more perhaps at the times when opposing forces mutually re-act on each other, such as those to be comprised in the present work, that is, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where we see the popedom, though endangered and shaken, yet maintain and fortify itself, nay even spread out afresh, press forward for a long period, but at last again receive a check, and suffer a repeated decline; times in which the spirit of the Western nations occupied itself pre-eminently with ecclesiastical questions, and when that power which was deserted and attacked by some, and adhered to and defended with fresh zeal by others, necessarily assumed a high general importance. To seize these from this point of view, is demanded of us by our natural position, and this I will now attempt.

[1] This preface first appeared, we believe, about eighteen years ago, since which time much has occurred in the history of the world, and still more, perhaps, in the course of those silent and obscure changes in society which elude the notice, and are left unrecorded by chroniclers and historians, tending to make these concluding observations far from consistent with the real character and influence of the popedom. It were well, indeed, could the secular developments of that power be safely regarded as the only objects of legitimate curiosity in studying its present history. But that which is really interesting to us, and which makes many parts of Professor Ranke's

In conformity therewith, I begin by calling to mind the condition of the papal power at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and the course of events of which it was the result.

work no less instructive than interesting, is what may be called the omnigenous, omnipresent, and sempiternal activity of the popedom, as a spiritual body, operating on state policy, on public opinion, and on individual belief, for the accomplishment of spiritual and ecclesiastical purposes in the first instance, but with the ultimate prospect of moulding civil government and legislation into conformity with its principles. With all its anxiety to shun a notoriety which might be dangerous to it, and to work silently though surely, the popedom is obviously assuming a more or less formidable attitude in every country in Christendom. Tr.

THE ROMAN POPES,

THEIR CHURCH AND STATE, IN THE XVI. AND XVII. CENTURIES.

CHAPTER FIRST.

EPOCHS OF THE POPEDOM.—CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

On casting our eyes over the ancient world during the earlier ages of its history, we perceive it the abode of many independent nations. These occupied the countries all round the Mediterranean sea, and as far inwards as was then known. Separated in many ways, though they all originally bordered closely on each other, they formed so many absolutely independent states and individual jurisdictions. And this independence which they enjoyed was not political only; local religions had everywhere grown to maturity; the notions which men entertained of the Deity and of divine things had likewise become local; national deities of the most various attributes took possession of the world, and the laws observed by men, as believers in a certain creed, became inseparably combined with those under which they lived as members of political communities. Nay, we will venture to say, that this intimate union of the state with religion, this twofold freedom from a foreign yoke, which was only circumscribed so far by the slight obligations of descent from common ancestors, had the greatest influence in the fashioning of antiquity. Confined though men might be within narrow territorial limits, yet within these, full scope was allowed them for the free action of a youthful and untrammelled existence.

How did all this become changed with the advancing power of Rome! All those autonomies[1] wherewith the world was

[1] From αὐτόνομος, one who lives according to his own laws. Tr.

filled, we behold, one after another, stoop and disappear; how speedily were free nations swept from the face of the earth!

In other times, states have been convulsed on men ceasing to be influenced by religious belief, but here the subjugation of states was to involve the destruction of their religions. To Rome, as the necessary consequence of its superiority in point of political power, these all flocked; but what significance could they have any longer, once that they were detached from their native soil? The sacred honours paid to Isis had some meaning in Egypt; they deified the powers of nature in that part of the world; but in Rome, such religious worship became altogether inept. Thus in coming into mutual contact, the various mythologies necessarily conflicted with, and annihilated each other. There was no conceivable philosophy capable of reconciling their contradictions.

Even had this been possible, it would no longer have satisfied the world's wants.

However we may feel for the downfall of so many free states, it cannot be denied that new life sprang direct from their ruins. If freedom fell, so also did the restraints of narrow nationalities. The nations were overpowered; they were one and all attacked and despoiled; but by that very process they were brought together and fused into one mass. As the territories of the empire received the name of "the world,"[1] their inhabitants felt themselves to be one homogeneous race. It was then that mankind began to awake to the consciousness of their common nature.

At this precise point in the opening out of the world's history, Jesus Christ was born.

How unpretending and obscure was his life; his occupation, the healing of the sick and conversing about God, in figures and parables, to a few fishermen who did not always understand him; he had not even where to lay his head; nevertheless, even in this our secular point of view, we venture to say that never was there on earth any thing more blameless and more commanding, more sublime, more holy, than his walk and conversation, his life and his death. Every word that dropt from his lips, exhaled

[1] Erdkreis, in Latin orbis terrarum, circuit of earth's territories. Tr.

the breathings of divinity. They are the words, as Peter expresses himself, of eternal life. Nothing in the memory of mankind can be even remotely compared with them.

If the national systems of worship had ever an element of true religion in them, that element had become thoroughly obscured; they had ceased, we have said, any longer to have a meaning. In the Son of Man, who was also the Son of God, there appeared, in contradistinction to these, the eternal general relation of God to the world, of man to God.

Christ was born in a nation separated, in the most decided manner, from all others, by a ritual code peculiar to itself and rigidly severe, yet a nation which had done immense service[1] by tenaciously adhering to the monotheism which it had known from the beginning, and by never allowing itself to be torn from it. It considered that monotheism, indeed, to be a national worship only, but now it had quite another significancy. Christ explained the law by fulfilling it; the Son of man stood forth, according to his own expression, as Lord also of the Sabbath; he brought out the eternal meaning from the forms in which it had been embodied, and which were beyond the comprehension of man's narrow understanding. From the midst of a people hitherto separated from all others by insurmountable barriers of opinion and manners, there then arose, in all the force of truth, a faith which presented its invitations to all and embraced all. It was the common God of all men who was proclaimed—that God who, as Paul announced to the Athenians, hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. For this sublime doctrine, as we have seen, the fitting period had just commenced; there was a race of men ready to lay hold of it. "Like a sunbeam," says Eusebius, "it shot over the whole earth." We find it ere long reaching from the Euphrates to the Ebro, and over the entire empire to the Rhine and the Danube.[2]

Yet, harmless and blameless as it might be, it necessarily met with violent opposition from the existing religions, these

1 The original runs: "had the immense merit of tenaciously adhering, &c. I have rendered it as above because the Jews, so far from having any *merit* in what they did, owed their monotheism to special divine intervention, and had showed again and again the most perverse inclination to exchange it for idolatry. Tr.

2 Hist. Eccl. ii. 3.

having become closely connected with the existing usages and wants of life, as well as with all men's respect for antiquity; and having now undergone a change which made them harmonize with the constitution of the empire.

The political spirit of the ancient religions put itself forth once more in a new form. The sum of all those autonomies which once filled the world—their collective meanings, had to a certain extent become one individual whole; there was now, too, but one government, dependent apparently on itself alone, and religion owned this in the divine worship which it rendered to the emperor. To him were temples erected; offerings were presented to him on altars; people swore by his name, and held festivals in honour of him; his images secured the privilege of an asylum to those who fled to them. The only worship, probably, common to the whole empire was that paid to the emperor.[1] To this all other religions accommodated themselves, and in return it gave support to them all.

This worship of the emperor, and the doctrine taught by Christ, viewed in reference to the local religions, had a certain mutual resemblance, but at the same time they presented the greatest contrast imaginable.

The emperor reduced religion to the most secular tie—confined to the earth and earthly things: to him, says Celsus, let these be surrendered; whatever a man has, let it come from him. Christianity placed it in the fulness of the Spirit and in heavenly truth.

The emperor united politics and religion; Christianity studiously separated what was God's from what was Cæsar's.

The offering of sacrifices to the emperor implied the most abject servility. Just where, in the earlier constitution of Rome, there was full independence, that is, in the union of religion with the state, there was now the seal of subjection. When believers were forbidden by Christianity to sacrifice to the emperor, the prohibition involved an act of emancipation.

The worship of the emperor was limited, in fine, by the boundaries of the empire, the then supposed world; Chris-

[1] Eckhel Doctrina nummorum veterum. (Eckhel's Doctrine of Ancient Coins.) P. ii. vol. viii. p. 456; he quotes a passage in Tertullian (Apol. c. 28), from which it would appear that the worship paid to the emperor was for a time the most animated of them all.

tianity was destined to comprehend the entire globe — the whole human race. The new religion sought to awaken in the nations man's original and most ancient religious impressions—if such, it be true, preceded all idolatry—or at least convictions purely formed, and uninfluenced by any necessary relation to the state; and these it opposed to that political government of the world which, not content with things secular, would embrace also what was divine. Thus did mankind receive a spiritual element in again becoming independent, free, and personally invincible. It was as if the soil on which we tread, had acquired a fresh and new capacity for life, and had become impregnated with the seeds of new productions.

Here was the opposition of the earthly to the spiritual, of bondage to freedom, of gradual decay to a vigorous rejuvenescence.

This is not the place to describe the long struggle that followed between these two principles. All the elements of life in the Roman empire were drawn into the movement, were gradually seized and penetrated by Christianity, and carried along in that great career of the spirit. "The errors of idolatry," says Chrysostom, "went out of themselves."[1] Heathenism already appeared to him like a city that had been sacked and plundered, its ramparts thrown down, its halls, its theatres, and public buildings burned, its defenders put to the sword. A few grey-beards and a few children only were to be seen amid the wreck.

Soon these too disappeared; and an unexampled revolution commenced.

From the catacombs came forth the worship paid to the martyrs. On the spots where the gods of Olympus had been prayed to; from the same pillars which had borne up their temples, there were raised shrines consecrated to the memory of those who had scoffed at that worship, and had lost their lives for doing so. The religious worship which had had its beginning in deserts and in prisons, pervaded the world. People wondered at times that a secular building of the heathen, the basilika, was transformed at once into a Christian temple. There was this in it, too, that was very remarkable. The Apsis of

[1] λογος εις τον μακαριον Βαβυλαν και κατα Ιουλιανου και προς Ἑλληνας. Chrysostomi Opp. ed. Paris. ii. 540.

the basilika included an Augusteum,[1] and the statues of those Cæsars who had divine honours accorded to them. Their places were taken, as we see in so many basilikas at the present day, by the images of Christ and the apostles; instead of those lords of the earth who had been regarded as very gods, there appeared the Son of man, the Son of God. The local deities withdrew and disappeared. In all the highways, on the steep summits of hills, in the narrow defiles of the valleys, on the roofs of houses, and in the mosaic of floors, there appeared the cross. The triumph was decisive and complete. As there was to be seen on the coins of Constantine the labarum with the monogram of Christ over the fallen angel, so did the worship and the name of Christ rise triumphant over vanquished heathenism.[2]

Considered in this light also, how immense the importance of the Roman empire. In the ages that beheld its rise, it broke down the independence of nations, and subjected them to itself; it annihilated that feeling of independence which they possessed while disjoined; on the other hand, in the later periods of its history, it beheld the true religion burst forth in its bosom; the purest expression of a common consciousness spreading far beyond its boundaries; the consciousness of a common relation to the one true God. May we venture to say, that by this development the empire made its own existence no longer necessary? The human race now at last knew itself; it had found the centre of unity in religion. To this religion, moreover, the Roman empire now gave its external form.

The office of priest among the heathen was assigned to certain citizens as civil offices were; among the Jews one tribe was charged with the administration of spiritual things, but it was a distinctive feature in Christianity, that an order peculiar to itself, composed of members who made it their free choice, who were consecrated by imposition of hands, and removed from all secular cares and employments, had to devote itself to "spi-

[1] I take this notice from E. Q. Visconti on the Pius-Clementine Museum, vii. p. 100. (Ed. 1807.)

[2] It had been well that Christian worship had rather been continued in such places as the catacombs, than that by external association with heathen worship it should have imbibed the spirit of idolatry, and facilitated the entrance into the church of multitudes who, but for the gratification of idolatrous propensities, would never have entered it. The triumph described was hurtful in its external signals too, and little calculated to promote Christian humility Tr.

ritual and divine affairs." The Church, at first, put forth its movements in republican forms, but these disappeared more and more as the new belief gained ground. The clergy gradually took up quite a distinct position from the people.

This, I conceive, did not take place without a certain inherent necessity.[1] In the advance of Christianity, there was involved a purification of religion from political elements; and with this it followed, that a separate spiritual order assumed a distinct position over against the state, together with a constitution peculiar to itself. In this separation of the church from the state, consists perhaps the greatest and most decided real peculiarity of Christian times. Spiritual and secular power may come into close mutual contact, and maintain the most intimate relationship; they can perfectly coincide at most exceptionally, and for a short period. Their mutual relations and reciprocal bearings since then, form one of the most important points in all history.

But at the same time, it behoved this order to modify its constitution after the model of the empire; corresponding to the gradation of ranks and orders in the civil government, there arose the hierarchy of bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs. After a short lapse of time, the Roman bishops assumed the first rank. Truly it is an idle pretence to say, that these had conceded to them in the first centuries, or, indeed, at any time, a general primacy, acknowledged at once by the East and the West; but they certainly, at a very early period, acquired a respect, by means of which they attained to a pre-eminence over all other church authorities. Many things concurred to this

[1] Yes, had the church been a secular institution. It might then be supposed legitimately and effectually to fortify itself against such a power as the Roman empire, by adopting what might be called the strong parts of the imperial constitution. But its only legitimate strength was its spiritual purity, and that alone could be the effectual defence of Christians as "a spiritual house, an holy priesthood;" as "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people." And never was a departure from the simplicity of Scripture more fearfully punished than in this early abandonment of the principles of Christian brotherhood, for a hierarchy embodying those of the Roman empire. Thus was antichrist in its most terrible form introduced; and the substitution of a pope for the emperor in Rome, while apparently a signal triumph of Christianity, led to persecution of the true Church of God far more terrible than those of the heathen emperors. But the early Christians were encompassed with temptations, and had none of those lessons of historical experience which we enjoy. Strange that, instead of being warned by their errors, so many at the present day should look to them, not to the Scriptures, as guides. Tr.

result. When in every quarter, the greater importance of a provincial capital was securing a certain preponderance to its bishop, how much more must this have been the case, with respect to the ancient capital of the whole empire, from which it took its name.[1] Rome was one of the chief apostolic sees; there had the greatest number of martyrs shed their blood; during the persecutions, the bishops of Rome had showed themselves peculiarly resolute; and often did they succeed each other in office not so much as in martyrdom and death. But in addition to this, we may remark, that the imperial councils deemed it proper to favour the rise of a great patriarchal government. In a law which proved decisive for the supremacy of Christianity, Theodosius the Great commands all nations, subject to his gracious sway, to abide in the faith which St. Peter had preached to the Romans.[2] Valentinian III. interdicted the bishops in Gaul, and the other provinces, from deviating from the hitherto received usages, without the approbation of that venerable man, the pope of the holy city. From that time forth, the power of the bishops of Rome advanced under the protection of the emperor himself. Yet in this political connection, there was involved at the same time the circumscription of that power. When there was only one emperor, the common primate could at once establish himself in his place, but in this he was thwarted by a division of the empire. The Eastern emperors, who with so much jealousy defended their ecclesiastical rights, could not possibly favour any extension into their territories of the authorities of the western patriarchs. Here, as in other respects, the constitution of the church corresponded with that of the empire.

THE POPEDOM IN UNION WITH THE FRANKISH EMPIRE.

HARDLY was this great revolution complete, the Christian religion planted, and the church founded, when new events oc-

1 Cassauboni Exercitationes ad annales ecclesiasticos Baronii, p. 260.

2 Codex Theod. XVI. 1, 2. Cunctos populos quos clementiæ nostræ regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari quam divinum Petrum Apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat.—[We desire that all the nations under the mild rule of our clemency, shall abide in such a religion

curred. The Roman empire, after having so long triumphed and conquered, now saw itself in turn attacked, invaded and vanquished.

In the general subversion that ensued, Christianity itself once more received a shock. The Romans, in their utmost need, once more bethought themselves of the Etruscan mysteries; the Athenians looked for deliverance from Achilles and Minerva; the Carthaginians addressed their prayers to the Genius Cœlestis —yet these were but passing emotions; even during the subversion of the Western provinces of the empire, the compact edifice of the Church reared its head.

Yet even the Church, for it could not be otherwise, experienced manifold hardships, and underwent an entire change of condition. A heathen nation took possession of the greater part of Britain; Arian kings conquered most of the remainder of the empire in the West; in Italy the Lombards, long Arians, and as neighbours always dangerous and hostile, established for themselves a powerful dominion before the very gates of Rome.

And now, while the bishops of Rome, pressed as they were on all sides, struggled—and truly with all the prudence and hardihood that have distinguished them since—to preserve the mastery in their old patriarchal see at least, a still worse calamity supervened. The Arabs, not only conquerors like the Germans, but impelled even to fanaticism by a positive contempt for Christianity, originating in opposition of faith, poured themselves over the West as well as the East; possessed themselves of Africa in a course of repeated invasions, and in one single incursion conquered Spain. Musa boasted that he would push his way through the defiles of the Pyrenees and over the Alps into Italy, and cause the name of Mahomet to be proclaimed in the very Vatican.

The state of Christendom in the Western Roman Empire, now became so much the more critical, inasmuch as at this very time the commotions caused by the Iconoclast controversy were running into acts of the deadliest hostility. The emperor at Constantinople embraced a different party from that of the pope at Rome, and not only so, but more than once sought his life.

as that insinuated* by the divine apostle Peter to this day, declares to have been delivered by him to the Romans.] Planck also mentions the edict of Valentinian III.: Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung, I. 642.

* There is a peculiar significancy in this expression. Reference to the apostle's own epistles is cunningly avoided, while his authority is pretended for something else. Tr.

The Lombards soon perceived what advantages they might derive from this dissension. Their king Aistulph possessed himself of provinces which had always, until then, acknowledged the emperor's authority: he again advanced towards Rome, and with dreadful threats demanded that the city should pay him tribute, and surrender itself into his hands.[1]

No help was to be found in the Roman world; none to aid in repelling the Lombards, and still less in opposing the Arabs, who, meanwhile, began to lord it over the Mediterranean, and to threaten Christendom with a war, in which it would have to struggle for its very existence.

It was well, however, that it was now no longer confined within the limits of the Roman world. Long ere this had the Christian faith, in accordance with its original destiny, penetrated beyond these limits. In the West it had first invaded the German tribes; nay, a Christian power had already risen in the midst of these, to which the pope needed but to stretch out his hand, in order to find willing allies, and the most energetic assistance against all enemies.

Of all the German tribes, the Franks alone, since their first elevation to a distinct place among the provinces of the Roman empire, had become Roman catholic.[2] This profession had greatly promoted their interests. In the Roman catholic subjects of their Arian enemies, the Burgundians and Western Goths, the Franks naturally found allies. We read much of the prodigies which happened to Clovis; how St. Martin, by means of a hind, pointed out to him the ford over the Vienne; how St. Hilary went before him in a pillar of fire; and we can hardly be mistaken if we suppose that these legends shadow forth the assistance rendered by the natives to a co-religionist whom, as Gregory of Tours has said, they "with eager desire" wished to see victorious.

[1] Anastasius Bibliothecarius: Vitæ Pontificum. Vita Stephani III., ed. Paris. p. 83. Fremens ut leo pestiferas minas Romanis dirigere non desinebat, asserens omnes uno gladio jugulari, nisi suæ sese subderent ditioni.—[Gnashing his teeth like a lion, he ceased not to direct his deadly threats to the Romans, insisting that unless they surrendered themselves to him he would slay them all with one sword.]

[2] I have translated *katholisch*, not catholic, but Roman catholic, to obviate false impressions, and here in particular, the idea that all the churches which did not own the supremacy, and adopt the views of that of Rome, were Arians. Properly speaking, the papal church is thoroughly anticatholic. Tr.

But this Roman catholic disposition, established from the first by such magnificent successes, at last received, from another quarter, fresh renovation and strength, for which it was indebted to a very peculiar influence.

Pope Gregory the Great, happening once to see, in the slave-market at Rome, some Anglo-Saxons who engaged his attention, resolved to take means for having the gospel preached to the nation to which they belonged.[1] Never could a pope have taken a resolution involving more important consequences. Together with the doctrines that were preached, reverence for Rome, and for the holy see, became naturalized in Anglo-Saxon Britain, to a degree never equalled since at any time or any where. The Anglo-Saxons began to go on pilgrimages to Rome; thither they sent their youths; king Offa introduced the tax called Peter's pence, for the education of the clergy and the relief of pilgrims; people of rank travelled to Rome, that, by dying there, they might receive a heartier welcome from the saints in heaven. It seemed as if that nation had transferred to Rome and the Christian saints the old German superstition, that the gods are nearer some countries than others.

This was followed by a much more important result. The Anglo-Saxons transplanted these sentiments into the continent and the territories of the Franks. The apostle of the Germans was an Anglo-Saxon. Boniface, overflowing with the reverence felt by his countrymen for St. Peter and his successors, before he would take a single step, engaged faithfully to observe all the regulations of the holy see, and this engagement he strictly fulfilled. On the German church planted by him, he imposed an unwonted obedience. The bishops had to lay themselves under an express engagement to continue subject till death to the Romish church, to St. Peter and his successors. Nor did the Germans only come under this obligation. The Gallican bishops had hitherto maintained a certain independence of Rome; but Boniface, who happened at times to preside in their synods,

[1] This had already commenced under missionaries from the Scotch and other British churches. These, according to the testimony of Bede, "observed all things contained in the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical scriptures;" and thus were already separated by an obvious difference of principle from a church which inculcated other doctrines, under the pretence that the apostle Peter insinuated that he had originally delivered them to it. Tr.

availed himself of the opportunities thus afforded him, for regulating that western portion of the Frankish church according to those views. Thenceforward the Gallican bishops received the pallium from Rome, and thus did Anglo-Saxon subserviency finally pervade the whole empire of the Franks.

And this empire had already become the grand centre of the whole Germanic world in the West. It proved no disadvantage to it, that the ancient royal house, the Merovingians, utterly ruined itself by the most horrible deeds of blood. In its place another rose to the supreme authority; all of them persons of great energy, strong wills, and lofty vigour. When other kingdoms were involved in one common ruin, and the world threatened to fall under the sword of the Moslem, it was this race —the house of Pippin of Heristall—called afterwards the Carlovingian, that first threw itself into the breach, and presented the most decisive resistance.

Even that race likewise promoted the religious development which was then in progress. We find it on excellent terms with Rome; Boniface, in fact, carried on his operations under the special protection of Charles Martel, and of Pippin the little.[1]

Let us now contemplate the secular position of the papal power. On the one hand we see the Eastern Roman empire, tottering, weak, and incapable of maintaining the interests of Christianity against Islamism, unable even to defend its own territories in Italy against the Lombards, and with these, its claims to a predominant influence even in spiritual things. On the other hand, we behold the Germanic nations, full of life and vigour, triumphant over Islamism; devoted to the authority which they still needed, with the full flow of fresh and youthful animation; replete, in fine, with an untrammelled and spontaneous devotion.

Gregory II. soon perceived the advantages he had obtained. All men in the West, he writes with self-satisfaction to that

[1] Bonifacii Epistolæ; ep. 12, ad Danielem episc. Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum regere nec presbyteros vel diaconos, monachos vel ancillas dei defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo.—Boniface's Epistles; 21th Ep. to bishop Daniel.—[Without the patronage of the king of the Franks I can neither govern the people nor defend the presbyters or the deacons, monks, or handmaidens of God, nor without his mandate and the dread he inspires, could I prohibit the very rites of the pagans and the sacrileges of idols in Germany.] (The Daniel to whom Boniface writes was bishop of Winchester.) Tr.

iconoclast[1] emperor, Leo the Isaurier, have their eyes fixed upon our humility; they look upon us as a god upon the earth. But his successors felt more and more the necessity of separation from a power which only imposed duties upon them, without affording them any protection in return; they could not be bound by the succession of Roman names and governments; instead of that, they turned their regards to the only quarters that seemed likely to afford them help; they allied themselves with the great chiefs of the West, with the Frankish princes, an alliance which becoming closer and closer every year, greatly benefited both parties, and at length became of the most comprehensive historical importance.

As the younger Pippin, not content with the reality of regal power, was fain, also, to possess the name of king, he required, as he deeply felt, some higher sanction, and this the pope secured to him. Thereupon the new king undertook, in his turn, to defend the pope, "the holy church and God's commonwealth," against the Lombards. But merely to defend, being not enough for his zeal, he very soon compelled the Lombards to surrender the territory, called the exarchate, which they had wrested from the Eastern Roman empire in Italy. Long had justice called for its being restored to the emperor, to whom it properly belonged, and this was proposed to Pippin. But he refused the offer, saying, with an oath, that "he had engaged in hostilities, not from favour to any man, but from reverence for St. Peter, and for the pardon of his sins."[2] On the altar of St. Peter's he laid down the keys of the cities he had conquered, and in that act we behold the foundation of the whole secular power of the popes.

Such was the eagerness with which this alliance was carried out on both sides. Charlemagne at length rid the pope of the long formidable and oppressive neighbourhood of the Lombard princes. He himself showed the deepest devotedness; he came to Rome, and kissing the steps of St. Peter's as he went, he entered the anti-chamber where the pope was waiting for him;

[1] The iconoclasts or image-breakers, were of course violently opposed by the pope. Tr.

[2] Anastasius: affirmans etiam sub juramento, quod per nullius hominis favorem sese certamini sæpius dedisset, nisi pro amore Petri et venia delictorum.—[Anastasius: affirming even with an oath, that he had repeatedly engaged in contests by way of favour to no man, unless for the love of Peter, and the pardon of sins.]

he then ratified to him the donations made by Pippin. The pope, on the other hand, became his steady friend; the relations of the spiritual supremacy with the Italian bishops, made it very easy for Charles to become lord of the Lombards, and to bring their empire into his own hands.

And this course of things necessarily led to still greater results.

In his own city, the scene of violent animosities between opposite factions, the pope could no longer keep his ground without foreign aid. Once more did Charles repair to Rome to assure him of this. The old prince was now enjoying a full harvest of renown and victory. In a series of long wars, he had subdued one after another all his neighbours; he had combined into one empire nearly all the Romish-German nations professing Christianity; he had led them on to victory against their common enemies; it was remarked that he held all the seats of the Western emperors in Italy, Gaul, and Germany,[1] and all their power. True, these countries had now become quite another world; but why should they exclude that dignity? So had Pippin obtained the royal diadem; because, when a man had the power of a king, the honour not less properly belonged to him, and now, too, the pope acted with decision. Penetrated with gratitude, and much needing, as he was well aware, some permanent protection, he placed the crown of the Western empire on Charles's head, on Christmas day, in the year 800.

Such was the evolution of that course of events which commenced with the first invasions of the Roman empire by the Germans.

The place of the Western Roman emperors was now occupied by a Frankish prince, in the full exercise of all its preroga-

[1] Thus I understand the Annales Laureshamenses: ad annum 801. Visum est et ipsi apostolico Leoni, - - ut ipsum Carolum regem Francorum imperatorem nominare debuissent, qui ipsam Romam tenebat, ubi semper Cæsares sedere soliti erant, et reliquas sedes quas ipse per Italiam, seu Galliam, nec non et Germaniam tenebat (he means to say; ipsi tenebant): quia deus omnipotens has omnes sedes in potestatem ejus concessit, ideo justum eis esse videbatur, ut ipse cum dei adjutorio - - ipsum nomen haberet.—The Laureshamensian Annals for the year 801.—[It seemed meet to the Apostolic Leo himself, - - that they ought to name Charles himself king of the Franks, emperor, seeing he held that Rome, where the Cæsars used always to reside, and the other seats which he held (he means to say, they held) throughout Italy or Gaul, as also in Germany; for God Almighty has put all these into his power; therefore, it seemed to them to be right, that he with God's assistance, - - should have also the name.

tives. In the territories that had been consigned to St. Peter, we find Charlemagne execute undoubted acts of supreme magistracy. Not less does his grandson, Lotharius, place his own judge within the same, and annul confiscations that had been pronounced by the pope. The pope, on the other hand, as supreme head of the hierarchy in the Roman West, becomes a member of the Frankish empire. He disjoins himself from the East, and gradually ceases to find any further acknowledgment there. The Greek emperor had long since deprived him of his patriarchal see in the East.[1] To compensate for this, the Western churches—not excepting those of the Lombards, into which the institutes of the Frankish churches had been introduced—yielded him an obedience such as he had never found before. As he patronised at Rome the schools of the Frisians, Saxons and Franks, through whom even that city began to be germanised, so he entered into that alliance of German and Roman elements, which has since determined the general character of the West. At the most critical moment, his authority had rooted itself in a fresh soil; as it seemed destined to subversion, it established itself for a long period. The hierarchy created in the Roman empire, diffused itself among the Germanic nations; there it found immense scope for an ever-waxing efficiency, in the progressive advance of which it first fully developed the germ of its essential character.

RELATION TO THE GERMAN EMPERORS.—GRADUAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE HIERARCHY.

We pass over new centuries in order to place in the clearer light the development to which they led.

The Frankish empire is now fallen to pieces; the German has raised itself in the most energetic manner.

[1] Nicolas I. laments the Roman see's loss of the patriarchal power, "per Epirum veterem, Epirumque novam, atque Illyricum, Macedoniam, Thessaliam, Achaiam, Daciam ripensem, Daciamque Mediterraneam, Mœsiam, Dardaniam, Prævalim;" [throughout old and new Epirus, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Dacia on the Danube, and Dacia on the Mediterranean Sea, Mœsia, Dardania and Prævalis,] and the loss of its territories in Calabria and Sicily. Pagi (Critica in Annales Baronii III. p. 216) compares this document with another of Adrian I. to Charlemagne, from which it appears that these losses were caused by the Iconoclast controversy.

Never has the German name enjoyed more consideration in Europe, than in the tenth and eleventh centuries, under the Saxon and first Salic Emperors. From the Eastern frontier, where the king of Poland had to submit to personal defeat and to a partition of his country, and where the duke of Bohemia was condemned to imprisonment, we see Conrad II. burst westward to assert his claim to Burgundy against the pretensions of the magnates of France. These he defeats on the plains of Champagne; his Italian vassals cross mount St. Bernard to assist him; he causes himself to be crowned at Geneva, and holds his diet at Solothurn. Immediately thereafter we meet with him in Lower Italy. "On the frontiers of his empire," says his historian Wippo, "at Capua and Benevento, he composed dissensions with his word." No less powerful a prince was Henry III. Now we find him on the banks of the Scheldt and the Lys, victorious over the nobles of Flanders; now in Hungary, which for a time at least he compelled to do him homage, beyond the Raab,[1] and nothing but the elements seemed to oppose his progress. The king of Denmark came to meet him at Merseburg; he received homage from the count of Tours, one of the most powerful of the French nobility; Spanish historians inform us that he demanded of Ferdinand I. in Castile, victorious and powerful as he was, to be acknowledged as liege lord of all Christian kings.

Now, if we inquire what was the essential foundation of a power, so widely extended, and that claimed an European supremacy, we shall find that a very important ecclesiastical element was involved in it. The Germans too conquered on becoming converters.[2] Their frontiers[3] advanced with the extension of the church, beyond the Elbe to the Oder in one direction, and to the Danube in another; monks and priests prepared the way for German influence penetrating into Bohemia and Hungary. Great power accordingly was everywhere granted to the spiritual authorities.[4] In Germany, bishops and abbots

[1] A tributary of the Danube betwixt Presburg and Comorn. Tr.

[2] There seems to be an allusion here to the words over the cross that appeared to Constantine. Tr.

[3] In the original *marken*—whence Steyermark, the mark Brandenburg, &c.

[4] It has been too common at all times for a corrupt clergy to aggrandize themselves by thus prostituting their influence, and too often when a church has refused to become thus subservient, it has been robbed of its legitimate rights. Tr.

of the empire held not only within their possessions, but even beyond these, baronial, nay sometimes even ducal rights; and ecclesiastical estates were no longer designated as lying within earldoms; but earldoms as lying within bishoprics. In Upper Italy almost all the towns came into the hands of the viscounts of their bishops. We should be mistaken did we suppose that any proper independence was thus conceded to the spiritual authorities. As the patronage of ecclesiastical benefices belonged to kings—the chapters used to return the ring and pastoral staff of a deceased incumbent to the court whence they were to be given out anew—it was even an advantage for princes to invest the man of their choice, and on whose subserviency they could reckon, with secular functions. In defiance of a refractory nobility, Henry III. placed a subservient plebeian on the Ambrosian see at Milan, and to this measure he was mainly indebted for the submission which he afterwards found in Upper Italy. The two facts throw light on each other, that of all these emperors, Henry II. showed the greatest liberality towards the church, and at the same time most keenly asserted the right of appointing to bishoprics.[1] Care was likewise taken that the gift brought no loss to the civil power. Ecclesiastical property was exempted neither from civil burdens nor even from feudal services; often do we find bishops take the field at the head of their troops. What an advantage was it, on the other hand, to have the power of appointing bishops who, like the archbishop of Bremen, exercised a supreme spiritual authority in the Scandinavian kingdoms, and over many Wendish tribes!

Now that the spiritual element had become of such exceeding importance in the institutions of the German empire, it is self-evident how much depended on the relation in which the emperor stood to the chief of the whole spirituality,[2] the pope in Rome.

The popedom formed the same intimate alliance with the German emperors that it had maintained with the Roman

1 See instances of this in Plank, Geschichte der christl. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung, III. 407.

2 The reader must carefully distinguish between scriptural terms, when employed in a manner unauthorized by Scripture, and their scriptural uses. Tr.

emperors, and with the successors of Charlemagne. There was no question as to its political subordination. It is true that ere the imperial dignity was decidedly appropriated by the Germans, and when it was in weak and vacillating hands, the popes exercised acts of superior authority over it. But no sooner did the powerful princes of Germany forcibly arrogate to themselves that high office, than they became, although not without remonstrance, yet in point of fact, and as fully as the Carlovingians ever were, the lords superior of the popedom. Otto the Great protected, with a vigorous arm, the pope whom he had appointed;[1] his sons followed his example; the re-appearance of the Roman factions, and their assuming that dignity according to their family interests, and then giving it away again, their purchasing it and alienating it again, made the necessity for some higher intervention only the more evident. It is well known how authoritatively Henry III. thus stepped in as arbiter. His synod at Sutri deposed the popes that had been thrust into office, and after having first put St. Peter's ring on his finger, and received the imperial crown, he designated the person who, according to his judgment, should fill the papal chair. Four German popes, all nominated by him, followed in succession; and on vacancies occurring in the highest ecclesiastical dignity, the Roman deputies appeared at the imperial court, just like ambassadors from other bishoprics, in order to have a successor named to them.

In this state of things, it was natural for the emperor himself to desire that the popedom should command considerable respect. Henry III. promoted the reformations undertaken by the popes whom he had appointed; their aggrandizement gave him no umbrage. Leo IX.'s holding a synod at Rheims, in defiance of the will of the king of France, his appointing and deposing French bishops, and his solemn declaration that the pope was sole primate of the universal church, might well seem perfectly proper to the emperor, so long as he had but the arrangements of the popedom in his own power. It was quite consistent with

[1] In Goldast, Constitutt. Imperiales, I. p. 221, we find an instrument (with the scholia of Dietrich of Reims) by which Charlemagne's prerogative to name his own successor and the future Roman popes, is transferred to Otto and the German emperors.

his arrogating the highest respect in Europe. In such a condition of things, what the emperor was through the archbishop of Bremen to the north, he came to be, by means of the pope, to the other powers of Christendom.

But there was much peril too involved in this. The spiritual order became a very different institution in the German and germanized kingdoms, from what it had been in the Roman. There had been transferred to it a large proportion of political authority; it had princely power. We perceive that he was still dependent on the emperor, on the supreme civil power, but what kind of independence was this, if that authority should again pass into weak hands, and if the supreme head of the spirituality, clothed in the three-fold might derived from the dignity of an office which commanded universal reverence, from the obedience of his own subjects, and from his influence on other nations, should then seize on the favourable opportunity and set himself in opposition to the monarchial government?

In the very nature of the case there was involved more than a mere occasion for doing so. The spirituality had inherent in itself a principle peculiar in its kind, and opposed to so vast a secular influence, which it would bring forward as soon as strong enough to do so. Herein too, it seems to me, there was involved a contradiction, that the pope should exercise a supreme spiritual authority far and near, and on all sides, and at the same time should be subject to the emperor. It might have been somewhat otherwise, had Henry III. actually succeeded in raising himself to the supremacy of collective Christendom. But as he failed in that, so might the pope upon some complication of political relations, owing to the subordinate position he held to the emperor, see himself prevented in fact from acting with full freedom as the common father of the faithful, which his office required.

In these circumstances, Gregory VII. ascended the papal throne. Gregory had a bold, prejudiced, ambitious spirit; having the consistency with itself, it may be said, that distinguishes a scholastic system; not to be turned aside from following out logical consequences, and therewithal possessed of sufficient tact, plausibly to elude true and well-founded objections. He saw whither matters were tending. In all the petty transactions of

daily business, he perceived the most important historical possibilities; he resolved to emancipate the papal government from the imperial. Intent on this object, without hesitation, and without a moment's delay, he seized the decisive means for attaining it. The decree which he caused to be passed by one of his church councils, that no spiritual benefice durst for the future be bestowed by a civilian, must have struck at the constitution of the empire in its very essence. That rested, wherever they came into contact, on the union of spiritual and secular institutions: the connecting bond was the investiture, so that the wresting of that ancient prerogative from the emperor, was tantamount to a revolution.

It is manifest that Gregory would never have thought of such a thing, far less have attempted it, but for the advantages presented by the distracted state of the German empire during the minority of Henry IV., and by the revolt from that monarch of the princes and noble houses of Germany. He found himself the natural ally of the greater vassals; for they too suffered from the preponderance of the imperial government, and they too longed to shake it off. In certain respects, also, the pope himself was one of the magnates of the empire. All these points accorded well together, that the pope should declare the imperial crown of Germany elective, that consequently there should be an immense augmentation of the princely power, and that the princes should offer so little opposition when the pope rid himself of imperial control. Even in the controversy respecting investitures, their interests went hand in hand. The pope was far from wishing, as yet, to arrogate to himself the direct nomination of the bishops; he left that to the chapters, and over these the higher German nobility exercised the greatest influence. In a word, the pope had the aristocratical interests on his side.

But even with these allies, how lengthened and bloody were the contests which it cost the popes to accomplish their design. From Denmark to Apulia, says the song composed in praise of St. Anno, from Carlingen to near Hungary, the empire turned its weapons against its own bowels. The mutual antagonism of the spiritual and the secular principle, which had previously gone hand in hand, introduced a deadly schism into Christen-

dom. Often had the popes even to leave their metropolis and see antipopes ascend the apostolic chair!

But they succeeded at last. After long centuries of subordination, after other centuries of an often doubtful contest, the independence of the Romish see, and of its principle, was finally achieved. In fact, the popes then held the most magnificent position. The clergy were completely in their hands. It is remarkable, that the most resolute popes of that period, like Gregory the VII. himself, were Benedictines. By introducing the celibacy of the clergy, they converted that entire body into a kind of monkish order. The general bishopric which they arrogated, had a certain resemblance to the government exercised by an abbot of Cluny, who was the only abbot in his order, and in like manner these popes were fain to become sole bishops of the collective church. They scrupled not to interfere in the internal administration of all the dioceses;[1] they even compared their legates with the old Roman proconsuls! Now, while this closely-compacted and extensively-diffused order, so powerful in consequence of its possessions, and exercising so lordly a control over all the relations of life, was fashioning itself into obedience to one sole supreme head, the civil governments that stood over against it, fell into decay. As early as the commencement of the twelfth century, provost Gerohus ventured to say, "It will yet come to this, that the golden pillars of the kingdom will be completely crushed, and every great monarchy will be divided into tetrarchies; then first will the church stand forth free and unoppressed, under the safeguard of the great crowned priest."[2] It wanted little of this being actually realized. For, in fact, which, in the thirteenth century, was the more powerful in England, Henry III. or the four and twenty to whom the government was long consigned? And in Castile, was it the king or the altoshomes? The power of an emperor seemed to be almost superfluous after Frederick had secured

[1] One of the chief points, respecting which, however, I will quote a passage from a letter of Henry IV. to Gregory, (Mansi Concil. n. collectio XX. 471): Rectores sanctæ ecclesiæ, videl. archiepiscopos, episcopos, presbyteros, sicut servos, pedibus tuis calcasti.—[Thou hast trodden under thy feet the rulers of the holy Church, to wit, archbishops, bishops, and presbyters, as if they were slaves.] We see that in this the pope had public opinion on his side. In quorum conculcatione tibi favorem ab ore vulgi comparasti.—[In trampling upon whom thou hast obtained for thyself favour in the mouths of the people.]

[2] Schröckh quotes this passage: Kirchengeschichte, Th. xxvii. p. 117.

the actual attributes of territorial sovereignty to the princes. Italy as well as Germany was full of independent states, while a power capable of combining and uniting them resided almost exclusively in the pope; and, accordingly, the independence of the spiritual principle soon passed into a new kind of sovereignty. The peculiar character, religious and secular, which life had assumed, and the settled course of things, must of themselves have invested him with such a sovereignty. When countries, so long lost, like Spain, were at last rescued from Mahommedanism; when provinces which had never been conquered, like Prussia, were rescued from heathenism, and settled with Christian tribes; when the very metropolis of the Greek faith subjected itself to the Latin ritual, and hundreds of thousands were ever going forth for the purpose of fixing the banner of the cross on the holy sepulchre, must not the pontiff who shared in all these enterprises, and who received the homage of the vanquished, have enjoyed immense respect? Under his guidance, and in his name, the Western nations diffused themselves, as if one people, in immense colonies, and sought to occupy the world. We cannot wonder, then, if he exercised at such a time, even in internal affairs, an all-powerful authority; if a king of England received his kingdom from him as a fief, and a king of Aragon transferred his to the apostle Peter, and if Naples were brought into the possession of a foreign family, really through the instrumentality of the pope. Amazing physiognomy of those times, which no one has ever delineated in all their fulness and truth! They present the most extraordinary medley of internal dissension, and of splendid external success, of independent government, and of the subjection of the spiritual and the secular. How did even piety itself assume the most contradictory character; retiring at times to the rough mountain rock or into the lonely glen, there in harmless devotion to devote a whole lifetime to the contemplation of God: in waiting for death it renounced betimes every enjoyment presented by life; or it endeavoured, while tarrying among men, in all the warmth of youthful feelings, to body forth the mysteries which it obscurely perceived, and the ideas in which it lived, in clearer, sublimer, and more intensely significant forms; but in juxtaposition with this we find another piety invented by the inquisition, and which

exercised the terrible justice of the sword against all who held another creed. "No sex," says the commander of the expedition against the Albigenses, "no age, no rank, have we spared, but have slain all with the edge of the sword." Sometimes they appeared simultaneously. On coming within sight of Jerusalem, the crusaders would dismount from horseback, and bare their feet, in order that they might arrive at the holy walls as true pilgrims. In the hottest assaults they imagined that they experienced the assistance of the saints and angels. But no sooner had they fought their way over the ramparts than they immediately began the work of devastation and blood; on the very site of Solomon's temple they butchered many thousand Saracens; they burned the Jews in their synagogues; the very sacred thresholds to which they had come that they might worship upon them, they first drenched in blood. This inconsistency runs through the whole state of things at that time, and forms its essential character.

CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE XIV. AND XV. CENTURIES.

In certain positions we feel ourselves specially tempted, if we would confess it, to pry into the plans of the divine government —the principles which guide the education of the human [1]race.

Imperfect as may be the development which we have pointed out, yet was it necessary in order that Christianity might be fully naturalized in the West.[2] It was no small matter thoroughly

[1] It will be seen that the author, like many other historians and philosophers of the last and present century, is possessed with the idea, thought by others to be altogether visionary, that the human race is slowly advancing to perfection through a succession of events ordained by divine providence for this end, and forming in the aggregate what may be termed the education of this huge family, the individual members of which are perpetually dropping into the grave. In this the reader must carefully distinguish the author's philosophy, which is more than questionable, from his facts, which are the result of careful and conscientious research. Of the former we simply remark, that it naturally leads us to approve as providentially-ordained lessons in the education of mankind, what ought to be censured as the mere results of human depravity—for example, every corrupt and unscriptural condition of the church—and, next, that it tends to withdraw the reader's attention from God's dealings with his church amid the revolutions of empires and the vicissitudes of social life. Tr.

[2] Here, we apprehend, the optimism of the author, and his contemplation of the ways of providence rather in the light of the goodness of God alone, than of the mysterious appointments by which his justice, as well as mercy, is to be vindicated,

to infuse into the haughty spirits of the North — into those collective democracies in which ancient superstitions still held sway, ideas peculiar to Christianity. It behoved the spiritual element to take the lead in civil government for a time, in order to make Germany essentially and altogether its own; and thus too was there effected, at the same time, that close union of German and Romish elements which forms the basis of the character of Europe in later times. The modern world presents certain common principles which are ever to be regarded as the main foundations of the development of its character, as a whole, in church and state; in manners, life, and literature. To produce this result it behoved the western nations for once to constitute, as it were, one homogeneous political-ecclesiastical state.

But in the grand progression of things this was but a step. The change once effected, new necessities supervened.

Another epoch soon proclaimed itself in the national tongues almost everywhere rising into importance at the same period. The idiom of the church gradually gave place to them as they slowly, but steadily, forced their way into the manifold departments of intellectual activity. The common ties that bound nations together began to be dissolved, and there followed a separation in a higher sense than before. Up to this time, the ecclesiastical element had overpowered the nationalities; it had altered their character and position; but now that they again assumed each its own distinct place, they entered upon a new career.

It is nothing but an example of the general fact, that all human action and efforts, however remote from the ordinary tract, and from common observation, are subject to the resistless and constant order of providence.[1] The papal power had been promoted by the earlier movements in the history of the world: those that follow operate against it. On the nations, in the mass, ceasing any longer to require, as formerly, the impulsion of the ecclesiastical power, they very soon offered opposition to it. They now felt conscious that they could each stand alone.

has led him to attribute too much good to the corrupt system of Rome. Scripture and experience teach us that Christianity would have been naturalised in Europe far more effectually by simpler and more scriptural means. Tr.

[1] Gange der Dinge; *lit.* course of things. I have made it "order of providence," as otherwise the meaning seems to be both obscure and unsound. Tr.

It is worth the pains to recall the more important occurrences in which this fact reveals itself.

The French, as we know, were the first to present a decisive resistance to the encroachments of the popes. They showed great national unanimity in thus opposing the anathematizing bulls of Boniface VIII., on which occasion all the popular powers, in many hundred acts of adhesion, expressed their concurrence in the steps taken by Philip the Fair.

Next came the Germans. While the popes were once more assaulting the empire in the old violent manner, although it was far from now possessing its earlier importance, and while in this they opened a way for the admission of foreign influences,—the electoral princes met on the banks of the Rhine, near their rocky fortresses, on the field of Rense,[1] to deliberate about some general measure for asserting "the honour and dignity of the empire." Their object was to secure the independence of the empire against the encroachments of the popes, by a solemn resolution, which soon followed in due form, from all the authorities—emperor, princes, and electoral princes; in short, there was a general determination to oppose the fundamental principles of the papal public law.[2]

England was not slow to follow. No where had the popes had more influence, or interfered more arbitrarily with the appointments to benefices. When Edward III. refused at last to pay any longer the tribute to which former kings had pledged themselves, his parliament made common cause with him, and engaged to support him in his refusal. The king proceeded to take measures for preventing the other encroachments of papal power.

Thus we see one nation after another begin to feel its independence and unity: the public government of each will no

[1] Rense, or Rhense, a small town on the left bank of the Rhine, a short way above Coblentz. In a field near this town formerly stood the Königstuhl (or king's seat) where the electors used to meet to deliberate on the affairs of the empire. It was an octagon building with arches, but without any roof. The seats of the emperors and electors, eight in number and of stone, were only surrounded by a breast wall. Seven of the seats were disposed round the sides of the building, and one for the emperor was in the centre. The spot where the Königstuhl stood can now scarcely be recognized. A heap of rubbish below some walnut trees is all the remains of this once important building. Tr.

[2] Licet juris utriusque. See Olenschläger's Staatsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserthums in der ersten Hälfte des 14ten Jahrhunderts. Nr. 63.

longer own any higher authority; the popes no longer find allies in the middle ranks; their inroads upon national independence were repelled, in a determined spirit, by princes and people of all orders.[1]

Now it so happened, that the popedom itself fell into a state of weakness and confusion, and this made it possible even for those secular governments that had hitherto sought only to secure themselves, to attack it in turn.

Schism then made its appearance; let us mark the consequences that followed from it. Princes had long been accustomed to attach themselves to one or the other pope according as it suited their purpose; the spiritual power possessed no means in itself of removing this rending of its unity, the secular alone could do it; when a meeting for this object was held at Constance, the voting was no longer by poll as formerly, but according to the four nations, each nation being allowed to hold preparatory meetings for the discussion of the vote that it was to give — when assembled they deposed one pope — the newly-elected one had to accede to concordats with the several nations which, at least by the example thus presented, were of great importance; during the council of Basel, and the new schism, some kingdoms even maintained a neutral position—the direct efforts of the princes alone could repair this second rending of the church.[2] Nothing could have more powerfully promoted

[1] Declaration of pope Felix, in Georgius, Life of Nicolas V. p. 65.

[2] Three other causes must have powerfully concurred to produce this result in addition to the revival of independent nationalities. 1st. The disgust that could not fail to have been created even in that barbarous and superstitious age, by the mischief-making propensities of so many successive popes, and the almost insane and unprincipled violence with which some of them pursued the gratification of their ambition and revenge. 2d. The "separation of the patrimony of St. Peter" from the empire, obtained by pope Nicolas III. from the emperor Rodolph. On this, the author of "A History of Popery," London, 1838, well remarks, that when once the pope was enrolled in the catalogue of sovereigns, his indefinite power was gone; he had no longer the command of any forces but those of his own dominions, and as his state was inferior to those of kings, he could no longer address them as a master. Thus short-sighted ambition defeated its own ends, for the papacy assigned itself frontiers (p. 128). In addition to this the popes must have lowered themselves in general estimation, as is the case to this day, by their not only not being superior, as from their arrogant pretensions to represent the Deity on earth they might be expected to be, but being greatly inferior to other monarchs as the head of a civil government. 3d. The discovery of the Pandects of Justinian at Amalfi, brought a formidable body of jurists into the field as a counterpoise to the vast influence acquired by the clergy, and through them by the popes, in the department of jurisprudence and law. Tr.

the preponderance of the civil power, and the independence of individual nations.

And now, it is true, the pope was held afresh in great respect, and commanded universal obedience: the emperor never failed to lead the palfrey for him;[1] there were bishops not only in Hungary, but even in Germany, who subscribed themselves "by the grace of the apostolic see:"[2] in the North, Peter's pence were regularly collected:[3] countless pilgrims, from all countries, repaired to the threshold of the apostle at the jubilee of 1450: an eye witness describes them as coming like swarms of bees and flocks of birds of passage; notwithstanding all which, things had become very different from what they were in ancient times.

To be convinced of this, let us but call to mind the eagerness shown in earlier times to repair to the holy sepulchre, and then look to the coldness with which every summons to make common cause against the Turks was received in the fifteenth century. How much more pressing was the call to defend one's own country against a danger which unquestionably threatened it at all times, than to know that the holy sepulchre was in Christian hands. Æneas Sylvius employed his best eloquence at the diet; the Minorite friar Capistrano employed his with the people at the market-places; and historians speak of the impression thus produced; but we do not find that any man was thereby induced to run to arms. What painful efforts did not the popes put forth! One fitted out a fleet; another, Pius II., who was that same Æneas Sylvius, weak and frail as he was, repaired to the haven where, if none else, those most immedi-

1 This seems hardly correct. At least in the very able "History of Popery" published in London in 1838, we are told at page 171: "The pope was received in Italy with great joy, the emperor Charles (the IV.) hastened to meet him, and gave the last example of imperial degradation by leading the horse on which the pontiff rode when he made his triumphal entry into Rome (A. D. 1368)." The words "last example" would seem to intimate that this compliment, if not paid for the last time, was at least rare. Tr.

2 Costnitz, Schwerin, Fünfkirchen. See Schröckh Kirchengeschichte, Bd. 33. p. 60.

3 Uffa, king of Mercia, in England, assassinates the king of East-Anglia, and occupies his throne. Tormented with remorse he goes to Rome, where Adrian I. receives and absolves him. On his return to his states he charges them with his debt to a pope, as criminal as himself, by establishing the revolting tax of Peter's penny, long paid by England to the patriarchs of the West. See the Abbé Cerati's short but powerful work, *Des Usurpations Sacerdotales*. Tr.

ately exposed to danger at least, were to unite their forces. There he was fain to be present, that he might, as he said, do all at least that was in his power, that is, lift his hands to God like Moses; but neither exhortation, nor entreaty, nor example, had any effect on his contemporaries. All the youthful ardour of chivalrous Christendom had died away; it was beyond the power of any pope to revive it.

Other interests, in fact, weighed with those times. Now it was that the countries of Europe, after long domestic strife, consolidated themselves at last. Their central governments having succeeded in suppressing the factions that had hitherto endangered the thrones, gathered round them all their subjects in a spirit of renovated obedience. Very soon, too, people began then to contemplate from a political point of view, that popedom which would lord it over all, and intermeddle with all. The monarchial government began to advance much greater pretensions than it had hitherto done.

It is a common notion, that down to the Reformation, the popedom was almost unlimited in its powers; but in point of fact, as early as during the fifteenth, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the states of Christendom had acquired for themselves no small share in spiritual rights and privileges.[1]

In France the encroachments of the Romish see were materially contracted by the pragmatical sanction, which for above half a century was looked upon as the palladium of the kingdom. It is true that Louis XI., through a false religious zeal—by which he was just so much the more actuated from his being wanting in the true—allowed himself to be carried away into too much compliance on that point; but his successors fell back so much the more eagerly on this as their fundamental law. Accordingly, when Francis I. entered upon his concordat with Leo X., it was justly maintained that the court of Rome would thereby regain much of its old preponderance. And it is true that the pope

[1] The common notion seems rather to be, not that the popes could act without control throughout Europe, but that the church of which they were the chiefs, directly or indirectly, had, down to the Reformation, an altogether irresistible power of crushing what was called heresy, though it might be, and in many cases really was, God's own truth. This being the case, it mattered little how this dreadful power was shared between the popedom and papal nations—between the deceiver and the deceived. Tr.

got back the Annates. But in return he had to relinquish many other casualties, and, which was of main consequence, he conceded to the king the right of appointment to bishoprics, and to all the higher benefices. It is undeniable: the Gallican church lost its rights, but much less by surrendering them to the pope than to the king. The axiom for which Gregory VII. put the world in commotion, was given up by Leo X. without much difficulty.

Matters could not be carried so far in Germany. The Basel decrees, which were fashioned in France on the model of the pragmatic sanction,[1] in Germany, where too they had at first been received, were very much moderated by the Vienna concordats. But this very modification of those decrees was not obtained without some sacrifice on the part of the Romish see. In Germany it was found not enough to come to an understanding with the supreme government of the country; it was necessary to gain the favour of individual states. The archbishops of Mainz and Treves obtained the right of bestowing benefices as they fell vacant, even in the pope's months;[2] the electoral prince of Brandenburgh obtained the privilege of appointing to three bishoprics in his territories; and states also of less importance, such as Strasburg, Saltzburg, and Metz, obtained favours.[3] Even this, however, did not damp the common opposi-

[1] This appears from the following words of Æneas Sylvius:—Propter decreta Basiliensis concilii inter sedem apostolicam et nationem vestram dissidium cœpit, cum vos illa prorsus tenenda diceretis, apostolica vero sedes omnia rejiceret. Itaque fuit denique compositio facta—per quam aliqua ex decretis concilii prædicti recepta videntur, aliqua rejecta. Æn. Sylvii Epistola ad Martinum Maierum contra murmur gravaminis Germanicæ nationis 1457.—[A dissension began between the Roman see and your nation about the Basel decrees; you saying that they were certainly to be observed, while the apostolic see rejected them all. So matters were compounded at length—by some of the decrees of the said council being apparently admitted, some of them rejected. Epistle of Æneas Sylvius to Martin Maier, against the murmur of the grievance of the German nation, 1457.] In Müller's Reichstagstheatrum under Frederick III. Vorst. III. p. 604.

[2] In this concordat of Vienna, 1448, the popes obtained the confirmation of the annates, the right of ratifying the election of prelates, and, among many other privileges, that of the *pope's months*, so called, or the right of conferring benefices (which they exercised alternately with the founders), not on the occurrence of vacancies, but on particular months, of which six in every year were reserved to the pope. By a general extension of this privilege, to which, under different pretences, the other Christian kingdoms were obliged to submit, the popes in the fifteenth century had gone so far, that full half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the West flowed into their coffers, under various pretences." *Popular Encyclopædia, article Pope.* Tr.

[3] Schrockh's Kirchengesch. Bd. 32, p. 173.—Eichhorn's Staats und Rechtsgeschichte, Bd. iii. § 472, n.

tion. In 1487, the whole country opposed the payment of a tithe which the pope wanted to impose, and repelled the attempt.[1] In the year 1500, the imperial government allowed the papal legate to draw a third only of the produce of the indulgence preachers; two thirds it insisted on appropriating to itself, and for the expenses of the Turkish war.

In England, without any new concordat, without any pragmatic sanction, matters were carried far beyond the concessions of Constance. Henry VII. enjoyed, without opposition, the right of nomination to episcopal sees; and not content with keeping in his own hands the promotion of the clergy, he appropriated the half of the annates also. Wolsey, immediately after this, in the first year of Henry VIII., having added to his other public employments that of legate, the spiritual and secular power became in a manner united, yet, long before Protestantism was thought of, people went so far as to confiscate a great many monasteries.

Meanwhile the countries and kingdoms of the South of Europe did not remain behind. The king of Spain, too, had the power of appointing to bishoprics. The crown, with which were combined the grandmasterships of the spiritual orders which the inquisition had instituted and still governed, enjoyed many spiritual attributions and prerogatives.[2] Ferdinand the catholic not unfrequently placed himself in opposition to the papal officials.

Not less than the Spanish were the Portuguese orders of spiritual knights of St. James, of Avis, and the order of Christ's knights[3] which had succeeded to the property of the knights

[1] Müllers Reichstagstheatrum Vorst. VI. p. 130.

[2] From this it would appear that the king of Spain was *ex officio* head master of these orders. Tr.

[3] The rise of these orders curiously illustrates the history of the times, and proves how easily, when the scriptures cease to be known and read, a mock Christianity can be brought in to give a pretended sanction to the favourite passions of particular times. Hardly could any thing be more opposed to the spirit of the gospel—to the meekness and gentleness—the humility, the charity, and the forbearance which it inculcates, than those military orders by its patronage of which the church of Rome sought to enlist in its service vices which a true church of Christ would have done its utmost to oppose. The order of St. James originated with an offer on the part of thirteen gentlemen to defend with their swords certain hospitals built for the reception of pilgrims to and from the relics of St. James of Compostella. Their motto was a singular one for men bound by monastical vows, *Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum.* [The sword is reddened with the blood of Arabs.]

Templars, in the gift of the crown.[1] King Emanuel obtained from Leo X. not only a third part of the cruciata,[2] but a tenth also of the spiritual property, expressly with the right of disposing of the same according to opinion and desert.

Enough, everywhere, through all Christendom, in the South as well as in the North, efforts were made to circumscribe the prerogatives of the pope. A participation in the ecclesiastical revenues, and in appointments to benefices, was what the civil government mainly insisted for. The popes made no strenuous opposition. They endeavoured to keep all that they could, and yielded in other things. Lorenzo Medici says of Ferdinand king of Naples, on the occasion of a misunderstanding between the latter and the see of Rome, that he may make no difficulty of promising; yet when he came to fulfil his obligations, he may be winked at for not discharging them, as was the case with all popes to all kings.[3] Then, this spirit of opposition had penetrated even into Italy. We are informed by Lorenzo Medici himself, that in this he only followed the example of more powerful princes, and allowed so much and no more of the papal commands to take effect than he chose.[4]

It were a mistake did we consider these endeavours as mere acts of caprice. The truth is, the ecclesiastical tendency had

The order of Avis was established by Alphonso I. of Portugal for the defence of the city of Evora, which he had taken from the Moors, a success which he ascribed to the special favour of the Virgin Mary. Their first title was that of the Brethren of St. Mary of Evora, and they became famous for their victories over the Moors, in return for which king Sanchez I. gave them the castle of Avis; hence their later name. The order of Christ's knights in Portugal was instituted by Dionysius Perioca, king of Portugal. Their calling was to make war upon the Moors, and the extension of the Portuguese empire in the East, in Africa, and the Brazil is said to have been greatly owing to their services. Tr.

[1] Instruttione plena delle cose di Portogallo al Coadjutor di Bergamo, nuntio destinato in Portogallo. [Plenary Instructions about the affairs of Portugal to the Coadjutor di Bergamo, nuntio appointed for Portugal. MS.] See MS. of political information (Informationi politiche) in the Royal Library at Berlin, vol. XII. Leo X. guaranteed this patronage to the orders: contentandosi il re di pagare grandissima compositione di detto patronato—[they satisfying the king by paying an immense composition for the said patronage.]

[2] Sums raised for the support of the crusades. Tr.

[3] Lorenzo to John de Lanfredinis. Fabroni Vita Laurentii Medici, II. p. 362.

[4] Antonius Gallus de rebus Genuensibus: Muratori Scriptt. R. It. XXIII. 281, says of Lorenzo: Regum majorumque principum contumacem licentiam adversus romanam ecclesiam sequebatur, de juribus pontificis nisi quod ei videretur nihil permittens. [He followed the contumacious license of the monarchs and greater princes towards the Roman church, allowing nothing of the pontifical laws but what seemed good to him.] It is not to be doubted that much of this spirit arose from the progress of scepticism, especially in courts. Tr.

ceased to govern the life of European nations so entirely as it had hitherto done: the developement of nationality and the organization of states were making powerful advances; and it was a matter of necessity that this should be followed by a thorough remodification of the bearings of the spiritual and secular powers to each other; a great change might be noticed in the very popes themselves.

THE CHURCH AND THE STATES OF THE CHURCH AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE XVI. CENTURY.

CHAPTER SECOND.

EXTENSION OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

WHATEVER judgment a man may be disposed to pronounce upon the popes of earlier times, this at least must be admitted, that they ever had great interests in view; such as the care of an oppressed religion, the struggle with heathenism, the extension of Christianity over the northern nations, the founding of an independent hierarchical government. It belongs to the dignity of human nature to desire and to accomplish something great; these its tendencies the popes preserved in an elevated sphere of action. But now, with the times themselves the spirit that guided them had passed away: schism had been suppressed; yet people had to acquiesce in the conviction that no common effort against the Turks could be brought to a bearing. It so happened that the spiritual chief mainly, and more decidedly than at any former period, pursued the interests of his secular principality, and to it directed all his active powers.

This had already long held a place in the struggles of the age. "Time was," said one of the speakers at the council of Basel, "when I thought it well that the secular should be completely separated from the spiritual power. But I have since been taught that virtue apart from power is ridiculous, and that the Roman pope without the church's patrimony presents to us nothing but a servant of kings and princes." He who spoke

thus, and who, notwithstanding, had sufficient interest in the council to determine the election of pope Felix, declared that it was not so bad a thing for a pope to have sons to assist him against tyrants.[1]

People looked at this from another point of view, at a somewhat later date, in Italy. It was considered as a matter of course, that a pope should promote and aggrandize his family; any one that had not done this, would have been exposed to censure. "Others," writes Lorenzo Medici to Innocent VIII., "have not deferred so long their desire to be popes, and have troubled themselves little about the decorum and reserve which your holiness maintained so long. Now, not only is your holiness absolved before God and men, but this honourable conduct may even possibly be blamed or ascribed to other causes. Zeal and duty compel me in conscience to remind your holiness that no man is immortal, that a pope is just of as much consequence as he chooses to make himself; he cannot make his office hereditary; the only property he can call his own, consists in the honours and benefits he confers on his relations."[2] Such were the counsels given by one who was reckoned the wisest man in Italy. He was himself, indeed, benefited by it, having given his daughter in marriage to the son of the pope, but never could he have spoken out so frankly and unreservedly, had not this view of the matter been unquestionably and extensively admitted by the higher circles.

The two facts were essentially of a piece that at one and the same time the European states purloined part of his privileges from the pope, and the latter began actively to engage in sheer worldly enterprises. His first feeling was that of his being an Italian prince.

It was not so long since the Florentines had subdued their neighbours, and that the Medici family had established its authority over both: the power of Sforza in Milan, that of the house of Aragon in Naples, and that of the Venetians in Lombardy, were all, within the memory of man, acquired and secured by human exertion: and why should not a pope indulge the hope of found-

[1] An excerpt from this address will be found in Schröckh, Bd. 32, p. 90.

[2] Letter of Lorenzo's—without a date, but written probably in 1489, as the fifth year of Innocent VIII. is the one spoken of in it, according to Fabroni Vita Laurentii, II. 390.

ing an ampler dominion of his own in territories considered to be the patrimony of the church, but which were really subject to a number of independent municipal chiefs?

This course was first entered upon by pope Sixtus IV. with a full conscientiousness of his object, and with eventful results; he was followed in it with the utmost energy and with eminent success by Alexander VI., and Julius II. gave it a direction which, though unexpected, proved permanent.

Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) conceived the design of founding a principality for his nephew Girolamo Riario, in the fair and fertile plains of the Romagna. The other Italian powers had before that contended which of them should have the preponderance in those territories or the possession of them, and if the question were one of right, the pope had apparently the best title, only he was not nearly their match in political and military resources. He scrupled not to exalt his spiritual authority, as in its nature and vocation above all earthly government, in order that he might take advantage of it in promoting his secular objects, and drag it into the momentary complications in which these involved him. As the Medici stood most in his way, he interfered in the misunderstandings among the Florentines, and, as we know, made himself suspected of being privy to the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and of being—aye even he, the father of the faithful—to some extent an accomplice in the murder which they perpetrated before the altar of a cathedral church. On the Venetians refusing to favour the enterprises of his nephews as they had long done, not only did the pope abandon them in a war into which he himself had led them, but even excommunicated them for continuing it.[1] No less violent were his proceedings in Rome. He fiercely persecuted Riario's opponents, the Colonnas; he wrested Marino from them; moreover he caused the prothonotary Colonna to be attacked in his own house, made prisoner, and put to death. His mother came to the church of St. Celso, in Banchi, where the corpse was lying, lifted the head which

[1] The *Commentarii di Marino Sanuto* on the Ferrarese war, were printed at Venice in 1829: at page 56, he touches on the pope's desertion of his allies. He refers to the reasons of the Venetian ambassador: *Tutti vedranno, aver noi cominciato questa guerra di volonta del papa; egli pero si mosse a rompere la lega.* [All will see that we began that war at the desire of the pope; yet that he, in one word, had taken the start in breaking the league.]

had been cut off, and holding it up by the hair, she exclaimed: "Here is my son's head: see the good faith of the pope. He promised that would we deliver up Marino to him, he would let my son go free; now he has Marino: and my son is in our hands, but dead! See there, this is the way the pope keeps his word."[1]

Thus much did it cost to secure the triumph of Sixtus IV. over his enemies, both within and without the state. He succeeded, in fact, in making his nephews lords of Imola and Forli; yet it is not to be questioned that, however he may have enhanced his secular influence thereby, the loss to his spiritual was immensely greater. An attempt was made to convene a council against him. Sixtus, however, was very shortly to be far outdone. Shortly after his decease (in 1492), Alexander VI. took possession of the papal see.

Alexander's sole objects through life had been to enjoy the world, to live happily, and to gratify his sensual passions and his ambition. To him it seemed the very summit of felicity to be able to obtain at last the supreme spiritual dignity, and old as he was, in this feeling he seemed daily to grow younger. His nights were never disturbed by any unpleasant solicitude. He thought of nothing beyond acquiring the means of advancing his sons to offices of dignity, and to political power; he never seriously busied himself about any thing else.[2]

His political alliances, which had so great an influence on the affairs of the world, rested on this as their exclusive object; how a pope was to marry, portion, and settle his children in life, became an important concern for all the political relations of Europe.

Cæsar Borgia, the son of Alexander, followed Riario's footsteps. He began at the same point; indeed, the first of his undertakings was to expel Riario's widow from Imola and Forli. Nay, with foolhardy recklessness, he even went beyond this, actually accomplishing what the other had only attempted, only begun. Let us see what course he took; it may be told in a few words. The states of the church had hitherto been an object of contention between the Guelphs and the Gibbelines, the Orsinis and the Colonnas. Following the example of other

[1] Alegretto Alegretti: diarj Sanesi, p. 817. [2] Relatione di Polo Capello 1500. MS

papal governments, and that, too, of Sixtus IV., Alexander and his son first united with one of the two, the Orsino-guelfish party, and in this alliance they soon succeeded in overmastering all their enemies. They expelled Sforza from Pesaro, the Malatestas from Rimini, the Manfredis from Faenza; they seized those powerful and strongly fortified cities, and ere long founded an important dominion there. But hardly had they advanced thus far, hardly had they thrust their enemies aside, when they turned against their friends. The Borgia government was in this respect distinguished from those that preceded it, for these, on the other hand, had always been hampered by the party they joined. Cæsar attacked even his allies without scruple or hesitation. He enclosed, as it were, in a net, before his victim was in the least aware of it, the Duke of Urbino, who had formerly lent him assistance, and who now escaped with difficulty, and became a persecuted refugee within his own territories.[1] Thereupon the Vitelli and Baglioni, the heads of the Orsini, wished at least to show that they could offer him some opposition. Alleging that it is fair to deceive those who are adepts in all sorts of treachery, with deliberate and far-calculated barbarity he allured them into his snare, and then despatched them without mercy. Having thus extinguished both parties, he went to the seats of their power, drew over to himself and took into his pay their followers among the lesser nobility, and by the dread of his name and the severity of his government, kept in awe the territories which he had seized.

Thus did Alexander see his dearest wish fulfilled; the barons of the country were annihilated; his house was likely to found a great patrimonial dominion in Italy. But already had he himself come to experience to what excess unbridled passions may run. In this power Cæsar would suffer no relation, no favourite to participate. His brother, who stood in his way, he had murdered and ordered to be thrown into the Tiber; he made

[1] In Sanuto's large manuscript Chronicle, we find, throughout the fourth volume, many further notices respecting Cæsar Borgia, some of his letters likewise; to Venice from Dec. 1502; to the pope; in the last he subscribes himself, *Vrs. Sts. humillimus servus et devotissima factura.*—[Your holiness's most humble slave and most devoted creature.] The force of *factura* it is impossible to render in English. We have the word manufacture but not facture. It seems to imply that the pope had been the making of him. Tr.

his brother-in-law be attacked on the very steps of the [1] palace. The wounded man was tended by his wife and his sister; the sister even preparing his food to secure him from poison. The pope had his house guarded to protect his son-in-law from his son, but Cæsar laughed at such precautions, for, said he, what is not done at noon, will be done at nightfall. Ere long, when the prince had so far recovered, he rushed into his room, drove out the wife and the sister, called in his executioner, and had the unhappy man strangled on the spot. Then, for the person of his father, in whose existence and position he saw nothing but the means of himself becoming great and powerful, he had no idea of showing the smallest further respect. He murdered Alexander's favourite Peroto, beneath the pontifical mantle, as he clung for protection to the pope. The blood spurted on his holiness's face.

For a brief period Cæsar had Rome and the ecclesiastical state in his power. He was the handsomest of men; so strong that at a bull-fight he could cleave down the head of the bull at a single blow; openhanded; not without a certain kind of magnanimity; voluptuous; bloody. How did Rome shudder at his name! Cæsar needed money and had enemies. People were found murdered every night. Every one seemed to hold his breath, dreading lest it should be his turn next. Poison destroyed those whom violence failed to reach.[2]

There was but one spot on the earth's surface where such things were anywise possible. It was so only where one man possessed the utmost plenitude of secular power, and lorded it over the supreme spiritual authority. This spot Cæsar occu-

[1] Diario de Sebastiano di Branca de Telini: MS. Bibl. Barb. n. 1103, enumerates Cæsar's atrocities in the following manner: *Il primo, il fratello che si chiamava lo duca di Gandia, lo fece buttar in fiume: fece ammazzare lo cognato, che era figlio del duca di Calabria, era lo piu bello jovane che mai si vedesse in Roma: ancora fece ammazzare Vitellozzo della citta di castello, et era lo piu valenthuomo che fusse in quel tempo.*—[The brother, whom they called the Duke of Gandia, he caused to be thrown into the river: he caused to be murdered the brother-in-law who was son of the Duke of Calabria, he was the finest looking youth whom one could see in Rome: again, he caused to be murdered Vitellozzo of the city of Castello, and he was the bravest of men then living.] The lord of Faenza he calls "the prettiest boy in the world."

[2] To the manifold notices to be found on this subject, I have further added some from Polo Capello. In cases of remarkable deaths, people at once suspected poisoning by the pope. They write in Sanuto about the death of the Cardinal of Verona: *Si judica, sia stato atosicato per tuorli le faculta, perche avanti el spirasse el papa ovando guardie attorno la caza.*—[Judge, indeed, if his faculties were poisoned from this, that before he breathed his last, the pope sent guards about the house.]

pied. Degeneracy had now reached its lowest pitch. Many papal nephews have attempted such things, no other ever went so far. Cæsar is a virtuoso in crime.

Was it not from the very commencement one of the most essential tendencies of Christianity, to make such a power impossible? But now Christianity itself, now the very position of the supreme head of the church, seemed destined to contribute towards this result.[1]

There was no need in fact for the coming of Luther, in order to make this course of things appear the direct opposite of Christianity. Even at this time it was complained that the pope was smoothing the way for antichrist, and was solicitous about the filling up of the kingdom of Satan, not of the kingdom of heaven.[2]

We will not here follow Alexander through his whole history. He formed the purpose, as is now but too certain, of putting one of the richest cardinals out of the way with poison, but his intended victim succeeded by presents, promises, and entreaties to soften the pope's cook; the confectionaries prepared for the cardinal, were placed before the pope, and he himself died of the very poison with which he would have destroyed another.[3] After his death, his enterprises were followed by results totally different from what he had contemplated.

The papal families hoped on each successive occasion to obtain lordships for themselves in perpetuity; yet, generally speaking, the power of the nephews came to an end with the life of the pope; they declined as fast as they rose. When the Venetians calmly looked on as Cæsar Borgia prosecuted his schemes, although other grounds might be assigned, yet one of the chief certainly lay in their observation of this course of things. They judged that it was all but a short-lived blaze; after Alexander's

[1] One can almost recognize in these expressions the natural tendency of a German author, even though a protestant, never to suppose that there was at this time any Christianity but that of the apostate Church of Rome, Germany, and North Germany in particular, having been first Christianized, though corruptly, by it. But even at this very time the reader must recollect, that low as was the state of the true Church of God, the gospel was producing totally different effects in many of Christ's hidden ones. Tr.

[2] A fly leaf, MS. from Sanuto's Chronicle in the Appendix.

[3] Successo de la morte di Papa Alessandro. MS. Ebend.

death, matters would return to their old condition of their own accord.[1]

But on this occasion they were disappointed. A pope succeeded, who, it is true, felt a pleasure in presenting a contrast to the Borgias, yet who therewithal took up the accomplishment of their designs, only with different intentions. Pope Julius II. (1503—1513) had the inappreciable advantage of finding opportunities of peaceably satisfying the claims of his family; he obtained for them the inheritance of Urbino. After this he could proceed without interruption from his relations, to indulge that passion for war and conquest, his natural inclination for which was now inflamed by the circumstances of the times, and the consciousness of his own dignity; always, however, in the interest of the church, that is, of the papal see.

Other popes had sought to raise their nephews and their sons to principalities; but he allowed his ambition to be entirely confined to the extension of the states of the church. He may be regarded, indeed, as their founder.

He found the whole territory in the utmost confusion. All who had contrived to escape from Cæsar, were now come back; Orsinis and Colonnas, Vitellis and Bagliones, Varanis, Malatestas and Montefeltris; parties had revived in all directions; twice had they come to open hostilities in the city of Rome itself. Julius has been compared to Neptune as described by Virgil, rising from amid the waves with his pacificating brow and appeasing their uproar.[2] Having been adroit enough to rid himself of Cæsar Borgia, and to reduce his castles, he took possession of his dukedom. He contrived to keep in check the least powerful of the barons, as he, Cæsar Borgia, had facilitated his doing, and was careful not to give any of them governors in the persons of cardinals, whose ambition might revive the old refractory spirit.[3] As for the powerful, such as refused submit-

[1] Priuli Cronaca di Venezia, MS. *Del resto poco stimavano, conoscendo che questo acquisto che all' hora faceva il duca Valentinois sarebbe foco di paglia che poco dura:* [Besides, they thought it of little consequence, knowing that the acquisitions then made by the duke of Valentinois would prove a fire of straw which would not last long.]

[2] Tomaso Inghirami in Fea Notizie intorno Rafaele Sanzio da Urbino, p. 57.

[3] Machiavelli (Principe c. XI.) is not the only one who makes this remark. In Jovius also, Vita Pompeii Columnæ, p. 140, the Roman barons complain that under

ting to him, he attacked without further ado. His coming to the popedom sufficed likewise to reduce within the bounds of legal subordination Baglione, who had again made himself master of Perugia; John Bentivoglio was compelled, without its being in his power to offer any resistance, in his old age, to remove from the splendid palace he had founded at Bologna, leaving behind him the inscription in which he had prematurely congratulated himself; these two powerful cities owned the immediate sovereignty of the papal see.

Julius withal was far from having attained his object. The Venetians possessed the greater part of the sea-coasts of the states of the church; these they had no idea of letting slip out of their hands, and they far exceeded the pope in military resources. Yet he could not conceal from himself that any attempt upon them would prove the signal for an immense movement throughout Europe. Might he venture on such a risk?

Old as Julius now was, much as he had suffered from the vicissitudes of good and ill success that had attended him through life, and from the labours and fatigues incident to war and flight, to which we must add intemperance and debauchery, yet he knew nought of fear or hesitation, and even at his advanced age, possessed that great quality of a man, an indomitable spirit. He made no great account of the princes of his time; he thought he might safely despise them all; he hoped in the very tumult of a general contest, to carry off the victory, and his sole solicitude was how to procure the money which might enable him to seize with best effect the happy moment. According to the striking remark of a Venetian, he wished to be lord and master of the game of this world;[1] he waited impatiently for the accomplishment of his wishes, yet these he kept

Julius II., *principes urbis familias solito purpurei galeri honore pertinaci pontificum livore privari*, [that the chief families of the city were deprived, by the pertinacious jealousy of the popes, of the wonted honour of the purple hat.]

1 Sommario de la relation di Domenigo Trivixan. MS. "*Il papa vol esser il dominus et maistro del jocho del mundo.*"—[The pope would fain be lord and master of the jest of the world.] There is extant also a second narrative of Polo Capello's, dated in 1510, from which some of the notices here have been taken. Francisco Vettori: Sommario dell' Istoria d'Italia, MS. says of him: *Julio piu fortunato che prudente, e piu animoso che forte, ma ambitioso e desideroso di grandezze oltra a modo.*—[Julius, more fortunate than prudent, and more valiant than powerful, but inordinately ambitious and fond of grandeur."

reserved to himself. When I inquire what it was that sustained him, I find it to have been mainly this, that he could venture to speak out his purpose, to confess his devotedness to it, and to glory in it. To desire the restoration of the states of the church, was reckoned a glorious enterprise by the world at that time; all the steps taken by the pope had this for their sole object; his thoughts were all animated with this one idea; they were, I may say, case-hardened in it. As he seized the boldest combinations and tried every resource—he himself took the field, and at Mirandola, which he took by assault, pushed in, over the frozen ditches, and through the breach,—as the most egregious discomfiture could not make him succumb, but seemed only to call forth in him new resources, he succeeded accordingly, not only rescuing his townships from the Venetians, but in the fierce struggle which then ensued, in bringing Parma, Placentia, and even Rheggio at length into his own hands, and thus laying the foundations of a power such as no pope had ever possessed. From Placentia to Terracina, the loveliest of countries owned his authority. He ever desired to appear in the light of a liberator, and by dealing wisely and kindly with his new subjects, he won their goodwill and affection. It was not without alarm that the rest of the world beheld such large and powerful populations under the immediate government of a pope. "Formerly," says Machiavel, "there was not a baron to be found diminutive enough not to despise the papal power; but now it extorted the respect even of the king of France."

THE SECULARIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

It seems self-evident that the entire institution of the church, must necessarily have participated in the movement now made by the supreme head—must have united in bringing about the same results, and must have received from it a powerful impulse in return.

Not only the higher offices but all others likewise, were now regarded as mere secular possessions. Cardinals were elected by the pope from personal favour, or to gratify some prince, or, as was not unfrequently the case, directly for money. Could it be rationally expected that they would prove adequate to

the discharge of their spiritual functions? Sixtus IV. gave one of his most important offices, the penitentiaria, to which belonged the exercise of a great part of the power of granting dispensations, to one of his nephews. He at the same time extended its privileges, and these he inculcated in a special bull, in which he censures as a stiff-necked people and children of wickedness, all who should question the propriety of such proceedings.[1] Of course his nephew considered his office as a benefice, the profits of which he was entitled to enhance to the utmost.

Already, as we have seen, the bishoprics in most places were not bestowed without a considerable share of secular power; they were distributed according to the exigencies of family interest or court favour, as mere sinecures. The only concern of the Roman curia was to engross to itself the greatest possible number of vacancies and appointments. Alexander took double annates; he raised them to two, nay, three tenths; indeed the livings might almost be said to be sold. The taxes of the papal chancery rose daily; the comptroller of that office ought, it is true, to have silenced the complaints against it, but he generally committed the task of revision to the very persons who fixed the rates.[2] For every act of favour which the office of dataria permitted to be given out, a certain fixed sum had first to be paid, and the contest between the civil governments of Europe and the curia ordinarily bore on nothing so much as these grants. While the curia wanted to extend them to the utmost, people in all countries wanted to circumscribe them to the utmost.

This principle necessarily passed from appointments of that kind to those of a lower grade. A man might abdicate his bishopric, yet with the reservation of a great part at least of its

[1] Bull of 9th May, 1484. *Quoniam nonnulli iniquitatis filii, elationis et pertinaciæ suæ spiritu assumpto, potestatem majoris pœnitentiarii nostri—in dubium revocare—præsumunt,—decet nos adversus tales adhibere remedia etc.*—[Whereas some sons of wickedness, taking up the spirit of their own pride and pertinacity, presume to suggest doubts with respect to the power of our greater penitentiary, it becomes us to apply remedies against such.] Bullarium Romanum, ed. Cocquelines, III. p. 187.

[2] Reformationes cancellariæ apostolicæ Smi. Dni. Pauli III. 1540. MS. of the Barberini Library at Rome, Nro. 2275, enumerates all the abuses that had been introduced since Sixtus and Alexander. The gravamina (grievances) of the German nation relate particularly to these "new funds" and offices of the Romish chancery. § 14. § 38.

revenues, and over and above that, of the collations to the parochial livings attached to it. The very laws prohibiting the induction, in any case, of the son of a clergyman into his father's benefice, and succession to a benefice left by bequest, were eluded. As any man, provided always that he did not grudge the money, could so arrange matters as to have any one appointed coadjutor whom he chose, in point of fact a kind of succession by inheritance was admitted.

From such a state of things it necessarily followed that the discharge of ecclesiastical duties was neglected. In this brief view I confine myself to the remarks made by judicious prelates of the Romish church itself. "What a sight," they exclaim, "for a Christian as he wanders through Christendom, this desolation of the churches; all the pastors have abandoned their flocks; they are all handed over to hirelings."[1] In all quarters, incapable, uncalled, inexperienced persons were appointed, without selection, to the discharge of ecclesiastical duties. As the sole concern with the incumbents of benefices was to find the cheapest curates, the begging friars generally suited their purpose best; and these, under the name of suffragans, which had never been heard of before in that sense, held the bishoprics, and as vicars they held the parochial cures.

Already had the begging orders acquired extraordinary privileges. Sixtus IV., himself a Franciscan friar, had still further augmented these for them. He amply secured to them the right of hearing confessions, of administering the sacraments of the supper and extreme unction, of burying persons in the grounds and soil, and even in the cowl of their order—rights which brought them respect and profit—and threatened with the loss of their livings the refractory, the parish priests, those in short who should venture to molest the religious orders, particularly as respected their getting possession of bequests and legacies.[2]

[1] Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de emendanda ecclesia S^mo. D^no. Paulo III. ipso jubente conscriptum anno 1538.—[The advice of the select cardinals and other prelates concerning the improvement of the church, written at the command of the most holy lord Paul III. himself, in the year 1538.] Often printed, also, at that time, and important on this account that it points out the evil, in so far as it lay in the administration, thoroughly and precisely. In Rome, even long after its being printed, it continued to be always incorporated with the collections of Curialistic manuscripts.

[2] *Amplissimæ gratiæ et privilegia fratrum minorum conventualium ordinis S. Francisci, quæ propterea mare magnum nuncupantur.*—[Most ample favours and

Now that they came likewise to discharge even the functions of bishops and of parish priests, it is evident what an immense influence they must have exercised. All the more eminent situations and most important dignities, in so far as respected the enjoyment of their incomes, were in the hands of the great families and their dependants, and of those who had found favour with the court and the curia; the actual administration was committed to the begging friars. In this the popes protected them. They, too, as well as others, trafficked in the indulgence, which in those times—Alexander VI. was the first to declare officially that it delivered souls out of purgatory—received such an extraordinary extension. But they too were sunk in the most thorough worldliness. What intriguing among those orders about the higher benefices! How eager about the time of elections, were they to rid themselves of such as refused to favour them or who opposed them. Some they attempted to send out of the way as preachers or as curates, they hesitated not to attack others with sword and dagger; poison was often employed.[1] Ecclesiastical favours meanwhile were sold. The begging friars being hired at miserably low wages, they were greedy of casual gains.

"Alas!" exclaimed one of those prelates, "would that mine eyes were a fountain of tears. How are the fenced places fallen and the vineyard of the Lord laid waste. Were these only to go to ruin, it were an evil, yet one that might be endured, but inasmuch as they pervade all Christendom as the veins do the body, their fall necessarily brings along with it the ruin of the world."

DIRECTION OF THE HUMAN MIND.

COULD we unfold the books of history, and contemplate events as they actually occurred—could passing incidents be accounted

privileges of the Minorite friars of the order of St. Francis, which are on that account called a great sea,] 31st August, 1474. Bullarium Rom. III. 3, 139. A like bull was granted to the Dominicans. At the Lateran council of 1512, there was much ado about this "great sea;" yet privileges, at that time at least, were more readily given than accepted.

[1] In a large "information" of Caraffa's to Clement, which appears only in a mutilated form in Bromato, *Vita di Paolo* IV., it is said in the manuscript, of the monasteries: *Si viene ad homicidi non solo col veneno ma apertamente col coltello e con la spada, per non dire con schiopetti.*—[They proceeded to commit homicides not only with poison, but openly with sword and dagger, not to say with pistols.]

for like objects in nature—how often should we observe, as in nature, that the very decay which we lament involves the germ of a better order of things, and see life come forth from what is dead.

Much as we may deplore such a secularization of spiritual things—such a degeneracy of religious institutions—yet, without this, the mind of man could hardly have received one of its most peculiar and most fruitful impulses.

It cannot well be denied that various, and ingenious, and profound as were the productions of the middle ages, yet they were founded on a fanciful view of the world, having nought in it that corresponded with the reality of things. Had the church stood in fuller and more conscious strength, it would have vigorously maintained itself. But as it now stood, it set the mind at liberty to burst into a new career, leading it in quite a different direction.

It may be said that a very circumscribed horizon kept men's minds, for some centuries, necessarily confined within its range: the renewed knowledge of antiquity had the effect of breaking down that boundary, and of opening up a loftier, more comprehensive, and larger view.[1]

Not that the middle ages were ignorant of antiquity. The eager desire wherewith the Arabs, to whom we owe the transference of so many learned and scientific efforts into our western regions, collected and appropriated the works of the ancients, was not much behind the zeal wherewith the Italians of the

[1] Here the author ascribes to a very inadequate cause, the immensely enlarged range of the human mind in Europe since the fifteenth century. How should "the renewed knowledge of antiquity" enlarge the mind more than that original knowledge of it did, which was possessed by the ancients themselves in the later periods of Greek and Roman history? And what student of modern history has not remarked the narrow range of thought and character, which has ever accompanied an addiction to mere classical literature? How did the giants of the Reformation dwindle into the dwarfs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in all cases where, leaving the grand battle-ground of her purely scriptural principles, her sons were content to become elegant and erudite scholars instead of profound theologians, and valiant witnesses for the truth. Our own age, again, is marked by an enlarged sphere of thought and action. This is shown in the spirit, and the scope, of its many schemes of philanthropic enterprise at home and abroad. Yet even the leaders in these enterprises are far inferior to the *petits maitres* of Louis the XIV.'s age and our own queen Anne's, in "the renewed knowledge of antiquity." One needs but to open the Bible to perceive that an age which is stamped with its spirit, needs not the help of the heathen classics in order to extend the range of its speculations and its undertakings, far beyond the narrow bounds that confined the soul in the middle ages. Tr.

fifteenth century; and the Caliph Mahmoun might, in this respect, be well compared with Cosmo de' Medici. Let us mark, however, a difference which, unimportant as it may appear, strikes me as decisive. The Arabs translated: in doing so they often directly annihilated the originals, by transfusing their own ideas into their translations; the result was that they may be said to have theosophised Aristotle—that they turned astronomy into astrology, and made that bear upon medicine; that they even specially contributed to the formation of a fantastic cosmography. The Italians, on the other hand, read and learned. From the Roman writers they passed to the Greeks: the art of printing sent innumerable copies of the originals over the world. The genuine Aristotle superseded the Arabic: from the writings of the ancients in their unaltered state, people became acquainted with the sciences; they learned geography directly from Ptolemy, botany from Dioscorides, the science of medicine from Galen and Hippocrates. How speedily were men thus disembarrassed of the fancies that had hitherto peopled the world, and of the prejudices that had possessed their minds till then.

Meanwhile it would be going too far, in referring to that period, to speak forthwith of the development of a spontaneous spirit of scientific research, of the discovery of new truths and the development of more enlarged ideas. To understand the ancients was all that was attempted; no one thought of going beyond them, and their influence made itself felt rather in the way of imitation, than in calling forth a productive scientific activity. In this imitation we find one of the most important processes in the development of that era.

The ancients were emulated in the use of their own language, a rivalry which found a special patron in Leo X. He himself read the finely written introduction to the history of Jovius before the circle of his friends, and thought it the finest composition that had appeared since the days of Livy. As he patronized even improvisatores in Latin, it may be imagined how much he must have been captivated with the talents of Vida, who could describe such things as the game of chess, in the full measure of well-turned Latin hexameters. He sent all the way to Portugal for a mathematician, who had acquired renown

for the elegant Latin in which he had written works on that science. Thus, also, did he desire to see jurisprudence and theology taught, and church history written.

Meanwhile to stop short at this point was impossible. To whatever extent such imitation of the ancients in their own tongue might be carried, the range of the human mind could not be confined within so limited a sphere. It had an inherent insufficiency, and far too many took part in it for that insufficiency not to appear evident. The new idea suggested itself that the ancients might be imitated in the vernacular languages. People felt towards them as the Romans did towards the Greeks; they wanted to emulate them no longer in one particular department only, but in the general field of literature, and into this new field they rushed with youthful ardour.

Happily, even at this time, the vernacular tongues had acquired a generally sanctioned form. Bembo's merits lay less in the excellence of his Latin style, or in the attempts in Italian poetry which he has left us, than in his well-conceived and happily executed endeavours to impart regularity and dignity to his mother tongue—to construe it according to fixed rules. This is that which obtained for him the praise of Ariosto; he hit precisely on the right time: his essays serve but as examples to his lessons.

Now, if we survey the circle of works, to which, while following the ancients as models, people applied this body of materials so incomparable in point of fluency, flexibility, and melody, as well as prepared with so much judgment, the following observation forcibly strikes us.

Attempts at too close an imitation of the ancients failed to succeed. Tragedies, such as Rucellai's Rosmunda composed, as the publishers announce, after the model of antiquity; didactic poems, such as that of the Bees, in which too reference is made at once to Virgil, and he is afterwards turned to account in a thousand ways, met with no success, and had little real influence. Authors allowed themselves more freedom in the composition of comedies: the nature of the case required that these should receive the stamp and colour of actual life: yet the groundwork here was almost always laid in some fable of anti-

quity—some piece from Plautus,[1] and men even of such talents as Bibbiena and Machiavel, have been unable to secure for their comic works the full acknowledgement of later times. In works of a different description we sometimes find a certain inconsistency in their internal parts. Thus in the Arcadia of Sannazar, how strange does the prolix and latinized periodology of the prose look beside the simplicity, the fervour, and the melody of the verse.

Now no one can be surprised if complete success were wanting here, whatever advances were made. A great example was at least presented and an experiment tried, the results of which have been immense. Still the modern element did not expatiate with full freedom in classical forms. The mind became governed by a rule presented to it from without, and which never became natural to it.

Besides, how, generally speaking, could a man be satisfied with imitation? We see in it an effect produced by models, by great works, but it is the effect of mind upon mind. Now-a-days we are all agreed that beautiful models should train, improve, and excite, but by no means enslave.

The most remarkable result must have followed when a man of genius, warmly participating in the efforts of that period, applied himself to a work in which matter and form differed from antiquity, the internal influence only of the latter being admitted.

The romantic epic derives its very peculiar character from such being the case with regard to it. For his matter the poet

[1] Marco Minio tells us among so many other remarkable things, about one of the first representations of a comedy, in Rome, at his *signoria* (court). He writes 13th March, 1519: *Finita dita festa* (he refers to the carnival) *se andò ad una comedia, che fece el reverend^mo Cibo, dove è stato bellissima cosa lo apparato tanto superbo che non si potria dire. La comedia fu questa, che fu fenta una Ferrara e in dita sala fu fata Ferrara preciso come la è. Dicono che Monsignor Rev^mo Cibo venendo per Ferrara e volendo una comedia li fu data questa comedia. E sta tratta parte de li Suppositi di Plauto e dal Eunucho di Terenzio molto bellissima.*—[The said festivity being over, they went to a comedy got up by the most reverend Cibo, where there were the finest things, the machinery so superb as is not to be told. The comedy was that in which there is supposed to be a Ferrara, and in the said hall Ferrara was represented precisely as it stands. They say that Monsignor the most reverend Cibo, coming through Ferrara and wishing to see a comedy, there was given him that comedy. And there was acted part of the Suppositi of Plautus and Terence's Eunuchus, all very fine.] He means, no doubt, the Suppositi of Ariosto,—yet we see that he notices not the name of the author, not the title of the piece, but only what it was taken from.

had a Christian tale of spiritually heroic import; the most prominent figures, together with a few grand bold outlines, were given; important situations, though little developed, were placed before him; and the poetical form, too, was already laid to his hand; it came directly from the common phraseology of the people. To this there was added the tendency of the age to attach itself to the antique. That came in, fashioning, improving, humanizing every thing. How different is the Rinaldo of Boyardo, noble, modest, full of a joyous spirit of adventure, from the horrible Haymonson of the old traditions. How did what was extravagant, fabulous, gigantic, in the old representation, become altered into what is intelligible, graceful, and fascinating! Even the unadorned tales of the olden time have something attractive and pleasing in their very simplicity; yet how different is the pleasure we enjoy when we allow ourselves to be fascinated with the melody of Ariosto's stanzas, and to speed along in company with a bright and highly cultivated mind from one scene to another. What was uncouth and misshapen has now assumed throughout a distinct contour, and form, and melody.[1]

Few ages have a taste for simple beauty of form; it is to be met with only in the most favoured and fortunate periods. Such do we find at the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries. How can I indicate, even in a sketch, all that was attempted and done in that period? It may be boldly affirmed that all the most beautiful productions of modern times in architecture, statuary, and painting, fall within that brief epoch. Its tendency was, not to reasoning, but to practice and execution. To these, men devoted all their lives and energies. I might say that the fastness erected by a prince over against his enemy, and the note written by a philologist on the margin of his author, have something in common. A severe beauty fundamentally distinguishes all the productions of that age.

But, therewithal, it must be admitted, that while art and poetry took possession of the ecclesiastical elements, they did not allow the substance of these to escape their influence. The romantic epos, in embodying an ecclesiastical tradition, placed

[1] I have endeavoured to accomplish this in a treatise apart, which I read before the Royal Academy of Sciences.

(The above Note seems properly to belong to the third sentence of next paragraph. Tr.)

itself of course in opposition to these. Ariosto found it necessary to take away the back ground from his tale, which preserves their original importance.

Previous to this, religion had entered as much as art into all works of painting and design. As soon as art became alive to the charms of ancient statuary, it threw off the trammels of religious conceptions. We can perceive how this became more decidedly the case, year after year, even with Raphael. People may blame this as they please; but it almost seems that profane elements had a necessary part in producing that beautiful freshness of development.[1]

And was it not a most significant fact that a pope himself undertook to pull down the old Basilika of St. Peter's, the metropolitan church of Christendom, every part of which was reckoned holy, which contained the accumulated memorials of the veneration of so many ages, and to erect in its stead a temple after the model of antiquity? It was a purely artistic effort. Both the factions which at that time divided the world of art, easily excited as it was to jealousy and hatred, united in calling upon Julius II. to decide upon this step. Michael Angelo wanted to find a fitting spot for the monument which he contemplated erecting to the pope on a comprehensive plan, and with the utmost magnificence, such as he actually accomplished in his Moses. Still more urgent was Bramante. He wanted to realize the bold conception of raising high in air, upon colossal columns, a copy of the Pantheon in all its vastness. Many cardinals opposed this, and it would appear that there were symptoms of a still more general disapprobation; there is so much personal regard attached to every old church, but immeasurably more to that supreme sanctuary of Christendom.[2] But

[1] This will not seem so extraordinary to the Christian who reflects upon the subject. It is the object of the gospel to restore a very different beauty from that which is idolized by men like Leo X. and Raphael, and exquisite as was their susceptibility of the charms of what may be called sensuous beauty, their lives showed how little they could appreciate the "beauty of holiness." Yet some seem to quarrel with the gospel because, notwithstanding its immense influence in enlarging the mind and humanizing the character, it nowhere directly patronizes the fine arts. Tr.

[2] Fea in his *notizie intorno Rafaele*, p. 41, gives the following passage from the unprinted works of Panvinius *de rebus antiquis memorabilibus et de præstantia basilicæ S. Petri Apostolorum Principis etc: Qua in re* (referring to the new building) *adversos pene habuit cunctorum ordinum homines et præsertim cardinales, non quod novam non cuperent basilicam magnificentissimam extrui, sed quia antiquam toto terrarum orbe venerabilem, tot sanctorum sepulchris augustissimam, tot celeberrimis*

Julius II. was not wont to pay much regard to opposition. Without further consideration he caused half the old church to be pulled down, and he himself laid the foundation stone of the new.

Thus was there, in the very centre of Christian worship, a resurrection of those forms in which the spirit of the ancient superstition had so appropriately expressed itself. At St. Peter's in Montorio, over the blood of the martyrs, Bramante built a chapel in the light and airy form of a peripteros.

Now if there was an inconsistency in this, it was equally to be found in the whole life and being of that age. People went to the Vatican, far less to pray at the apostolic threshold than to admire, in the pope's residence, the great works of ancient art, such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoon.

True, the pope now, as well as formerly, was called upon to make arrangements for a war against the infidels. I find this, for example, in a preface of Navagero's,[1] but in this he never thinks of Christian interests, such as the recovery of the holy sepulchre; his hope is that the pope might again discover the lost writings of the Greeks, and perhaps even of the Romans.

Amid this exuberance of effort and execution, of mind and art, and in the enjoyment of the secular development of the highest spiritual dignity, lived Leo X. People would dispute about his having the honour of giving his name to this age; and his merits may not have been so great. But he was now Leo the fortunate. He had been nourished in the elements that go to form this present world; he possessed sufficient liberality and susceptibility of mind, to promote and to enjoy its beauty and its bloom. After finding so much enjoyment in the Latin works of direct imitators, he could not fail to be interested in the original compositions of his contemporaries. In his presence were exhibited the first tragedies in the Italian tongue, and the first comedies too, notwithstanding the scandal occasioned by the doubtful morality they derived from Plautus. There is hardly

in ea gestis insignem, funditus deleri ingemiscant.—[In which thing (the new building) he found himself opposed by men of almost all orders, and particularly the cardinals, not because they did not desire to have a new and most magnificent basilika erected, but because they groaned at the total demolition of the old, venerable as it was in the eyes of the whole world, rendered so august by the tombs of so many saints, and so illustrious on account of so many famous things having been done in it.]

[1] Naugerii Præfatio in Ciceronis orationes. T. I.

one which he had not first seen. Ariosto was one of the acquaintances of his youth; Machiavel had once and again written expressly for him; for him Raphael filled rooms, galleries, and chapels, with the ideal forms of human beauty, and the pure expression of existence. He was passionately fond of music, the more scientific practice of which was even then spreading through Italy. The palace daily resounded with music, and the pope himself hummed in concert with its melodies. It may be thought that this was a kind of mere mental luxury; be it so, it is the only luxury that is worthy of a man. Moreover, Leo X. was full of kind personal sympathy with others. Never would he refuse a favour, even although it were impossible to grant it, but in the mildest expressions. "He is a good man," says one of those observant persons, ambassadors, "very open-handed and kind-hearted, and but that he is led into them by his relations, he would avoid all irregularities.[1] "He is a learned man," says another, "and the friend of learned men; unquestionably religious, yet he likes to enjoy life."[2] True, he did not always maintain the decorum expected of a pope. At times he would set off from Rome, to the mortification of the master of ceremonies, not only without a surplice, but, as the latter notes in his journal, "which is worst of all, in boots." He passed the autumn in rural recreations; in hawking at Viterbo, and stag-hunting at Cornuto, while the lake of Bolsena afforded him the amusement of fishing; lastly, he always spent a part of the year at Malliano, his favourite residence. Thither, too, he was accompanied by men of prompt and nimble wits, such as improvisatores, who could enliven the passing hour. When winter came round the whole party returned to Rome. The city was undergoing a rapid enlargement. Its inhabitants had increased by about a third in the course of a few years. There the mechanic found employment, the artist renown, every one security. Never had the court been more lively, more agreeable, more intellectual. No expense was thought too much for the celebration of festivals, sacred or civil, for games and the theatre, or for pre-

1 Zorzi. *Per il papa, non voria ni guerra ni fatiche, ma questi soi lo intriga.* —[As for the pope, he wishes neither war nor troubles, but in these his kindred embroil him.]

2 Marco Minio: Relazione. *E docto e amador di docti, ben religioso, ma vol. viver.* He calls him *buona persona*, "a good person."

sents and other favours. Nothing was spared. People learned with delight that Juliano Medici was about to take up his residence in Rome with his young wife. "Thank heaven," cardinal Bibbiena wrote to him, "for we lack nothing here but a court of ladies."

The low vices of Alexander VI. must ever create disgust, but there was nothing very censurable in the manner in which Leo kept his court. Yet it were no offence to reason to say that it did not accord with the vocation of a supreme head of the church. Life readily veils these inconsistencies, but they must have struck every serious and reflective mind.

In this state of things there was no more question about genuine Christian sentiments and convictions. Far from that, these now began to be directly impugned.

The schools of philosophy began to dispute whether the reasonable soul were immaterial and immortal, but still the same in all men, or if it were not, in one word mortal. Peter Pompanazzo, the foremost of the philosophers of that day, distinguished himself in maintaining the last of these propositions. He compared himself to Prometheus, whose heart was pecked by the vulture, for having attempted to steal his fire from Jupiter. But with all his painful efforts, and all his acuteness, he could attain to no further result "than that when the legislator pronounced the soul immortal, he did this without troubling himself about the truth."[1]

We have no ground to believe that this opinion was either confined to a few or held secret. Erasmus was confounded at the blasphemies he heard: it was even attempted to prove to him, a foreigner, out of Pliny, that there was no difference between the souls of men and those of beasts.[2] While the common peo-

[1] This exposed Pomponazza in very serious attacks, as appears, among other proofs, from an extract of a papal brief by Contelori. *Petrus de Mantua*, thus it runs, *asserit quod anima rationalis, secundum propria philosophiæ et mentem Aristotelis, sit seu videatur mortalis, contra determinationem concilii Lateranensis: papa mandat ut dictus Petrus revocet: alias contra ipsum procedatur.* 13 *Junii* 1518.—[Peter of Mantua has asserted that the reasoning soul, according to the properties of philosophy and the mind of Aristotle, is or seems mortal, against the determination of the Lateran council:* the pope commands the said Peter to recant: otherwise let him be prosecuted. 13th June, 1518.]

[2] Burigny's Life of Erasmus, I. 139. I will here further adduce the following pas-

* It was certainly not the best way to put down this opinion, to oppose to it the authority, not of Divine Revelation, but only of a Lateran council. It looks as if the pope dared not stand forward to vindicate an authority which he himself disobeyed. Tr.

ple were sinking into an almost heathenish superstition, which saw its salvation in an ill-grounded merit of works, the higher classes took an irreligious direction. How amazed was young Luther on his coming into Italy! At the very moment that the sacrifice of the mass was about to close, the priests ridiculed it by giving utterance to blasphemies.

In Rome it was reckoned a piece of good breeding to impugn the fundamental principles of Christianity. "One no longer passes," says P. Anth. Bandino,[1] "for an accomplished person, who does not entertain wrong views of Christianity." At court, the ordinances of the Roman catholic church, and texts from holy scripture, were never spoken of but with a sneer: the mysteries of the faith were treated with contempt.

Thus it is seen how all things accorded together, the one calling forth the other: the ecclesiastical pretensions of the princes giving occasion for the civil pretensions of the popes: the decline of the ecclesiastical institution leading to the development of a new direction of the mind; until at last the very foundations of the faith began to be assailed in public opinion.

OPPOSITION IN GERMANY.

It strikes me that there is something particularly remarkable in the state of Germany at this time, viewed in relation to this development of the human mind. That country participated in it, but in a manner altogether different.

While in Italy there were poets, like Boccacio and Petrarch, who promoted that study in their time, and communicated a national impulse to it, there went forth, in like manner, in Ger-

sage from Paul Canensius in the Vita Pauli II. *Pari quoque diligentia e medio Romanæ curiæ nefandam nonnullorum juvenum sectam scelestamque opinionem sustulit, qui depravatis moribus asserebant nostram fidem orthodoxam potius quibusdam sanctorum astutiis quam veris rerum testimoniis subsistere.*—[With no less diligence he banished from the Roman curia that nefarious sect, and that execrable opinion of some youths who maintained, in the depravity of their morals, that our orthodox faith rested rather on certain cunning devices of the saints than on the true testimonies of things.]—There breathes a very finished materialism in the Triumph of Charlemagne, a poem, by Ludovici; as is seen from the quotations of Daru in the fortieth book of the *Histoire de Venise.*

[1] In Caracciolo's *Vita MS.* of Paul IV. *In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo e buon cortegiano colui che de' dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche opinion erronea ed heretica.*—[At that time he did not seem to have been a gentleman and a good courtier who did not hold some erroneous or heretical opinion on the church's doctrines.]

many, from a spiritual brotherhood, the Jeronymites of common life, a brotherhood combining industry with retirement from the world. In the school of one of their members, the profound and innocent mystic, Thomas a Kempis, were formed all those worthy men who were first attracted to Italy by the light that burst from ancient literature in that country, and afterwards returned to diffuse the same light throughout Germany too.[1]

And as the commencement was different, so also was the issue. In Italy the works of the ancients were studied for the sake of acquiring the learning and the science they contained; in Germany schools were kept. There people attempted a resolution of the highest problems of the human mind, if not by their own independent efforts, yet by the help of the ancients; here, the best books were devoted to the instruction of youth.

In Italy men's minds were captivated with the beauty of form, and began to imitate the ancients; this led, as we have noticed, to a national literature. In Germany these studies took a spiritual direction. The renown of Reuchlin and of Erasmus is matter of general notoriety. Now if we inquire wherein consisted the chief merits of the former, it will be found in his having been the first to compose a Hebrew Grammar, a monument of which he hoped, just as the Italian poets did of their works, that it would prove "more lasting than brass." And while he thus opened the way to the study of the Old Testament, Erasmus devoted his efforts to that of the New: he caused it to be printed, for the first time, in Greek; his paraphrase and comments upon it have produced effects far exceeding what even he contemplated.

While the bent of the human mind in Italy now tended to alienate men from the church and led them to oppose it, something of the same kind was taking place in Germany. There that spirit of free thinking which it will never be possible altogether to suppress, began to insinuate itself into the literary element, and in more than one quarter, grew into a distinct infidel system. A profound theology too, derived from sources

[1] Meiners has the merit of having first traced out his genealogy from *Revius Daventria illustrata*. Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer aus den Zeiten der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften, II. 308.

now unknown, though often assailed by the church, had never been found capable of being suppressed. This originated the literary efforts of Germany. Here I deem it worthy of remark that as early as the year 1513, the Bohemian Brethren approached Erasmus in his opinions, although at other times he pursued a very different course.[1]

Thus, on both sides of the Alps, did the development of the human mind in that age result in opposition to the church. On the one side, this opposition was associated with science and literature; on the other it sprang from metaphysical[2] studies and a more profound theology. There it was negative and infidel; here it was positive and believing. There it utterly abandoned the foundation of the church; here it restored that foundation to its original state. There it was scoffing and satirical, and submitted to authority; here it was serious and vehement, and proceeded to make the boldest assault on the Romish church that it had ever sustained.

It has been thought a merely casual circumstance that this assault was first directed against the abuses practised with the indulgence. But inasmuch as the outward manifestation of the inmost principle of the indulgence exposed at once, and in the clearest manner, what was the weak point in the whole state of things, consisting generally in the secularization of the spiritual element, so did it directly traverse the idea which had taken shape in the profound theology of Germany. A man, like Luther, whose religion flowed warm from the heart, a man profoundly imbued as he was, with the views of sin and justification that had been expressed before his time in the books of German theology, and who had become confirmed in these by the scriptures which he drank in with a thirsty soul, could have found nothing in the world so scandalous as the indulgence. The doctrine of a forgiveness of sin to be had for money, must have been mortally offensive to one whose convictions on that head had been acquired from contemplating the eternal relation between God and man, and who, moreover, had learned what the doctrine of scripture itself was on the subject.

[1] Füsslin: Kirchen-und Ketzergeschichte, II. 82.

[2] I have adopted the word metaphysical as the nearest approach to the meaning of the word *geistlichen* in the original. Tr.

Having devoted himself indeed to assail that abuse, the ill-grounded and prejudiced opposition he soon met with, led him gradually onwards; nor could he long remain blind to the relation which that one disorder bore to the general decline of the church. His was a nature that recoiled from no extremity. He scrupled not, with undaunted courage, to attack even the supreme head of the church himself, and thus, from among the most devoted dependents of the popedom, the begging friars, there arose the most daring and powerful opponent it ever knew. As Luther opposed a power which had so widely departed from its principle, only with so much the greater force and acuteness; as he expressed opinions of which all men were already convinced; as his opposition, though it had not as yet put forth its collective and positive force, was approved even by the unbelieving, and satisfied at the same time that seriousness which animated itself, the effect of his writings was immense: they seemed in an instant to fill Germany and the world.

CHAPTER THIRD.

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS.—CONNECTION OF THE REFORMATION WITH THESE.

THUS with the secular struggles of the popedom, did a two-fold movement manifest itself. First, there was a religious movement, followed ere long by a desertion from the ranks of the popedom, which seemed likely to exert an immense influence upon the future. Then there was a political movement also, the elements stirred up by which, remained in a state of fermentation, and could not fail to lead to new developments. These two movements, their reciprocal influence, and the oppositions of interest and passion to which they gave rise, formed the leading feature in the history of the popes for ages.

Well were it that no prince, no state, should ever suppose that it can be benefited by proceedings in which it is to owe nothing to itself; to procure nothing by its own efforts. The Italian governments, in attempting, with the assistance of foreign nations, to vanquish one another, destroyed the independence which they had enjoyed in the fifteenth century, and

handed over their country as a common battle ground to strangers. In this a great deal must be ascribed to the popes. They had now, no doubt, attained to a degree of power, such as the Roman see had at no previous time possessed; but this was not owing to any exertions of theirs. They owed it to the French, Spaniards, Germans and Swiss. Cæsar Borgia could hardly have accomplished much but for his alliance with Louis XII.; magnificent as were the views of Julius II., heroical as were his efforts, without the assistance of Spain and Switzerland he must have been overborne. But how could it be expected that they who had fought and won, should not likewise seek to enjoy the preponderance which thus accrued to them. Julius II. clearly perceived this, and made it his object, while all else were kept in a kind of equipoise, to secure the services of the least powerful, that is, of the Swiss; these he ventured to hope he might direct as he chose.

But it turned out otherwise. Two great powers had gradually risen up, and these now began a contest, if not for the absolute dominion, at least for the supremacy in Europe. These had left the pope far behind in point of power, and Italy was to be the battle field of their rivalry.

The French first appeared upon the scene. Not long after Leo's elevation to the popedom, in greater force apparently than ever, and headed by Francis I. in all the youthful heroism of chivalry, they once more crossed the Alps in order to recover Milan. All now depended on the resistance they might meet with from the Swiss. This made the battle of Marignano of so much consequence, for the Swiss on that occasion were utterly beaten, and since that defeat have never again exercised any independent influence in Italy.

The result of the first day's conflict was doubtful, and already had bonfires been lighted in Rome in consequence of its being reported that the Swiss had gained the battle. Intelligence of the result of the second day's engagement, and of the true state of the case, first reached the ambassador of the Venetians, then allies of the king of France, and who had contributed in no small degree to the decision of the contest. He repaired in all haste to the Vatican, to communicate this information to the pope. Leo came out to give him an audience before he had quite dressed

himself. "Your holiness," said the ambassador, "gave me bad news yesterday, but there was no truth in it. I bring you today what is both good and true. The Swiss have been beaten." He then read the letters he had received, and which coming from persons known to the pope, left no doubt as to the truth of their contents.[1] The pope made no secret of his consternation. "What then," he exclaimed, "will become of us; what will become even of you?" "We hope all that is good for both," was the reply. "Mr. Ambassador," rejoined the pope, "we must throw ourselves into the arms of the king and sue for mercy."[2]

That victory, in fact, gave the French a decided preponderance in Italy, and had they followed it up in good earnest, neither would Tuscany nor the states of the church, which were easily excited to rebellion, have offered much resistance; nay, it would have been no easy matter even for the Spaniards to maintain themselves in Naples. "The king," says Francis Vettori explicitly, "could have made himself master of Italy." How much at that moment depended on Leo!

Lorenzo Medici once remarked in speaking of his three sons, Julian, Peter and John; "the first is good, the second is a fool, the third is a clever fellow." This third became Leo X., and now he lived to prove himself equal to the difficulties in which he was involved. Though dissuaded from it by his cardinals, he repaired in person to Bologna, there to confer with the king;[3] and there they concluded the concordat in which they partitioned between themselves the rights of the Gallican church. Leo had also to relinquish Parma and Placentia, but, for the rest, he succeeded in conjuring the storm that threatened him, in prevailing

[1] Summario de la ratione de Zorzi. E cussi desmissiato venne fuori non compito di vestir. L'orator disse: pater sancte, eri vra santd. mi dette una cattiva nuova e falsa, io le daro ozi una bona e vera, zoe Sguizari è rotti. [The translator in the text.] The letters were from Pasqualigo, Dandolo, and others.

[2] Domine orator, vederemo quel fara il re christmo se metteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia. Lui orator disse, pater sancte, vostra santita non avra mal alcuno.—[" Mr. Orator, we shall see what the most Christian king will do. We will put ourselves into his hands and call for mercy." The orator said to him, "Holy Father, your Holiness will receive no harm."]

[3] Zorzi. *Questo papa è savio e praticho di stato e si pensò con li suoi consultori di venir abocharsi a Bologna con vergogna di la sede (ap.): molti cardinali, tra i qual il cardinal Hadriano, lo disconsejava: pur vi volse andar.*—[This pope is wise and expert in matters of state, and so he thought to come with his councillors to hold a conference at Bologna with the modesty of the (apostolic) see: many cardinals, among whom such as the cardinal Hadriano, dissuaded him, yet go there he would.]

on the king to retrace his steps, and in retaining the undisturbed possession of his territories.

How fortunate this was for him may be seen from the consequences that immediately followed the mere approach of the French. It deserves special acknowledgment that Leo, after the defeat of his allies, and the surrender of a portion of territory, was enabled to retain two provinces hardly yet acquired, long accustomed to independence, and replete with the elements of revolt.

His attack upon Urbino, upon a princely house with whom his family, when proscribed, had found a refuge and a home, has always been objected to him. He was led to it as follows; the duke of Urbino had taken pay from the pope, and afterwards, at the most critical moment, had failed to fulfil his engagement. Leo said that had he not punished him, there was not a baron in the states of the church, however insignificant, who might not presume to oppose him; that he had found the pontificate respected, and he was resolved to keep it so.[1] But as the duke, secretly at least, was backed by the French, as he found confederates in all parts of the state, and even in the college of cardinals, the contest continued to be a hazardous one. It proved by no means easy to expel the warlike prince; at times the pope was seen to shudder, and to be almost beside himself, on the arrival of bad news, besides which, a conspiracy was in progress for taking advantage of the medical treatment he required for some bodily ailment, to poison him.[2] The pope succeeded in securing himself against these enemies; but it is evident how difficult it was for him to do so. The discomfiture of his party by the French, operated against him alike in his capital and in his palace.

Meanwhile, however, the second great power had consolidated itself. Strange as it may appear, that one and the same prince should bear sway in Vienna, Brussels, Valladolid, Saragossa and Naples, and, besides all these, in another continent altogether;

[1] Franc. Vettori (*Sommario della storia d'Italia*), who was very intimate with the Medici, reports this declaration. The defender of Francis Maria, Giov. Batt. Leoni (Vita di Francesco Maria) relates things, p. 166, which very nearly agree with the above.

[2] Fea in the *Notizie intorno Rafaele*, p. 35, has communicated from the acts of the Consistory, the sentences passed on the three Cardinals, and these directly point to their agreement with Francis Maria.

this had in fact come to pass by means of a slight and almost unnoticed interweaving of family interests. This aggrandizement of the house of Austria, which bound so many distinct nations together, was one of the greatest and most eventful changes that have befallen Europe at large. Just as the nations had detached themselves from what had been hitherto their common centre, their political concerns threw them into a new connection, interwove them into a new system. The power of Austria instantly set itself to oppose the preponderance of France. Charles V.'s possession of the imperial dignity gave him legal claims to supreme rank at least in Lombardy. War burst forth without much delay, in consequence of this state of affairs in Italy.

The popes, as has been said, had hoped to attain to a state of absolute independence by means of the extension of their territories. They now saw themselves caught between two far superior powers. A pope was not so insignificant a personage as that he could venture to remain neutral in the struggle between them; nor was he powerful enough to throw a decisive weight into the scale; his immunity from danger must entirely depend on the skill with which he should take advantage of circumstances. Leo is said to have asserted that as soon as terms had been concluded with one party, no time should be lost in negotiating with the other.[1] Such a double-tongued policy was suggested to him by the position he occupied.

Seriously, however, Leo could hardly have a doubt to which party he should attach himself. Even had it not been of immense importance to him to succeed in recovering Parma and Placentia; and not to say that he might well have been determined by Charles V.'s promising to please an Italian in Milan, a promise so entirely to his liking, yet I conceive there was another distinct ground for the course he took. This lay in the state of religion.

Throughout the whole period now under review, the princes of Europe, in their complicated relations with the Roman see, had desired nothing so much as to call forth a spiritual opposition to it. Charles VIII. of France had no surer stay in op-

[1] *Suriano, Relatione di* 1533. *Dicesi del papa Leone, che quando 'l aveva fatto lega con alcuno prima, soleva dir, che pero non si dovea restar de tratar cum lo altro principe opposto.* [Translated in the text.]

posing Alexander VI. than what he found in the Dominican friar, Jerome Savonarola in Florence. Again, when Louis XII. had abandoned all hope of a reconciliation with Julius II. he summoned a council to meet at Pisa, and small as was its success, yet in Rome it seemed a very dangerous affair. But when did the pope find a bolder or more successful enemy than Luther? His appearance alone, his mere existence, gave him political weight. Maximilian saw the matter in this light; he never would have allowed any violence to be done to the monk; he caused him even to be specially recommended to the electoral prince of Saxony; "He might be needed one day." And from that time Luther's influence had daily increased. The pope found it impossible either to convince or to frighten him, or to get him into his hands. Let it not be supposed that Leo was unaware of the danger. Often had he sought to draw into that field of controversy, the talents with which he was surrounded at Rome. But another resource still remained. If, on the one hand, he had reason to dread that by declaring himself against the emperor, he might see so dangerous an opposition protected and promoted, he might hope, on the other hand, by allying himself with that prince, to obtain his assistance in suppressing religious innovation.

At the diet of Worms, in 1521, political and religious affairs became subjects of negotiation. Leo concluded an alliance with Charles V. for the recovery of Milan, and from the very day of the signature of that treaty, dates the outlawry pronounced upon Luther. I care not though other motives may have had their share in this; no one will persuade himself that it had not the closest connection with the political negotiation of the same date.

Nor was it long before the consequences of this league appeared on both sides. Luther was imprisoned in the castle of Wartburg, and his place of confinement kept secret.[1] The Italians would not at once believe that Charles, from a conscientious desire that the safe-conduct should not be violated, had allowed him to depart: "but perceiving," said they, "that the pope was

[1] Luther was supposed to be dead; it was reported that the papists had murdered him. Pallavicini (Istoria del concilio di Trento I. c. 28,) borrows from the letters of Alexander, that the lives of the nuncios were on that account in jeopardy.

alarmed at Luther's doctrine, he wished to make use of him as a means of holding the pope in check."[1] Be that as it may, Luther altogether disappeared for a time from the scene of the world; he was so far outlawed, and the pope, at all events, had succeeded in carrying out a decisive measure against him.

The imperial papal arms were meanwhile successful in Italy. One of the pope's nearest relations, Cardinal Julius Medici, son of his father's brother, was himself in the field and marched with the troops into Milan when taken. It was maintained in Rome that the pope thought of that dukedom for him; but I find no satisfactory evidence of this, and the emperor might not so readily have been brought to accede to it. But putting that aside, the advantage was not worth the reckoning. Parma and Placentia had been reconquered; the French had withdrawn; and the pope must infallibly obtain great influence over the new prince at Milan.

It was a crisis of the utmost importance. A new political development had commenced; a great ecclesiastical movement had set in. It was a moment in which the pope might flatter himself with having to guide the one and to arrest the other. He was young enough as yet, to cherish the hope of turning all to his advantage.

Strange and fallacious destiny of man! Leo was at his villa of Malliana, when the news arrived of his friends having entered Milan. He gave himself up to such feelings as the successful issue of an undertaking usually inspires. Gratified with the sight of the festivities in which his people were indulging on the occasion, he continued, till far on in the night, to pace to and fro between the window and a blazing fire; it was in November.[2] Somewhat exhausted, but still in high spirits, he came to Rome,

[1] Vettori: *Carlo si excusò di non poter procedere piu oltre rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu che conoscendo che il papa temeva molto di questa doctrina di Luthero, lo volle tenere con questo freno.*—[Charles was excused from proceeding farther on account of the safe-conduct; but the truth is, that knowing the pope to be much afraid of that doctrine of Luther's, he wished to hold him with that rein.]

[2] *Copia di una lettera di Roma alli Sgrt Bolognesi a dì 3 Debr. 1521, scritta per Bartholomeo Argilelli.*—[Copy of a letter from Rome to the magistrates of Bologna, dated 3d Dec. 1521, written by Bartholomew Argilelli.] See Sanuto in the 32d Vol. The news reached the pope on the 24th of Nov. as grace was saying. He looked upon this as a particularly good omen. He said: *Questa è buona nuova che havete portato.*[—This is good news you have brought.] The Swiss began directly to make peace. The pope made them be entreated to do nothing, but to no purpose.

and there, before the public rejoicings were over, he was seized with a mortal illness. "Pray for me," said he to his servants, "I still make you all happy." He was fond of life, but his hour was come. He had not time to receive the sacrament and extreme unction. Thus suddenly, and at so early an age, he died, amid high hopes, even as the poppy sheds its flower.[1]

The people of Rome could not forgive him for dying without the sacraments; for having spent so much money, too, and yet leaving quite enough of debts unpaid. They accompanied his obsequies with gibes. "Like a fox,," said they, "didst thou sneak in, like a lion hast thou reigned, and thy death has been that of a dog."[2 3]. Posterity, on the contrary, has given his name to an age in history, and to an important development of the human mind.

We have pronounced him fortunate. After having met with that first reverse, which, after all, did not affect him so much as

[1] People talked immediately of poison. *Lettera di Hieronymo Bon a suo barba a dì 5 Dec.*—[Letter of Jerome Bon to his uncle, dated 5th Dec.] in Sanuto. *Non si sa certo se'l pontefice sia morto di veneno. Fo aperto. Maestro Ferando judica sia stato venenato: alcuno de li altri no: è di questa opinione Mastro Severino, che lo vide aprire, dice che non è venenato.*—[People are not sure whether the pontiff died by poison or not. He was opened. Dr. Ferando judged that he had been poisoned; some thought otherwise; of that opinion is Dr. Severino who saw him opened—he says he was not poisoned.]

[2] *Capitoli di una lettera scritta a Roma* 21 *Dec.* 1521. *Concludo che non è morto mai papa cum peggior fama dapoi è la chiesa di Dio.*—[Heads of a letter written from Rome 21st Dec. 1521. I conclude that never has there died a pope of worse reputation since the church of God existed.]

[3] This was predicted by pope Celestine of his successor, Boniface VIII. "This cardinal," said he, "who stole like a fox into the chair of St. Peter, will have the reign of a lion and the end of a dog." French critics have blamed M. Merle d'Aubigné for having given too severe a character of Leo X. and have praised this of Ranke's for its greater fairness. But unless the politer accomplishments of life, and other merely pleasing qualities, can be supposed to compensate for the grossest hypocrisy and prostitution of sacred things, the Swiss historian's must be regarded as the more faithful portrait of the two. Leo was, in short, what the Romans evidently thought him, an accomplished and agreeable knave. The following passage from an historian whose own infidelity led him to be more than ordinarily candid in describing characters of that class, may be said to settle the point. "It is commonly believed," says Hume, "that Leo, from the penetration of his genius and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falsity of the doctrines which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote; it is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds which his predecessors the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plausible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence, and as his expenses had not only exhausted his usual revenue but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons who were entitled to buy the impositions. The produce particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to his sister Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural son of Innocent VIII., and she," &c. See Hume, Henry VIII. Tr.

it did other members of his house, he had the felicity to pass from one source of enjoyment to another, and from success to success. Even untoward events seemed destined to promote his happiness and elevation. His life flowed on in a kind of intellectual intoxication, and in the unintermitted gratification of his wishes. What formed part of his enjoyment was his kindliness and liberality, his capacity for acquiring accomplishments and his readiness to own obligations. These very qualities are the fairest gifts of nature, favours of fortune which men rarely obtain for themselves, yet on which all their enjoyment of life depends. In these he was little disturbed by business; for as he never annoyed himself about the details, and looked only to the grand features of a case, business never overwhelmed him, and called into exercise only the noblest faculties of the soul. He owed, no doubt, just to his not devoting every day and all hours of the day to public affairs, his being able to conduct them with a firmer and free-er superintendence, and his never losing sight, amid all the perplexities of the moment, of the ideas which were to lead him out of these and to indicate the course he should follow. He himself always gave the chief directions; and in his last moments all the efforts of his policy were co-operating towards a happy result. It may even be reckoned a felicity that he died so soon. Other times followed, to the untowardliness of which it is hard to believe that he would have offered a successful opposition. His successors at least, found it very difficult to do so.

The conclave was long in coming to a decision. "My Lords," said cardinal Medici one day, terrified at the thought of the enemies of his house coming back to Urbino and Perugia, so that he trembled even for Florence, "My Lords," said he, "I see that none of us who are met here, can be pope. I have proposed three or four to you but you have rejected them; and, on the other hand, I cannot accept of the person proposed by you. We must look about for some one who is not present here." Assenting to this, they asked who it was that he had in view. "Take," he exclaimed, "the cardinal of Tortosa, a worthy man, advanced in life, and who is held in universal repute for sanctity."[1] This was Adrian of Utrecht, formerly professor at Lou-

[1] *Lettera di Roma a dì* 19 *Zener. bei Sanuto. Medici card*^{le}, *dubitando de li casi suoi, se la cosa fosse troppo ita in longo, deliberò mettere conclusione, et havendo in*

vain and tutor to Charles V., through whose personal regard he had been promoted to be governor of Spain, and raised to the dignity of a cardinal.[1] Cardinal Cajetan, who did not otherwise belong to the Medicean party, rose to pronounce an eulogy on the person thus proposed. Who could have believed that the cardinals, who had ever been wont to make their own personal interest bear upon the election of a pope, would have agreed to choose a person at a distance, a Dutchman, the cardinal whom the fewest knew, and from whom none could stipulate for a favour! They allowed themselves to be taken by surprise, and when the result was known, knew not very well how they had come to it. "They were well nigh dead with fear," says one of our informants. It was said that they might have persuaded themselves for a moment that Adrian would not accept. Pasquin ridiculed them: he represented the object of their choice as a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as school-boys whom he was chastising.

But it was long since the election had fallen upon a worthier man. Adrian enjoyed a thoroughly unblemished reputation; he was upright, devout, industrious; very serious, his laugh never going beyond a smile; but full of well-intended and disinterested views; in short, a true clergyman.[2] What a con-

animo questo card^le Dertusense per esser imperialissimo—disse : etc—[Medici doubtful how matters might go with him, were the affair to be protracted too long, and regarding that Tortosian clergy* as most devoted to the emperor—said, &c.]

[1] So he calls himself in a letter of 1514, to be found in Gaspar Burmannus's Adrianus VI. sive Analecta Historica de Adriano VI. p. 443. In private documents he is called Meyster Aryän Florisse of Utrecht. In later times he has sometimes been called Boyens, because his father wrote his name Floris Boyens, but that means no more than Bodewin's son, and is not a surname. See Burmann in the *Anmerkungen* [Notes] to Moringi *Vita Adriani*, p. 2.

[2] *Literæ ex Victorial directivæ ad Cardinalem de Flisco*, in the 33d vol. of Sanuto, describe him as follows :—*Vir est sui tenax ; in concedendo parcissimus : in recipiendo nullus aut rarissimus. In sacrificio cotidianus et matutinus est. Quem amet aut si quem amet nulli exploratum. Ira non agitur, jocis non ducitur. Neque ob pontificatum visus est exultasse : quin constat graviter illum ad ejus famam nuntii ingemuisse.*—[He is a man tenacious of what is his own: most chary in giving, and never or very rarely known to take. He is daily and early at mass. No one knows whom he loves or if he loves any one. He is not moved by anger nor influenced by jests. Nor has he seemed to exult at having been raised to the pontificate: on the contrary, it is certain that when the tidings reached him he drew a deep sigh.] In Burmann's Collection there is an *Itinerarium Adriani*—[an Itinerary of Adrian]—by Ortiz, who accompanied the pope, and was intimately acquainted with him. He assures us, at page 223, that he had never noticed anything to be found fault with in him. He was an example of all the virtues.

* Adrian, among other favours from Charles V., had been made bishop of Tortosa in Spain—the ancient Dertusa, Dertosa or Dertosa. Tr.

trast now that he repaired to the scene of Leo's splendid and prodigal court! A letter of his is still extant, in which he says he would rather serve God in his provostry at Louvain, than be pope.[1] In fact he carried out in the Vatican, the life he had led as a professor. As a characteristic trait, we may be allowed to mention, that he brought along with him his old housekeeper, who managed his household affairs as before. He continued his former mode of life unaltered. After rising at daybreak, and reading his mass, he proceeded with the ordinary routine of business and study, which was interrupted only by the simplest repast at noon. Yet it cannot be said that he was a stranger to the accomplishments of his age; he loved Flemish art, and could appreciate the union of elegance with learning. Erasmus acknowledges that he was mainly indebted to him for protection from the attacks of bigoted schoolmen.[2] He disapproved only of that almost heathen direction to which people were then yielding themselves in Rome, and he would have nothing to do with the sect of the poets.

No man could be more earnestly desirous than Adrian VI.—he retained his original name—to apply a remedy to the bad state of things which he found in Christendom.

The progress of the Turkish arms, the fall of Belgrade and of Rhodes, presented a special inducement to him to turn his thoughts to the restoration of peace among the Christian powers. Notwithstanding his having been the emperor's tutor, he forthwith assumed a neutral position. The imperial ambassador who, on the occasion of the war that was breaking out afresh, had hoped to bring him to a decided declaration in favour of his former pupil, was obliged to leave Rome without effecting his purpose.[3] When news was brought to the pope of the taking of Rhodes, he looked on the ground, said nothing,

[1] *An Florenz dem Wyngaerden: Vittoria*, 15 Feb., 1522, in Burmann, p. 398.

[2] Erasmus says of him in one of his letters; *licet scholasticis disciplinis faveret, satis tamen æquus in bonas literas.*—[Although favourable to the scholastic modes of teaching, he is candid enough, however, with respect to sound literature.] Burm. p. 15. Jovius relates with satisfaction, how much it advanced him in Adrian's good graces, that he had the reputation of being *scriptor annalium valde elegans* [a most elegant writer of annals], especially as he never had been a poet.

[3] *Gradenigo, Relatione*, says it was the viceroy of Naples. Girolamo Negro, some very interesting letters from whom respecting these times are to be found in the *Lettere di Principi*, T.I. says, at p. 109, of John Manuel, *Se partì mezo disperato.*—[He went off half desperate.]

but drew a deep sigh.[1] The danger to which Hungary lay exposed was evident. He trembled even for Italy and Rome. His whole efforts were directed to the effecting, if not of an immediate peace, at least of a three years' truce, with the view of preparing, meanwhile, for a general campaign against the Turks.

Not less was he resolved to meet the demands of the Germans. No man could express himself more forcibly on the abuses that had invaded the church. "We are aware," he says, in the paper of instructions for the nuncio Chieregato, whom he sent to the diet, "that for a long while past, there has been much to be abominated in the holy see; abuses in spiritual things; excess in the exercise of privileges; all things perverted to evil. Corruption has descended from the head to the members, from the pope it has diffused itself among the prelates; we have all gone astray; there is none that hath done good, no, not one." He promised, on the other hand, all that it was fitting for a good pope to do; to promote the virtuous and the learned; to remove abuses, if not at once, at least gradually: he gave ground to hope for such a reformation, in the head and members, as had so often been desired.[2]

But it is not so easy to make the world straight. The excellence of a man's intentions, however high the position he occupies, is far from being equal to such an object. Abuse strikes its roots too deep; it shoots up with life itself.

The fall of Rhodes was far from inclining the French to peace: much to the contrary, as they saw it would throw new work into the emperor's hands, they formed on their side the greater designs against him. Not without the privity of the very cardinal whom, notwithstanding, Adrian trusted most, they formed alliances in Sicily, and made an attack on that island. The pope found himself driven at last to enter into a treaty with the emperor, directed in reality against the French.

But even the Germans were no longer to be preserved by what used formerly to be called a reformation of the head and members. And any such reformation—how difficult, how well nigh impossible its accomplishment!

[1] Negro from the narrative of the Venetian Secretary, p. 110.

[2] *Instructio pro te Francisco Cheregato, etc.. etc.*—[Instruction for thee Francis Chieregato, &c., &c.] among other places to be found in Rainaldus, tom. XI. p. 363.

Were the pope to attempt abolishing the revenues of the curia, in which he observed a kind of simony, he could not do so without weakening the honestly acquired rights of men whose offices were based on those revenues,—offices which they had regularly bought. Again, did he contemplate hitting on some change in regard to marriage dispensations, and perhaps abolishing some of the by-past prohibitions, it was represented to him that the discipline of the church would only be damaged and relaxed thereby.

In order to check the disorders of the indulgence, he would willingly have restored the ancient penances; but the Penitentiaria bid him observe that in that case he risked losing Italy in seeking to preserve Germany.[1]

Enough—at every step he saw himself beset with a thousand difficulties.

To this it must be added that he felt himself in a foreign element at Rome, and found already that he could not govern it, because he did not know the place—did not understand the internal springs of conduct there. People had welcomed him with joy, it being reckoned that he had five thousand benefices to give away, and every one indulging hopes for himself. But never did a pope show himself in this respect more reserved. Adrian insisted upon knowing whom he provided for, and who were fit to be entrusted with those vacant places; and as he went to work in these matters with scrupulous conscientiousness,[2] he disappointed innumerable expectations. The first decree of his pontificate had been to abolish reversionary rights to spiritual dignities, such as had hitherto been in use to be granted; and even those already bestowed he recalled. The result was inevitable; the publication of the decree in Rome, drew upon him abundance of bitter enmities. A certain liberty of speech and writing had to that time been enjoyed at the court; this he would no longer tolerate. His imposing some new taxes to supply the exhaustion of the papal treasury, and

[1] In the first book of the *Historia del concilio Tridentino*, [history of the council of Trent] by P. Sarpi, ed. of 1629, p. 23, the reader will find a good antithetical description of this state of things, taken from a journal of Chieregato's.

[2] Ortiz *Itinerarium* c. 28; c. 39, eminently worthy of credit: as when he says, *cum provisiones et alia hujusmodi testis oculatus inspexerim;* [when as an eye witness I looked over the provisions and other things of that sort.]

the increasing demands upon it, was considered as intolerable in a pope who spent so little. All men were dissatisfied.[1] He perceived this, and he resented it. He gave his confidence to the Italians less than ever. The two Hollanders, Enkfort and Hezius, to whom he allowed a certain influence, and one of whom was his datary, while the other was his secretary, were equally ignorant of business and of the court; he found it impossible to superintend them himself: besides, he would be always at his studies, when he not only read but also wrote. He was not very easy of access; affairs were shoved off, drawn into tedious delays, and managed without skill. The consequence was, that in concerns of the utmost general importance nothing was done with effect. Hostilities again commenced in upper Italy. Luther began his career anew in Germany. In Rome which, moreover, had been visited with the plague, a general discontent took possession of men's minds.

Adrian said on one occasion, "How much depends on the time in which even the best of men happen to live;" a sentiment expressive of the whole bitterness of feeling produced in him by the position he occupied. There was good reason for its being inscribed on his monument in the German church at Rome.

It must not at least be ascribed to Adrian's personal qualities alone, if his times remained barren in results. The popedom was encompassed with great necessities, the urgency of which was universally felt, and which might have furnished infinite occupation to one more than ordinarily able in conducting its affairs, as well as expert in the management of men and means.

Among all the cardinals there was none that seemed better fitted for the administration of the popedom, or more equal to such a burthen, than Julius Medici. Already, under Leo, he had managed the greatest part of public affairs, including all the details, and even under Adrian had preserved a certain

[1] *Lettere di Negro. Capitolo del Berni:*

E quando un segue il libero costume
Di sfogarsi scrivendo e di cantare,
Lo minaccia di far buttare in fiume.

[He threatened to ordain, if ever
A soul pursued the liberal mode,
And sung a song, or wrote an ode,
He should be tossed into the river.]

amount of influence.[1] He did not, on this occasion, allow the supreme dignity again to slip from his grasp, but was elected pope, and took the name of Clement VII.

Most sedulously did the new pope avoid the evils that had marked the administration of his two immediate predecessors; the uncertainties, the spend-thrift waste, and the scandalizing habits of Leo; and the opposition into which Adrian had entered with the settled order of his court. Every thing went on judiciously; in the pope himself at least nothing was so observable as inoffensiveness and moderation. The pontifical ceremonies were carefully conducted; audiences were given indefatigably from an early hour until evening; the arts and sciences were promoted in the direction which they had decidedly taken. Clement himself was a highly accomplished person. Not only could he hold conversations on philosophical and theological questions, but also, with no less knowledge of the subject, on mechanical and hydraulic inventions. He displayed extraordinary acuteness in every thing; penetrated into the most difficult affairs, and saw to the bottom of them. In discussing a subject he showed consummate skill. Under Leo he had proved that none could surpass him in the wisdom of his counsels, or in the ability with which he carried them into effect.

But it is in the storm that the steersman first establishes his character. He entered on the popedom at a time when, regarded simply as an Italian principality, it was in an extremely critical condition.

The Spaniards had contributed most to extend and preserve the states of the church, and they had restored the Medici in Florence. It was in this alliance, then, with the popes, and with the house of Medici, that they had risen to such importance even in Italy. Alexander VI. had opened the lower Italy to them; Julius had conducted them towards the middle states, and the attack on Milan which they had undertaken in common with Leo, had ended in their becoming the lords of upper Italy. Even Clement had in many ways aided them in

[1] *Relatione di Marco Foscari* 1526, says of him speaking of that time, *Stava con grandissima reputation e governava il papato et havia piu zente a la sua audientia che il papa.*—[He stood in the highest reputation, and governed the popedom, and had a greater attendance at his audiences than the pope.]

this course of aggrandizement. There is still extant a body of instructions from him for one of his ambassadors at the Spanish court, in which he recapitulates the services he had rendered to Charles V. and his family. It was mainly owing to him that Francis I. on his first coming into Italy, did not penetrate as far as Naples, and through him it had come to pass that Leo had interposed no obstacle to the election of Charles V. as emperor, and that he had abolished the old constitution, in virtue of which no king of Naples durst at the same time be emperor; notwithstanding all the promises of the French he had promoted Leo's allying himself with Charles for the recovery of Milan, and towards that undertaking had spared neither the resources of his country and his friends, nor his own person. He had procured the popedom for Adrian VI., and at the time it seemed much the same whether Adrian or the emperor became pope.[1] I shall not inquire how much of the policy pursued by Leo ought to be ascribed to the adviser, and how much to the prince; certain it is that cardinal Medici was always on the emperor's side. After his becoming pope, too, he came to the assistance of the imperial troops with money, provisions, and the security of the spiritual revenues; once more they were obliged in part to his support for the triumph they achieved.

Thus close was Clement's alliance with Spain; but, as not seldom happens, no ordinary evils appeared among the consequences of that league.

The popes had furnished occasion for Spanish aggrandizement, but had never properly contemplated that result. They had wrested Milan from the French, but had no desire to bring it into the possession of Spain. So much to the contrary, more than one war had been waged for the very purpose of preventing Milan and Naples from falling into the same hands;[2] the progress daily made by the Spaniards, who had long been masters

[1] *Instruttione al Card. reverend^mo di Farnese, che fu poi Paulo III., quando andò legato all' Imperatore Carlo V. doppo il sacco di Roma.*—[Instruction to the most Rev. Cardinal Farnese, who was afterwards Paul III., when he went as ambassador to the emperor Charles V. after the sack of Rome.] In the appendix.

[2] In that body of instructions this is expressly stated: the pope had already intimated to them what had displeased him: *perche lo stato di Milano restasse al duca, al quale effetto si erano fatte tutte le guerre d' Italia.*—[Moreover that the state of Milan should remain the possession of the duke, to which effect had been waged all the wars of Italy.]

of lower Italy, in establishing themselves in Lombardy, and their delaying the investiture of Sforza, were viewed at Rome with impatience and aversion.

Clement, moreover, was personally dissatisfied. From the body of instructions we have quoted, it will be seen that even when a cardinal he thought he had often failed to receive the consideration which his services deserved; little deference had ever been paid to him; and the attack on Marseilles in 1521 was made expressly against his advice. His ministers, as was avowed by themselves, expected to see greater and greater slights put upon the papal see; they saw nothing in the Spaniards but domineering and insolent intruders.[1]

How closely did the past course of events, and his own personal position, seem to attach Clement to the Spaniards, by the ties of necessity and choice! Now, however, innumerable reasons occurred for his execrating the power which he had helped to establish, and for his opposing the very persons whose interests he had hitherto favoured and advanced.

Perhaps there is nothing more difficult in politics than for a man to abandon the course which he has uniformly pursued, and to undo results which he himself has brought about. And how much now depended upon this! The Italians were fully convinced that it involved the fate of future ages. A feeling of brotherhood had powerfully gone forth through the nation; a feeling which I quite believe was mainly owing to that development of literature and the arts, which so far surpassed whatever other nations could pretend to. The arrogance and avarice of the Spaniards, likewise, both officers and common soldiers, were displayed to a degree that had become quite intolerable. These semi-barbarous foreign lords were looked upon in the country with a mixture of contempt and indignation. Matters were not yet so desperate but that there was a possibility of shaking them off. Yet it was not to be concealed, that were the attempt to be made without all the powers of the nation being engaged in it, and were it to fail, irretrievable ruin must be the result.

Much do I wish that I could minutely describe the opening out of events in this period of history, in all its fullness, together

[1] *M. Giberto datario a Don Michele di Silva. Lettere di principi*, I. 197, b.

with the whole struggle of the powers thus roused into action. We can only venture here to follow some of the chief steps in this grand movement. The first, and it seems to have been carefully pondered, was taken in 1525, when an attempt was made to gain over the emperor's ablest general, who, certainly, was much dissatisfied. What more could be wanted, if, as was hoped, the emperor were to lose at once the general and the army with which he kept Italy in subjection? Promises accordingly were not spared, nay, the prospect even of a crown was presented. But how much did the Italians miscalculate! How completely foundered was the well known astuteness of their finesse on meeting the coarse material on which it struck. The general thus tempted, Pescara, although born in Italy, was of Spanish blood; spoke nothing but Spanish; would be nothing but a Spaniard. In the accomplishments of Italy he took no part. What education he had enjoyed he owed to Spanish romances, which breathe nothing but loyalty and fidelity to engagements. To any national undertaking on the part of Italy he was by nature averse.[1] Hardly was the proposal made to him when he revealed it to his comrades and to the emperor; the only use he made of it, was to discover what the Italians were about, and to thwart them in all their schemes. This of itself, for how completely must mutual confidence have vanished, made a decisive struggle with the emperor inevitable.

In the summer of 1526, we at length behold the Italians commence operations with peculiar vigour. The Milanese are already in revolt against the imperialists. A Venetian and a papal army press on to their support. The Swiss have promised their assistance, and treaties have been formed with France and England. "This time," says Clement VII.'s most confidential adviser, Giberto, "it is no affair of petty revenge, it is no mere point of honour, no single city that is at stake; this war de-

[1] Vettori holds him out as the very worst of characters. *Era superbo oltre modo, invidioso, ingrato, avaro, venenoso e crudele, senza religione, senza humanità, nato proprio per distruggere l'Italia.*—[He was haughty beyond measure, envious, ungrateful, greedy, poisonous and cruel; without religion, without humanity, born expressly for the destruction of Italy.] Morone, too, says on one occasion in Guicciardini, that a more faithless or wicked person than Pescara did not exist, (Hist. d'Italia, XVI. 476) and yet made the proposal to him. I do not adduce these judgments pronounced upon as true; they only show that Pescara had given proofs of nothing but hostility and hatred towards the Italians.

cides the emancipation or the everlasting bondage of Italy." He has no doubt of its success. "Those who come after us," says he, "will be envious at not having lived in our times, so as to have witnessed such felicity, and to have shared in it." He trusts there will be no necessity for calling in foreign aid. "Ours alone will be the glory," says he, "and so much the sweeter will be the fruits."[1]

Such were the ideas and expectations with which Clement entered on his war with the Spaniards.[2] It was the boldest and grandest, but, at the same time, the most unfortunate and ruinous project he ever entertained.

The affairs of the state and the church were now intimately interwoven. The pope seems to have paid no regard whatever to the movements in Germany. In these we find the first symptom of re-action.

In July 1526, just as the troops of Clement VII. were advancing into upper Italy, the diet had assembled at Spires, with the view of coming to some definite decision respecting the differences of opinion in the church. It ran quite counter to the nature of things, that the imperial party, that Ferdinand of Austria, who filled the emperor's throne, at the very instant of their being eagerly attacked by the pope on one side of the Alps—Ferdinand himself, be it observed, cherished views upon Milan—should on the other side of that barrier, have insisted on maintaining the integrity of the papal government. Whatever had previously been contemplated, or might have been proclaimed,[3] all the regard people could have felt for the pope, must have been dissipated by the open hostilities in which they were engaged with him. Never did the cities utter their opinions more frankly; never did the princes press the removal of their grievances with greater urgency. It was suggested that it was better at once to burn the books that contained the new regulations, and simply to take the Holy Scriptures as their rule; and although there arose a cer-

[1] G. M. Giberto al vescovo di Veruli. Lettere di principi, I. p. 192, a.

[2] Foscari too says: *Quello fa a presente di volor far lega con Francia, fa per ben suo e d'Italia, non perchè ama Francesi.*—[What made him now wish to enter into a league with France was his own advantage and that of Italy, not that he loved the French.]

[3] The emperor's instructions, which threw the Protestants into some alarm, are dated in March 1526, a time at which the pope had not yet leagued himself with France.

tain opposition to this, never could there have been conceived a more independent resolution. Ferdinand put his signature to an imperial decree, in virtue of which the different orders were left free to act in religious matters, as each could best answer for, to God and the emperor; that is, to proceed according to their own judgment. A decision in which the pope was left altogether out of view, may be considered as the commencement of the Reformation and the establishment of a new church in Germany. This regulation was practically adopted, without farther delay, in Saxony, Hesse, and the neighbouring states. The legal existence of the Protestant party in the empire, mainly rests on the edict of Spires in 1526.

It may be said that this expression of men's minds in Germany, proved decisive for Italy also. The Italians were far from being enthusiastic, as a body, in their grand enterprise; nay, even those who took an active part in it, were far from being at one among themselves. The pope, however able a man, and however thorough an Italian, yet was no such person as fate might be supposed to require being bound by. Apparently he was at times the victim of his own acuteness. He seemed to be quite too conscious that he was the weaker party; all possible contingencies, the dangers that threatened on all sides, rose before his mind and confounded him. There is a practical wisdom, the gift of the inventive faculty, which perceives what is simple in affairs, and firmly seizes what is feasible or prudent. That wisdom he did not possess.[1] At the most critical moments he was seen to procrastinate, to waver, to think of saving expense. As his allies, too, now failed in their engagements, the expected results were far from being obtained, and the imperialists were still maintaining their ground in Lombardy, when in Nov. 1526, George Frundsberg, with a magnificent force of infantry, crossed the Alps with the view of putting an end at once to the war. He and his followers were all of Luther's sentiments. They came to take revenge for the emperor upon the pope, whose faith-

[1] Suriano, Rel. di 1533, thought he had *core frigidissimo: el quale fa la Beatme S. esser dotata di non vulgar timidità, non dirò pusillanimità. Il che pero parmi avere trovato comunemente in la natura fiorentina. Questa timidità causa che S. Se è molto irresoluta.*—[A most frigid heart, such as made the holy Beatitude to be endued with no common timidity, I will not say pusillanimity. It seems to me, however, to be commonly found in the Florentine nature, that timidity made his Holiness very irresolute.

lessness in the observance of treaties had been represented to them as the cause of all that was wrong, of the protracted war of Christendom, and of the good fortune of the Osmen, who at that very time were overrunning Hungary. "If I come to Rome," said Frundsberg, "I will hang the pope."

People beheld with anxiety the storm arise, cover the horizon, and gradually approach them. That Rome, so full, it may be, of crimes, but not less full of noble efforts, of mind, and of intellectual accomplishments, prolific in exquisite works of art, and adorned with works of that kind, such as the world never produced but then, a kingdom ennobled with the splendour of intellect and with vigorous endeavours to improve, was now threatened with destruction. While the imperialists concentrated themselves in masses, the hosts of Italy flew like dust before them; the sole army that remained, followed them at a distance. The emperor, who had long found it imposssible to pay his troops, had it not in his power, even had he had the will, to turn them in any other direction. The army advanced accordingly, under the imperial banners indeed, yet obedient only to its own stormy impulses. The pope still hoped, negotiated, made proposals and retracted them; but he either would not, or could not, employ the only means of deliverance, which was to propitiate the army with the money which it believed it might venture to exact. Was the enemy then to be seriously encountered with such weapons as were at hand? Four thousand men would have sufficed to close the passes of Tuscany; yet this was not once attempted. Rome might probably have mustered thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms, and many of whom had seen war; these went about with swords at their sides, fought with one another, and boasted mighty things. But to meet the enemy who was bringing absolute destruction upon them, not above five hundred men were led out of the city. The pope and his forces were beaten at the first onset. On the 6th of May 1527, two hours before sunset, the imperialists burst into Rome. Old Frundsberg was no longer with them; not having met with the obedience to which he had been accustomed, on the occasion of a tumult, he had been struck with apoplexy and left behind sick; Bourbon, after having conducted the troops to that point, fell just as the storming ladders were first planted against the walls.

Neither restrained by the command, nor moderated by the personal influence of any leader, a blood-thirsty soldiery, rendered callous by long hardships and savage by trade, rushed through the city. Never fell richer booty into the hands of fiercer troops; never was there a longer, a more unintermitted, or a more destructive sack.[1] The splendour of Rome irradiates the commencement of the sixteenth century; it marks a wonderful era in the opening out of the human mind; that day brought its glories to a close.

And thus did the very pope who had been bent on the emancipation of Italy, find himself besieged, and, as it were, imprisoned, in the castle of St. Angelo. That great battle may be said to have established the preponderance of the Spaniards beyond recall.

A fresh attack by the French, though it promised well at first, completely misgave in the issue; they submitted to the renunciation of all their Italian claims.

Not less important was another occurrence. Even previous to the sack of Rome, on Bourbon being observed to proceed thither, the enemies of the Medici availed themselves of the confusion of the moment, to banish anew the family to which the pope belonged. Clement felt this conduct on the part of his native city, almost more keenly than he was affected by the fall of Rome. People saw him with amazement, after such bitter provocation, again ally himself with the imperialists; but the reason was, that he could see no means of re-instating his kindred and party in Florence, except by the assistance of Spain. To him the preponderance of the emperor seemed more tolerable than the refractoriness of his rebellious subjects. The worse it fared with the French, the more did he attach himself to the Spaniards; and when the former were at last defeated, he con-

1 *Vettori: La uccisione non fu molta, perchè rari si uccidono quelli che non si vogliono difendere, ma la preda fu inestimabile in danari contanti, di gioie, d'oro e d'argento lavorato, di vestiti, d'arazzi, paramenti di casa, mercantie d'ogni sorte e di taglie.*—[The slaughter was not great, for they rarely slew those who did not defend themselves,* but the booty was inestimable in ready money, jewels, wrought gold and silver, garments, tapestry, household furniture, merchandise of all kinds, and ransoms.]

* The above explicit statement of the Italian historian, makes it surprising that a German, and a Lutheran, like our author, should denounce a German-Lutheran army as *blood-thirsty*, though Vittori expressly says, that notwithstanding the excitement of the moment not many were slain, and very few in *cold blood*. Contrast this with the slaughter of Magdeburg under Tilly, in the thirty years' war, and how favourable is the result to the mild influence of Protestantism, even in a rude soldiery. How apt are the best to sacrifice truth to effect. Tr.

cluded with the latter his Barcelona compact. Nay, so entirely did he alter his policy, as now to employ in subjecting his native city anew to himself, the same army, only recruited and re-inforced, that had plundered Rome before his eyes, and that had kept him so long besieged.

From this time forward, Charles had more power in Italy than had belonged to any emperor for many ages. The crown that he had received at Bologna, had once more acquired its full significancy. Milan, as well as Naples, gradually submitted to his government, and over Tuscany he exercised, during his whole lifetime, a direct influence arising from the very circumstance of his having reinstated the Medici in Florence; the remaining princes either joined him or submitted. With the combined powers of Spain and Germany, and from the straits of Messina to the Alps, he held Italy in subjection, triumphant in arms, and strong in the exercise of the prerogatives of the empire.

Such was the course of things resulting from the war in Italy, since which time foreign nations have never ceased to bear rule in that country. Let us now contemplate the development of those religious dissensions which were so intimately connected with the political.

In resigning himself to being hemmed in on all sides by the power of Spain, the pope had hoped at least to see his authority restored in Germany by means of that mighty emperor who had been represented to him as eminently catholic and devout. This was even included in one of the articles of the peace of Barcelona. The emperor engaged to promote the reduction of the Protestants with all his resources; and it was an object which he seemed determined to effect. He returned a very unfavourable answer to the Protestant ambassadors who had sought him out in Italy. And on his journey to Germany in 1530, some members of the Curia, and in particular Cardinal Campeggi, who had been appointed to go along with him as legate, planned certain bold, and, for our fatherland, most dangerous projects.

There is still extant a memorial presented by him to the emperor at the time of the diet of Augsburg, in which he describes these. Truth requires me to say something about them, though it be with pain and reluctance.

Cardinal Campeggi is not content with lamenting the confu-

sions that prevailed in the church; he specially marks political consequences, pointing to the loss of rank which the noble families in the imperial cities had suffered from the Reformation; to the refusal of due obedience, alike to spiritual and even to secular princes; not only so, but that people no longer paid any regard to the majesty of the emperor. He then suggests the means by which the evil might be resisted.

The secret of his measures did not lie very deep. Nothing more was required, he thought, than that an alliance should be formed between the emperor and the right-minded part of the princes; thereupon they should endeavour to bring over those who were unfavourable, by promises or by threats. But what should they prove obstinate? In that case it was competent "to extirpate this poisonous weed with fire and sword."[1] The main affair was to confiscate their property, secular and ecclesiastical in Germany, as well as in Hungary and Bohemia. For against heretics all this was held lawful. In cases where they but once succeeded in obtaining the mastery over them, holy inquisitors were to be introduced, who should track out the last vestige of them, and proceed against them as in Spain against the Moors. The university of Wittenberg, moreover, was to be laid under the ban, and whoever should study there, declared unworthy of imperial or papal favour; the books of the heretics were to be burnt; monks that had deserted their monasteries were to be sent back; no court was to tolerate any man who was unsound in the faith. But first of all there must be a vigorous execution. "Even were your Majesty," says the legate, "to confine yourself to the heads of the party, you might extort a large amount of money from them, which, besides, is indispensably required for proceeding against the Turks."

Such is the purport of this proposal;[2] these are its fundamen-

[1] *Se alcuni ve ne fossero, che dio non voglia, li quali obstinatamente perseverassero in questa diabolica via, quella* (S. M.) *potrà mettere la mano al ferro et al foco et radicitus extirpare questa mala venenosa pianta.*—[If any of them will not do so, which God forbid, those who shall obstinately persevere in that diabolical way, your majesty may proceed against with fire and sword, and thoroughly extirpate that venomous weed.]

[2] It was not thought too hazardous to call such a proposal, an Instruction. *Instructio data Cæsari a reverend^mo Campeggio in dieta Augustana* 1530.—[Instruction presented to the emperor by the most Rev. Campeggio in the diet of Augsburg, 1530.] I found it in a Roman Library, in the handwriting of that period, leaving no doubt as to its authenticity.

tal principles. How does every word breathe oppression, blood, and plunder! Who can wonder that from an emperor who resigned himself to such guidance, the people of Germany looked for the last extremities, and that the protestants on those grounds of self-defence, which may justly be conceded to them, began to consult about their common safety

Fortunately, matters were not in a state to make the experiment of such an enterprise formidable. The emperor was far from being powerful enough to execute it. Erasmus, too, at that very time convincingly exploded it. But even had he possessed the power, he could hardly have had the will to do it.

Naturally he was rather mild, cautious, considerate, and slow. The more narrowly he looked into these religious differences, the more did they touch a chord in his own spirit. The very proclamation for holding a diet, seemed to intimate that it was his wish to hear different opinions, to ponder these, and to endeavour to bring all things to the standard of one purely Christian truth; to all violent designs he was totally averse.

Even they who are wont to suspect the purity of human intentions, cannot deny that it would not have been for Charles's advantage to employ violent measures. Why should he, the emperor, make himself the mere executor of papal decrees? Why should he put down enemies for the pope, and not only for that pope, but every future one, enemies, whom for the most part they must procure for themselves? The friendship of the papal government could by no means be sufficiently reckoned upon as a return for this.

Still more, there was involved in the bearings of the case, an advantage, at once obvious and natural, and which he had only to seize in order to secure a still more unlimited superiority than he then possessed.

Whether justly or unjustly, I presume not to inquire; it is enough that people were commonly impressed with the conviction, that nothing short of the convening of an ecclesiastical council was capable of composing such disorders. Councils had risen in public estimation from the very fact that the popes showed a natural reluctance to them all; all oppositions from the earliest times had raised that call. In 1530, Charles took this into his serious consideration. He at length promised

that a council should be summoned within a short specified time.

As the princes had long desired nothing so much in their complications with the papal see, as to have some spiritual restraint laid upon it, Charles was likely to find the most strenuous allies in a council convened under such circumstances. It was with his permission that it would be brought together; under his influence it would be held, and he would have to give effect to its determinations. These would have to bear upon two quarters; they would have to be applied to the pope as well as to his opponents; the old idea of a reformation in the head and the members, would now have to be carried into effect; and what a preponderating influence would not all this give to the civil power, and, most of all, to the emperor himself!

This was reasonable; it was, if you choose, inevitable; but it was at the same time his highest interest.

Nothing more hazardous, on the contrary, could happen to the pope and to his court. I find that upon the first serious mention of a council, the price of all the purchaseable offices attached to the court experienced a marked decline.[1] People saw into what jeopardy it threw the whole state of things in which they then found themselves.

But, in addition to this, Clement had personal considerations to influence him; his not being of legitimate birth; his having risen to the highest dignity not by the purest methods; his having allowed himself to be influenced by personal aims in carrying on an expensive war against his own country, at the church's cost, were all matters which would be sure to be made matters of severe reckoning with a pope, and all filled him with just alarm. "Already," says Soriano, "Clement kept aloof as far as possible from the mention of a council." Although he did not directly reject the proposal—that the honour of the Roman see would no longer permit—yet he gave his consent with manifest reluctance.

[1] *Lettera anonima all'arcivescovo Pimpinello (Lettere di principi,* III. 5*): Gli ufficii solo con la fama del concilio sono inviliti tanto che non se ne trovano danari.* —[Anonymous letter to Archbishop Pimpinello (Letters of Princes, III. 5): The offices, solely in consequence of the rumour of a council, are so much depreciated, that nobody will purchase them.] I see that Pallavicini also quotes this letter, III. 7, 1; I know not what has led him to ascribe it to Sanga.

He submitted, it is true; he reconciled himself to the idea, but at the same time enlarged in the strongest manner on the objections that might be alleged against it, exposing, in the liveliest colours, all the difficulties and dangers inseparable from a council, and urging that the consequences were more than doubtful.[1] Then he would interpose conditions, such as that all other princes must co-operate, and that the Protestants must first be effectually put down; conditions perfectly harmonizing, no doubt, with the system of papal doctrine, but which, as matters now stood, it would be found impossible to fulfil. How then could he be expected, in sober earnest, as well as apparently, and by external demonstration, to take measures for keeping the term fixed by the emperor? Charles had often reproached him for his delays, and insisted that to them must be imputed all farther evils that might ensue. The truth is, that he still entertained hopes of escaping from the necessity that brooded over him.

But it would not let him go. When, in 1533, Charles again visited Italy, with his mind still fully occupied with what he had seen and projected in Germany, he urged by word of mouth—for he had a meeting with the pope at Bologna—and with redoubled energy, that the council he had so often demanded should be summoned. There was now a direct confliction of opinion; the pope insisted on abiding by his conditions; the emperor represented to him that it would be found impossible to fulfil them. They could come to no agreement. In the documents which were sent forth on these matters, there may even be perceived a certain variation, the pope attaching himself to the emperor's opinion more in one than in others.[2] Be that as

[1] For example, *all' imperatore, di man propria di Clemente. Lettere di principi*, II. 197. *Al contrario nessun (rimedio) è più pericoloso e per partorir maggiori mali (del concilio) quando non concorrono le debite circonstanze.*—[To the emperor, in Clement's own handwriting. Letters of Princes, II. 197. On the contrary, none (no remedy) is more perilous and likely to cause greater evils (than a council) when the concurrence of the requisite circumstances are wanting.]

[2] Good information taken from the archives in the Vatican, with respect to the negotiations at Bologna, will be found in one of Pallavicini's best chapters, *lib.* III. *cap.* XII. He touches upon this variation, and says that it rested on express discussion. We find, in fact, in the addresses sent to the Roman Catholic orders of Society in Rainaldus, XX. 653, Hortleder I. XV. the condition of a general participation, retracted: the pope engages to report the result of his endeavours; in the points which were proposed to the protestants, it runs thus, expressly against article 7; *quod si forsan aliqui principes velint tam pio negotio deesse, nihilominus*

it may, he had to proceed to a fresh proclamation. But if he did not wish to delude himself, he could not venture to doubt that on the return of the emperor, who had gone to Spain, the matter could never be set at rest for him by any mere words; that the danger which he dreaded, and in which a council, called in such circumstances, must in fact involve the Roman see, would burst forth upon him.

It was a position, indeed, in which a person in the exercise of any authority whatsoever might well have been excused for hurrying into a rash decision, in his eagerness to save himself. Such already was the emperor's political preponderance. Even had the pope resigned himself thus far, still he must often have felt the pass to which he had been brought. He was profoundly chagrined at Charles V. having settled the old contentions of the church, with Ferrara, in favour of the latter. Apparently indifferent on that subject, he made it a matter of complaint among his friends. But how much more poignant must have been the pain he felt, when the very prince from whom people had been looking for the prompt suppression of Protestantism, instead of that, only made the deviations from the church's doctrines that had broken out, a means of raising himself to an ecclesiastical preponderance, such as had ceased to be known for centuries, and even jeoparded the religious authority of the Romish see! Was it possible that Clement should live to find himself placed altogether and exclusively in his hands, and absolutely abandoned to his discretion?

Before leaving Bologna, he resolved upon the course he should follow. Francis I. had already more than once proposed to the pope an alliance and family connection. This Clement had always declined. The desperate circumstances in which he now saw himself, led him to embrace it. We are expressly assured that the sole ground of his again listening to the king of France, was the demand made on him to call a council.[1]

summus D^s nr procedet cum saniori parte consentiente.—[But though some, perhaps, of the princes may choose to abstain from any share in so pious a business, nevertheless our supreme Lord will proceed with the consent of the sounder part.] Yet it appears as if this were the difference which Pallavicini had in view, although he mentions yet another variation.

[1] *Soriano Relatione* 1535. *Il papa andò a Bologna contra sua voglia e quasi sforzato, come di buon logo ho inteso, e fu assai di cio evidente segno che S. S^e consumò di giorni cento in tale viaggio il quale potea far in sei dì. Considerando dun-*

What this pope, for purely political reasons, would probably never again have attempted, namely, the restoring of the equipoise of the two great powers, and treating both with equal favour, he resolved upon in consideration of the ecclesiastical dangers with which he was surrounded.

Shortly after this, Clement held a conference with Francis I. It took place at Marseilles, and ended in the most intimate alliance. Just as the pope at a former period, amid the critical state of the affairs of the Florentines, confirmed his friendly relations with the emperor, by the betrothal of the natural daughter of the latter with one of his own nephews, the bond which he contracted with Francis I. amid the perils of the church, was sealed by the marriage of his young niece, Catherine Medici, with the king's second son. At the former of these periods he dreaded the French and their indirect influence on Florence, but now it was the emperor, and his intentions with respect to the calling of a council, that inspired him with alarm.

Now, too, he no longer took any pains to conceal his object. We have a letter of his to Ferdinand I. in which he declares that he had failed in his endeavours to effect a general participation by all Christian princes in the projected council. King Francis I., to whom he had spoken, thought that to be an unfavourable time for such a meeting, and had therefore declined to enter into the matter; he, the pope, entertained hopes, nevertheless, of seeing a favourable concord arise among Christian princes at some other time.[1] I know not how any man can be in doubt as to what were Clement's objects. In his last communication to the Catholic princes of Germany, he had repeated the condition that a general participation must be brought about,

que Clemente questi tali casi suoi e per dire così la servitù nella quale egli si trovava per la materia del concilio, la quale Cesare non lasciava di stimolare, cominciò a rendersi più facile al christianissimo. E quivi si trattò l'andata di Marsilia et insieme la pratica del matrimonio, essendo già la nipote nobile et habile.—[The pope went to Bologna against his will, and as if forced to it, as I have understood from a good quarter, and there was clear enough proof of this in his Holiness having consumed an hundred days in a journey which might have been done in six. Clement, then, considering this condition of his affairs, and, so to speak, the bondage in which he found himself with respect to the council, which the emperor never ceased to urge, began to make himself more easily dealt with by the most Christian (king of France). And thereafter there was a negotiation about the going to Marseilles, and also about a matrimonial project, the niece being now both noble and clever.] The pope had previously made her age and ancestry a pretext for evading the proposal.

[1] 20 March, 1534. Pallavicini, III. XVI. 3.

and his now declaring that he had found this impossible, implies an explicit refusal to give effect to his proclamation.[1] In his alliance with France, he found at once the courage required for such a step, and the pretext for adopting it. I cannot persuade myself that a general council would ever have met as long as he was pope.

Nor was this the sole result of that alliance. There presently presented itself another which had not been looked for, and was of the utmost moment, especially to us Germans.

Very remarkable likewise were the combinations that arose from the double entanglement of ecclesiastical and secular interests. Francis I. was at this time on the best understanding with the Protestants; and now by likewise allying himself so closely with the pope, he so far threw Protestants and pope into the same system.

And here we perceive what constituted the political strength of the position assumed by the Protestants. The emperor could not contemplate so directly subjecting them anew to the pope; he much rather availed himself of their movements to keep the pope in check. It gradually appeared that the pope, too, had no wish to see them subjected either to the favour or disfavour of the emperor. Even Clement VII'.s alliance with them was not a thing of which he was so quite unaware; he hoped to take advantage of their opposition to the emperor, in order that he might again keep the latter's hands fully occupied.[2]

It was even then remarked, that the king of France had led the pope to believe that he held the chief Protestant princes dependent on him, and encouraged him to hope that he would bring them formally to repudiate the council. But unless we are very much mistaken, these alliances went still further. Shortly after his interview with the pope, Francis I. had another with the

[1] *Soriano. La Ser^ma V^ra dunque in materia del concilio può esser certissima che dal canto di Clemente fu fuggita con tutti li mezzi e con tutte le vie.*—[Your Serene highness therefore, in the matter of the council, may rest assured that on Clement's side it was avoided by every means and in every way.]

[2] Sarpi: *Historia del concilio Tridentino, lib.* I. *p.* 68. *Soriano* confirms not all but an important part of what Sarpi has stated. That ambassador says: *avendo fatto credere a Clemente che da S. M. Ch^ma dipendessero quelli S^ri principalissimi e capi della fattione luterana, si che almeno si fuggisse il concilio.*—[Having led Clement to believe that those principal lords and heads of the Lutheran faction depended on his most Christian majesty, provided at least that they avoided the council,] I have not ventured on asserting more than this.

landgrave Philip of Hesse. They combined to restore the duke of Würtemberg, at that time overpowered by the house of Austria Francis I. agreed to assist with money. Thereupon the landgrave carried this project into operation in a short campaign, and with overwhelming energy. There is no doubt that he was to have penetrated into the hereditary territories of the house of Austria,[1] and it was generally conjectured that the king wanted Milan to be once more attacked from the side of Germany.[2] A yet further view is disclosed to us by Marino Justinian, at that time Venetian ambassador in France. He directly assures us that this German movement was determined upon by Clement and Francis at Marseilles: to this he adds, that it was by no means foreign to the plan of operations that these troops should be allowed to approach Italy; and that the pope would have secretly co-operated in bringing them there.[3] It were somewhat rash to regard this assertion, however confidently expressed, as a positive fact; further evidence is required. But supposing that we reject it, there unquestionably remains a very remarkable

[1] In the instructions to his ambassador to France, August, 1532, (See Rommel Urkundenbuch 61), he excuses himself "for not having pressed on to attack the king in his patrimonial domains."

[2] Jovius Historiæ sui temporis, lib. XXXII. p. 129; Paruta Storia Venez. p. 389.

[3] "Relatione del clarissimo M. Marino Giustinian el Kr venuto d'ambasciator al christianissimo re di Francia del 1535. (Archivio Venez.) Francesco fece l'abboccamento di Marsilia con Clemente, nel qual vedendo loro che Cesare stava fermo, conchiusero il movimento delle armi in Germania sotto pretesto di voler metter il duca di Virtenberg in casa; nel quale se Iddio non avesse posto la mano con il mezzo di Cesare, il quale all' improviso e con gran prestezza senza saputa del Xmo con la restitution del ducato di Virtenberg fece la pace, tutte quelle gente venivano in Italia sotto il favor secreto di Clemente."—[Francis had the personal interview with Clement at Marseilles, in which, as they saw that the emperor stood firm, THEY DETERMINED UPON THE MOVEMENT OF ARMS IN ITALY; whereupon had not God seconded the measures of the emperor, who suddenly, and with great despatch, made peace without the knowledge of the most Christian (king) and with the restitution of the dukedom of Würtemberg, all these troops would have entered Italy under the secret favour of Clement.] Still more explicit information, I suspect, will one day be found on this point. Soriano contains the following: "Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali che lo facevano credere, S. S. esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza pero far provisione alcuna in scrittura."—[To all the wishes (of the king) Clement agreed in such expressions as made him believe that his Holiness was disposed to oblige him in every way, without making any provision to that effect in writing.] There is no denying that an Italian enterprise was the subject in question. The pope maintained that he had declined it, *non avere bisogno di moto in Italia*;—[had no need of a movement in Italy.] The king had told him he should remain quiet; *con le mani accorte nelle maniche*,—[with his hands drawn up in sleeves.] Probably the French asserted what the Italians denied, so that the ambassador in France is more positive than the ambassador in Rome. But we can see how little a movement in Germany was excluded in the pope's saying, that he could not brook one in Italy.

phenomenon for our contemplation. Who could have imagined such a thing? At a time when the pope and Protestants were at irreconcilable enmity, and engaged in a spiritual warfare with each other, which filled the world with dissension, they were on the other hand united by the same political interests.

But if, at an earlier period, nothing in the complication of Italian affairs proved so hurtful to the pope as the ambiguous, and all too subtile policy which he pursued, these later proceedings bore for him still more bitter fruits on the spiritual territory.

Threatened in his hereditary provinces, Ferdinand hastened to conclude the peace of Kadan, in which he relinquished Würtemberg, and even formed a close alliance with the landgrave. Those were Philip of Hesse's happiest days. The vigour with which he aided a German prince who had been expelled from his states in the recovery of his lawful rights, raised him to the position of one of the most influential chiefs of the empire. But, besides this, he had achieved by force of arms another important result. That peace likewise comprehended a decision of deep importance in the religious contentions which then prevailed. The supreme court of judicature was instructed to admit no further prosecutions respecting confiscated church property

I know not if any other single occurrence ever contributed so much to the preponderance of the Protestant name in Germany as this Hessian enterprise. In that injunction to the supreme court, there was involved a judicial security of the utmost moment to the new party. Nor were its results long in making their appearance. The peace of Kadan may, in my opinion, be considered as marking the second epoch in the rise of a Protestant power in Germany. After having slackened its progress for a time, it began anew to extend itself in the most striking manner. Würtemberg, which had been taken possession of, was straightway reformed. The German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the Margraviate of Brandenburg, the second line of Saxony, one line of Brunswick, and Pfaltz followed shortly after. Within a few years the Reformation of the church spread over the whole of Lower, and gained a permanent footing in Upper Germany. Pope Clement was in the secret of an enterprise which

tended to this result, and immensely promoted the secession that had commenced,—nay, he perhaps approved of that enterprise. The popedom was in a false and untenable position throughout. Its secular tendencies had brought upon it a decline, from which there had arisen innumerable opponents and deserters; but the continuance of the same symptoms, the still further complication of spiritual and secular interests, completed its downfall.

The schism of England may in reality be traced to the same cause.

It is well worth noting that Henry VIII. with all his declared hostility to Luther, and intimately, too, as he was united with the Roman see, yet at the time of the first difference, in matters purely political, as early as the year 1525, threatened the Roman see with ecclesiastical innovations.[1] At that time, it is true, all differences came to be composed; the king made common cause with the pope against the emperor; when Clement, shut up in his castle, was abandoned by all men, Henry VIII. found means to send him support; wherefore Clement was probably inclined to show more personal favour to Henry than to any other prince whatever.[2] Since that, however, the affair of the king's divorce had come in the way. It is undeniable that even in 1528 the pope, without having actually promised a favourable issue, yet held out that it was possible, "as soon as the Germans and Spanish should be driven out of Italy."[3] We know that the very reverse took place. Now, for the first time, the imperialists firmly established themselves; we have seen into how close an alliance Clement entered with them; under such altered circumstances, he could not accomplish a hope, which, moreover, he had only suggested in a cursory way.[4] Hardly was the peace of Barcelona concluded, when he

[1] Wolsey had written in a threatening way, *che ogni provincia doventarà Lutherana;*—[that all the provinces will become Lutheran] an expression which may well be regarded as the first movement in the English civil government's secession from Rome. (*S. Giberto a i nuntii d'Inghilterra: Lettere di principi*, I. p. 147.)

[2] Contarini, Relatione di 1530, expressly asserts this. Soriano too in 1533, says: *Anglia S. Santità ama et era conjunctissimo prima.*—[His holiness loves England and was most closely allied to it first.] The king's purpose of a separation he declares at once to be a *pazzia*—[piece of folly.]

[3] From the despatches of Doctor Knight of Orvieto, 1st and 9th January, 1528: Herbert, Life of Henry VIII. p. 218.

[4] The whole state of matters may be seen from the following extract from a letter of the papal secretary Sanga Campeggi, Viterbo 2nd Sept. 1528, at the

advocated the cause to Rome. The lady from whom Henry wished to be separated, was the emperor's aunt; the marriage had received the express approval of a former pope; and as soon as the case was once brought into the ordinary course of a process before the law courts of the Curia, especially under the ever-increasing influence of the imperialists, who could entertain a doubt as to how it would be determined? Hereupon Henry entered at once on the course which he had already, on a former occasion, contemplated. In the main, in point of doctrine, he was and continued to be unquestionably Roman Catholic; but this affair, which in Rome had been so manifestly mingled with political ends, called forth in him an even keener opposition to the secular authority of the popedom. Every step taken in Rome to his disadvantage he retaliated with some measure against the Curia; and ever more and more formally renounced his dependence on it. When finally, in 1534, that court allowed its definitive sentence to go forth, he no longer hesitated in proclaiming the absolute separation of his kingdom from the pope. So weak already were the bonds that connected the Roman see with the various national churches, that it needed nothing more than the resolution of a prince to set his kingdom loose from their restraint.

Such were the events that marked the last year of the life of Clement VII. He felt them the more bitterly in as much as he was not quite blameless with respect to them, and his misfortunes stood connected, to an afflictive degree, with his personal qualities. Day after day, too, the course of affairs became more and more threatening. Francis I. was already preparing

moment that the Neapolitan enterprise had misgiven (a result which is referred to in the letter) and when Campeggi was about to proceed to England. "Come vostra Sign. Rev^ma sa, tenendosi N. Signore obligatissimo come fa a quel Seren^mo re, nessuna cosa è si grande della quale non desideri compiacerli, ma bisogna ancora che sua Beatitudine, vedendo l'imperatore vittorioso e sperando in questa vittoria non trovarlo alieno della pace,—non si precipiti a dare all' imperatore causa di nuova rottura, la quale leveria in perpetuo ogni speranza di pace: oltre che al certo metteria S. S^a a fuoco et a totale eccidio tutto il suo stato." (*Lettere di diversi autori, Venetia*, 1556, *p.* 39.)—[As your most Rev. Lordship knows, our Lord holding himself most obliged as he does, to that most serene king, there is nothing so great that he does not desire to oblige him in; but still it is necessary that his Beatitude, seeing the emperor victorious, and hoping in that victory not to find him averse to peace,—should not precipitate himself into giving the emperor occasion for a new rupture, which would ferment for ever, without any hope of peace, besides that it would assuredly ruin his Holiness, and lead to the total destruction of his whole state. (Letters of various authors, Venice, 1556, p. 39.)

for a fresh invasion of Italy, maintaining that although he had no written, yet he had had a verbal approval of his doing so from the pope. The emperor would no longer allow himself to be put off with evasions, and insisted more and more peremptorily on the calling of a council. To these causes of disquiet were added family dissensions; after it had cost him so much to bring Florence to subjection, the pope was doomed to see his two nephews enter into fierce hostilities with each other, about the supreme government of that city; his painful reflections on that subject—dread of approaching evils—pain and secret anguish, says Soriano, brought him to the grave.[1]

We spoke of Leo as fortunate; Clement was possibly a better man, certainly more faultless, more active, and, in details, more acute; yet in all that he did, or suffered to be done, he was unfortunate. He may well be considered the most woe-bestricken pope of all that ever occupied the Roman see. He met the overwhelming preponderance of hostile forces, with which he was on all sides beset, with a wavering policy, ever dependent on the probabilities of the moment, and which at last completed his ruin. The attempt at forming an independent secular power, which had been bequeathed to him by his most distinguished predecessors, he was doomed to see followed by the most opposite results, inasmuch as the very persons from whose control he wished to rescue Italy, established their dominion over that country for ever. The grand secession of the Protestants developed itself without interruption before his eyes; whatever means he might employ to arrest it, served all to promote its extension. He left the see of Rome irrecoverably sunk in reputation, and shorn alike of spiritual and secular authority. That northern Germany, which was of so much consequence of old to the popedom, to

[1] Soriano. "L'imperatore non cessava di sollecitar il concilio.—S. M. Christ^ma dimandò che da S. S^a li fussino osservate le promesse essendo le conditioni poste fra loro. Percio S. S^a si pose a grandissimo pensiero e fu questo dolore et affanno che lo condusse alla morte. Il dolor fu accresciuto dalle pazzie del cardinal de Medici, il quale allora piu che mai intendeva a rinuntiare il capello per la concurrenza alle cose di Fiorenza."—[The emperor used not to solicit the calling of a council: his most Christian majesty urged the observance by his Holiness of the promises, these being the conditions settled between them. This threw his Holiness into the deepest melancholy, and this grief and anxiety brought him to his grave. His affliction was increased by the folly of the cardinal de Medici, who then more than ever meant to make concessions, in the conflict of parties, as respected the affairs of Florence.]

whose conversion aforetime the power of the popes in the West was mainly indebted for its foundation,—whose insurrection against Henry IV. had been so eminently serviceable to them in completing the fabric of the hierarchy,—even it had revolted. Our fatherland has the immortal merit of having restored Christianity to a purer condition than it had ever presented since the first centuries, and of having again brought the true religion into view. With these weapons it was invincibly armed. Its convictions found their way among all the neighbouring states. Scandinavia had already embraced them. Though opposed to the views of the king, yet under shelter of measures which he had adopted, they became extensively diffused in England. In Switzerland, under a few modifications, they won for themselves an existence that placed them safe beyond the reach of assault. They penetrated into France. In Italy, nay even in Spain, we can find traces of their presence, as early as the time of Clement. These waves rolled onward and onward. In these opinions there was an inherent vigour which convinced the judgments and carried away the feelings of all men. The confliction of spiritual and secular interests into which the popedom had thrown itself, seemed directly fitted to secure their complete predominance.

BOOK SECOND.

BEGINNINGS OF A REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM.

PUBLIC opinion is not now for the first time exercising an influence in the world; in all ages of modern Europe it has formed an important element of social life. Who can tell whence it comes, or how it fashions itself! We may regard it as the purest product of our social existence, as the most direct expression of the internal movements and gyrations of general life. The sources from which it springs and from which it is fed, are alike remote from observation; without needing many arguments, by the simple force of spontaneous convictions, it obtains the mastery over men's minds. But in external features alone is it in harmony with itself: in countless circles of larger and smaller extent, in ways peculiar to itself, it is produced anew and undergoes the most manifold modifications. Inasmuch then as there are ever new observations and fresh experiences flowing in upon it; inasmuch as there are ever to be found independent minds which, although not themselves beyond its influence, yet not being so directly swept along in the general current, powerfully re-act upon it, it may so be found undergoing perpetual metamorphoses: fleeting, multiform; sometimes more, sometimes less in unison with truth; rather a tendency of the moment than a settled doctrine. It often merely accompanies the occurrence which it brings along with it,—fashions and developes itself therein: but occasionally, should it be thwarted by some partial will which nevertheless it cannot overmaster, it swells into a spirit of violent demand. We must admit that it has generally a right perception of defects and disorders; but thereafter, from its very nature, it is incapable of giving birth to any pure and settled conviction of the remedies to be devised and carried into

effect. Hence it is, that in the lapse of time it so often suddenly veers round to its very opposite. It founded the popedom; it contributed, also, to its dissolution. In the times we are considering, it was once quite profane; it became thoroughly spiritual. We have remarked how through the whole of Europe it leaned to Protestantism; so shall we perceive how it likewise assumed another colour throughout a great part of that quarter of the globe.

Let us now proceed to see in what manner, first of all, the doctrines of the Protestants made progress in Italy.

ANALOGIES OF PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

In Italy, as well as elsewhere, literary unions have exercised an incalculable influence on the development of the arts and sciences. The centre round which they move is sometimes a prince, sometimes a person of distinguished learning, sometimes any private individual of literary taste and suitable character; sometimes, too, they are formed in the midst of free equal companionship. They are generally valuable much in proportion as they spring, fresh and unfettered by forms, from the immediate wants that have suggested them. It is a pleasing task to follow their traces.

Contemporaneously with the progress of the Protestant movement in Germany, there appeared in Italy literary associations which assumed a religious complexion.

At the very time when, under Leo X., it became fashionable to question the truths of Christianity, and to scoff at them, we find a re-action against this spirit arise in men of talent, who possessed the accomplishments of that age without having allowed these entirely to engross them. These naturally formed an union among themselves. The mind of man requires the accord of other minds; at least it ever loves to find it; but it is indispensable in the case of religious convictions, for these have their root in the profoundest sympathy.

As early as the days of Leo we find mention made of an oratory of divine love, established for their mutual edification, by some distinguished men in Rome. The members met for public worship, preaching and spiritual exercises, in Trastevere,

in the church of St. Silvester and Dorothea, not far from the spot where the apostle Peter was believed to have lived, and to have conducted the devotions of the first Christian congregations. They amounted to between fifty and sixty. Contarini, Sadolet, Giberto, Caraffa, who were all afterwards cardinals, Gaetano of Thiene, who has since been canonized as a saint, Lippomano, an able writer of great note and industry, and some other celebrated persons were among the number. Julian Bathi, priest of the church, served as the central point of their union.[1]

It was by no means the case, as might be supposed from the place in which they held their meetings, that the direction taken by these men ran counter to Protestantism; far from that, they might rather be regarded as, in a certain point of view, of the same mind—in the design, namely, of counteracting the general degeneracy of the church by a renovation of doctrine and faith, being the same from which Luther and Melanchthon had started. They consisted of men who at a later period developed very different views, but at that time they coincided in the same general sentiments.

But ere long more precise and distinctive tendencies manifested themselves.

After the lapse of some years we meet again with a part of the Roman association in Venice.

Rome had been pillaged, Florence had been attacked and vanquished; Milan had become the stated head quarters and training ground for soldiers; but in this general ruin, Venice

[1] I take these notices from Caraccioli: Vita di Paolo IV. MS. "Quei pochi huomini da bene ed eruditi prelati che erano in Roma in quel tempo di Leone X. vedendo la città di Roma e tutto il resto d'Italia, dove per la vicinanza alla sede apostolica doveva piu fiorire l'osservanza de'riti, essere cosi maltrattato il culto divino,—si unirono in un' oratorio chiamato del divino amore circa sessanta di loro per fare quivi quasi in una torre ogni sforzo per guardare le divine leggi."—[Some few good men and learned prelates who were in Rome in the time of Leo X., seeing that in the city of Rome and all the rest of Italy, where from near neighbourhood to the apostolic see, the observance of the rites (of religion) should flourish most, divine worship was so abused, met to the number of about sixty, in an oratory called that of divine love, there, as if in a tower to do their utmost endeavours to observe the divine laws.] In the *Vita Cajetani Thienæi* (AA. SS. Aug. II.) c. 1, 7—10, Caraccioli has repeated this with ampler details, yet here he speaks of the number being only fifty. The *Historia clericorum regularium vulgo Theatinorum*—[History of the regular clergy, commonly called Theatines]—written by Joseph Silos confirms it in many places, which are copied in the *Commentarius prævius* to the Vita *Cajetani*.

had remained undisturbed by foreigners and military armaments; it was considered as a common place of refuge. Collected there you might find the dispersed literati of Rome and the patriots of Florence, debarred for ever from returning to their native land. It was chiefly in the latter, as we see in the historian Nardi, and the translator of the bible Bruccioli, that a very powerful spiritual tendency manifested itself, not without the continued influence of the doctrines of Savonarola. Other refugees, too, such as Reginald Poole, who had left England from his desire to withdraw from Henry VIII.'s innovations, shared in this spirit. They found a hearty welcome from their Venetian hosts. At the residence of Peter Bembo, in Padua, who kept open house, the subjects of chief interest were learned matters, such as Ciceronian Latin. But more profound contemplations engrossed the mind under the roof of the learned and able Gregory Cortese, abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice. Bruccioli makes the groves and bowers of San Giorgio the scenes of some of his conversations. Not far from Treviso, Luigi Priuli had a villa called Treville.[1] He is one of those pure and accomplished Venetian characters, whom we now and then meet with at the present day, full of a calm susceptibility for true and lofty feelings and disinterested friendship. Here the inmates chiefly occupied themselves with spiritual studies and conversations. There was there too the Benedictine monk, Mark of Padua, a man of deep piety, and he, it is probable, from whose breast Poole affirms that he imbibed spiritual nourishment. At the head of the whole we may place Gaspar Contarini, of whom Poole said, that nothing was unknown to him that the human mind has discovered by its own investigation, or that God's grace has imparted to it, and to that he added the adornment of virtue.

Now if we inquire, what were the convictions in which these men coincided, we shall find the chief to have been that doctrine of justification which in Luther had originated the whole Protestant movement. Contarini wrote a treatise specially on that subject, which Poole knew not how sufficiently to applaud. "Thou hast," said he to him, "brought forth to the light that

[1] Epistolæ Reginaldi Poli, ed. Quirini Tom. II. Diatriba ad epistolas Schelhornii, CLXXXIII.

gem which the church kept half-concealed." Poole himself found that scripture, in the more profound mutual connection of its parts, preaches nothing so much as this doctrine; he congratulates his friend on having begun to bring forth from obscurity that "holy, fruitful, indispensable truth."[1] To the circle of friends who attached themselves to it, belonged M. A. Flaminio. He lived for some time with Poole; Contarini wanted to take him with him to Germany. Let us mark how distinctly he announces this doctrine. "The gospel," he says in one of his letters,[2] "is nothing but the good news, that God's only begotten Son, clothed in our flesh, has satisfied the righteousness of the eternal Father for us. Whoever believes this, enters the kingdom of God; he enjoys the common forgiveness; he becomes a spiritual from being a carnal creature; from a child of wrath, a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience." One could hardly express himself on this point with more Lutheran orthodoxy. This conviction spread over a great part of Italy, just as a literary opinion or tendency would do.[3]

Yet it is remarkable how the controversy about an opinion, any notice of which before this had occurred only now and then in the schools, should so suddenly captivate and engross an age, and challenge the activity of all the minds that belonged to it. The greatest commotions, dissensions, nay, even revolutions, were brought about in the sixteenth century by the doctrine of justification. It may be said, that it so happened in opposition to the secularization of the ecclesiastical order, which had almost quite forgotten the immediate relation of man to God, that a question so transcendental, and bearing so much on the profoundest mystery of that relation, became the general occupation of men's minds.

[1] *Epistolæ Poli* Tom. III. p. 57.

[2] To Theodorina Sauli 12 Feb. 1542. *Lettere volgari (Raccolta del Manuzio) Vinegia*, 1553, II. 43.

[3] Among others Sadolet's letter to Contarini (*Epistolæ Sadoleti* lib. IX. p. 365.) on his commentary upon the Romans is very remarkable, *in quibus commentariis*, says Sadolet, *mortis et crucis Christi mysterium totum aperire atque illustrare sum conatus*.—[In which commentaries I have endeavoured to open up and explain the whole mystery of the death and cross of Christ.] Yet he did not quite satisfy Contarini. Meanwhile he promises in a new edition to undertake a distinct exposition on original sin and grace; *de hoc ipso morbo naturæ nostræ et de reparatione arbitrii nostri a spiritu sancto facta*.—[About this very disease of our nature and the reparation of our will effected by the Holy Ghost.]

It was propagated even in the voluptuous city of Naples, and that, too, by a Spaniard, John Valdez, one of the viceroy's secretaries. The writings of Valdez have unfortunately quite passed away: but we have explicit testimony with respect to the charges brought against him by his opponents. About the year 1540, there appeared a small work "on Christ's benefits" which, according to the expression of a report of the inquisition, "treated of justification in an insinuating manner, rejected works and merits, ascribed all to faith, and just because this was the very point at which many prelates and brethren of the cloister stumbled at that time, it found an unwonted circulation." Frequent inquiries have been made as to the author of this work. That report distinctly points him out. "He was," it says, "a monk of St. Severino, a disciple of Valdez; Flaminio revised it."[1] To a disciple, accordingly, of St. Severino, and to a friend of Valdez, we trace back this book which actually met with incredible success, and made the doctrine of justification for a long while popular in Italy. Let me add that the tendency of Valdez was not exclusively theological, for he filled at the time an important secular office; he founded no sect—this book was the result of a liberal study of Christianity. His friends looked back with delight on those charming days which they had enjoyed with him at Chiaja and Posilippo, in the neighbourhood of Naples, "where nature, in all her splendour, rejoices and smiles." Valdez was a mild and pleas-

[1] Schelhorn, Gerdesius, and others have ascribed this book to Aonius Palearius, who says in a discourse: "hoc anno Tusce scripsi, Christi morte quanta commoda allata sint humano generi."—[I wrote this year in the language of Tuscany, showing what advantages accrued to mankind from the death of Christ.] The Compendium of Inquisitors which I found in Caraccioli's *Vita di Paolo* IV. MS. expresses itself on the other hand as follows:—"Quel libro del beneficio di Christo, fu il suo autore un monaco di Sanseverino in Napoli discepolo del Valdes, fu revisore di detto libro il Flaminio, fu stampato molte volte ma particolarmente a Modena de mandato Moroni, ingannò molti, perche trattava della giustificatione con dolce modo ma hereticamente."—[That book on the benefit of Christ, had for its author a monk of Sanseverino in Naples, a disciple of Valdez, and for its revisor Flaminius; it was often printed, but particularly at Modena, by command of Moroni; it deceived many, for it treated of justification in an engaging manner, but heretically.]—Now while that passage in Palearius does not point to the book in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of another being meant, while Palearius says that he was that same year called in question, the Compendium of the Inquisitors, on the contrary, speaks without any doubt, and adds: *quel libro fu da molti approbato solo in Verona, fu conosciuto e reprobato, dopo molti anni fu posto nell' indice*—[that book was approved by many in Verona alone, was noted and reprobated, and many years after placed in the Index.]

ant man, not without a certain elevation of mind. "One part of his soul," his friends said of him, "tended downwards, to animate his weak lean body: with the greater part of it, the clear unruffled understanding, he was ever exalted into converse with truth."

Valdez exercised an extraordinary influence over the nobility and men of learning in Naples: the female sex likewise warmly shared in this movement, which was at once religious and intellectual.

Among these was Victoria Colonna, who after her husband Pescara's death devoted herself wholly to study. Her poems as well as her letters are distinguished by a deep-felt morality, an unaffected piety. How beautifully does she console a friend upon the death of her brother, "whose peaceful spirit had entered into the enjoyment of true and everlasting peace; she must not lament, seeing that now she can converse with him without his absence, as was so often the case before, preventing her from being understood by him."[1] Poole and Contarini were amongst her most confidential friends. I cannot think that her spiritual exercises were conducted in cloister-fashion. At least Aretin writes to her with much naiveté, that she certainly could never think that we should depend upon the silence of the tongue, the casting down of the eyes, or on coarse garments, but on the purity of the soul.

The house of Colonna in general, but especially Vespasian, duke of Palliano, and his spouse, Julia Gonzaga, who passed for being the most beautiful woman in Italy, were favourable to this movement. One of Valdez's books was dedicated to Julia.

But these sentiments had made, moreover, remarkable progress among the middle ranks. The report of the Inquisition seems almost to exaggerate when it would rate the disciples who had adopted them, at 3000 persons. Granting even that the number was less, how powerfully must they have influenced youth and the common people.

Not much less considerable must have been the reception which this doctrine found in Modena. The bishop himself, Morone, an intimate friend of Poole and Contarini, patronised

[1] *Lettere volgari*, I. 92. *Lettere di diversi autori*, p. 604. The former of these in particular is a very useful collection.

it; the work on "Christ's benefits" was printed with his express approval, and many copies of it circulated; his chaplain, Don Girolamo da Modena, was the director of an academy in which the same principles prevailed.[1]

Mention is made from time to time of Protestants in Italy, and we have already given several of the names that occur in the lists of such persons. Nor can it be doubted that some of the convictions which prevailed in Germany, had taken root in these men. They sought to lay the foundation of doctrine on the testimony of Scripture, and, in the article of justification, bordered very closely on Lutheran opinions. But it cannot be said that they shared these in all other respects; the sentiment of the church's unity, and reverence for the pope, were too deeply impressed on their minds, and many Roman Catholic customs were too closely allied with the national ways of thinking, to admit of their being easily relinquished.

Flaminio composed an exposition of the Psalms, the dogmatic tenor of which has been approved by Protestant commentators; but even to this he prefixed a dedication, in which he calls the pope "the watchman and the prince of all holiness, God's vice-gerent upon earth."

Giovanni Battista Folengo ascribes justification to grace alone; he even speaks in such a manner of the use of sin as seems not far from implying the hurtfulness of good works; he warmly remonstrates against trusting in fasts, frequent prayers, masses, and confessions, nay, even against the order of priests, tonsure, and the mitre;[2] nevertheless he died peacefully, about his sixtieth year, in the same monastery in which he had first donned the dress of a monk in his sixteenth.[3]

It was not much otherwise, for a long while, with Bernardino Ochino. If we are to believe his own words, what first induced him to become a Franciscan was a profound longing, to use his own expression, "after the heavenly paradise which is to be attained only through the grace of God." In the depth and

[1] In Schelhorn's *Amœnitatt. literar.* tom. XII. p. 564, we find the *articuli contra Moronum*,—[articles against Morone,] which Vergerio published in the year 1558, reprinted, in which, too, these charges are not wanting. The more precise notices I take from the Compendium of the Inquisitors.

[2] *Ad Psalm.* 67. f. 246. An extract from these expositions will be found in the Italia Reformata of Gerdesius, p. 257–261.

[3] Thuani Historiæ ad annum 1559, I. 473.

fervour of his zeal he soon proceeded to the severer penances of the Capuchins. He was appointed its general in the third, and, again, in the fourth chapter of that order; an office which he discharged with extraordinary approbation. Severe, however, as his life was, for he never travelled but on foot; he slept on his cloak; he drank no wine; he particularly inculcated on others the vow of poverty as the chief means of attaining evangelical perfection; nevertheless he became gradually convinced of the doctrinal tenet of justification by grace, and penetrated with its spirit. He urged it in the most pressing manner, in the confessional and from the pulpit. "I opened my heart to him," says Bembo, "as I would have done to Christ himself; it struck me that never had I seen a holier man." The whole city rushed in one stream to his preaching; the churches were too small; all were pleased, the learned and the simple, men and women, old and young. His coarse dress, his beard reaching to his breast, his gray hair, his pale and meagre face, and the infirmities caused by his persistance in fasting, all gave him the expression of a saint.[1]

And thus within the bounds of Roman Catholicism, a line appeared which was never overstepped by the analogies of the new opinions. There was no direct quarrel in Italy with the priesthood or monasticism; people there were far from any idea of attacking the primacy of the pope. How, too, could a man such as Poole, for example, fail to cleave to it, after having fled out of England to avoid doing reverence to his king, as head of the English church? They conceived, as Ottonel Vida, a disciple of Vergerios, declared to that very person, "that in the Christian church every man should have his office; the bishop the charge of attending to the souls of the inhabitants of his diocese, whom he was bound to guard from the world and the evil one; that the metropolitan should see to the bishop's residing among their flocks; and then, that the metropolitans should be subject to the pope, to whom should be committed the general administration of the church, which he should conduct with the aid of the Holy Ghost. Every one should attend to his office."[2] These men regarded a schism in the church, as the

[1] Boverio, *Annali di frati minori Capuccini*, I. 375. *Gratiani Vie de Commendone*, p. 143.

[2] *Ottonello Vida Dot. a' Vescovo Vergerio; lettere volgari*, I. 80.

greatest evil. Isidore Clara, a man who improved (the version of the Bible called) the Vulgate, assisted by the labours of Protestants, and who wrote an introduction to it, which was subjected to an expurgation, warned the Protestants from such a design in a piece written for the purpose. "No corruption," says he, "can be so gross as to justify a separation from the hallowed unity. Were it not better to restore what we have, than to commit ourselves to unsafe attempts at something else? A man should only think how the old institution may best be improved and freed from its defects."

With such modifications as these, the adherents of the new doctrine in Italy were a numerous body. Antonio da Pagliarci at Siena, who was thought to have suggested the book on the benefit of Christ, Carnesecchi from Florence, who was charged with holding its views and circulating it, Giovanni Battista Rotto at Bologna, who in Morone, Poole, and Vittoria Colonna, found protectors, and the means, too, of supplying the poorest of his followers with money, Fra Antonio of Volterra, and almost in every town of Italy, there was some person of consequence attached to it.[1] It was a way of thinking decidedly religious, ecclesiastically moderate, which gave an impulse to the whole country from one end to the other, and in all circles.

EFFORTS TOWARDS INTERNAL REFORMATION.—ATTEMPTS TO EFFECT INTERNAL REFORMATION AND A RECONCILIATION WITH THE PROTESTANTS.

THE saying has been attributed to Poole, that people should be satisfied with looking within, and need not trouble themselves much, should errors and corruptions prevail in the church.[2] Yet it was directly from the side to which he himself belonged, that there appeared the first endeavour to attempt an improvement.

It was perhaps the most praiseworthy deed of Paul III., and that, too, by which he likewise signalized his elevation to the

[1] On this point our information is drawn from the Compendium of the Inquisitors. *Bologna*, we there read, *fu in molti pericoli, perchè vi furono heretici principali, fra quali fu Gio Bª Rotto, il quale haveva amicizia et appoggio di persone potentissime, come di Morone, Polo, Marchesa di Pescara, e raccoglieva danari a tutto suo potere e gli compartiva tra gli heretici occulti e poveri che stavano in Bologna, abjurò poi nelle mani del padre Salmerone* (of the Jesuits) *per ordine del legato di Bologna* (Comp. fol. 9, cap. 94). [See the text.] Thus were all the towns gone through.

[2] See quotation from Atanagi, in M'Crie's Reformation in Italy.

pontifical throne, that he called into the college of cardinals some distinguished persons, with an eye to nothing but their merits. He began with that Venetian, Contarini, and he it was who proposed the appointment of the rest. They were men of irreproachable morals, of good repute for learning and piety, who would be sure to be acquainted with the wants of the different countries of Christendom. Thus there was Caraffa, long a resident in Spain and the Netherlands; Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras in France; Poole, a refugee from England; Giberto, who after having long taken part in the direction of general affairs, administered his bishopric of Verona in an exemplary manner; Federigo Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno; almost all, as we see, members of the oratory of divine love; and several had taken that religious turn which inclined to Protestantism.[1]

Now it was these very cardinals who, at the pope's command, elaborated a plan of ecclesiastical reforms. It became known to the Protestants and was ridiculed by them, not without contempt. They, to be sure, had in the meanwhile gone much farther. Still, it is hard to deny that for the Roman Catholic church an extraordinary significancy lay in this, that the mischief was attacked in Rome itself; that in the very presence of a pope, it was brought as a charge against popes, as it runs in the introduction to that document, "that they had frequently chosen their ministers, not that they might learn from them what their duty required, but in order to have the objects of their desires declared to be allowable to them," and that such an abuse of the supreme authority was declared to be the main source of corruption.[2]

Nor did they stop here. Some short writings of Gaspar Contarini's are still extant, in which he assails with the utmost warmth those abuses especially which brought gain to the Curia. The custom of compositions, that people, to wit, should allow money to be paid to them in return for the granting even of spiritual favours, he declares to be simony, which might be

[1] Vita Reginaldi Poli in Quirini's edition of his letters, tom. I. p. 12. Florebelli de Vita Jacobi Sadoleti Commentarius, prefixed to the Epp. Sadoleti Col. 1590, vol. 3.

[2] It is the already quoted *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de emendanda ecclesia.*—[Council of select cardinals and other prelates about the improvement of the church.] It is subscribed by Contarini, Caraffa, Sadolot, Poole, Fregoso, Giberto, Cortese, and Alcander.

regarded as a species of heresy. It was thought he did wrong in censuring former popes. "Why," he exclaims, "should we vex ourselves so much about the names of three or four popes, and not rather improve what is out of order, and earn a good name for ourselves? Verily it were much to demand that all the actions of all the popes should be defended!" He attacks the abuse of dispensations in the most earnest and impressive manner. He considers it as idolatrous to say, what was in fact asserted, that in the confirmation or the annulling of positive rights, the pope's sole rule was his own will and pleasure. It is worth while to attend to what he says on that point. "The law of Christ," says he, "is a law of freedom, and forbids any of that gross servitude which the Lutherans, with perfect justice, have compared to the Babylonish captivity. But, besides this, can that be properly called a government, whose rule is the will of a man, naturally prone to evil, and liable to be influenced by innumerable caprices? No! all proper dominion is a dominion of reason. Its proper office is to promote the welfare of those who are subjected to it, by the employment of the best means for attaining that end. The authority of the pope, too, is a dominion of reason. God has left it to St. Peter and his successors, to conduct the flock committed to their care to everlasting salvation. A pope must know that they are free men over whom he exercises this authority. No order, or prohibition, or dispensation, ought to emanate from his mere will, but from the rule of reason, the divine law and love; a rule which refers all to God and the best interests of man. For caprice gives no positive laws. These are given by men taking natural right and the divine commands in connection with circumstances; according to the same laws and imperative demands of things alone, can they be altered." "Let your Holiness," he exclaims, "be careful not to depart from this rule. Turn not to the impotency of the will which chooses evil—to the bondage that serves sin. Then thou shalt be powerful; then thou shalt be free, then will the life of the Christian commonwealth be maintained in you."[1]

[1] *G. Contarini Cardinalis ad Paulum III. P. M. de potestate pontificis in compositionibus.* Printed in Roccaberti's Bibliotheca Pontificia Maxima tom. XIII. I have further in my possession a *Tractatus de Compositionibus datarii Rev^mi D. Gasparis Contarini*, 1536, with regard to which I cannot find that it was ever printed.

Here was an attempt, it will be seen, to found a rational popedom,[1] the more remarkable as emanating from the same doctrine on justification and the freedom of the will that served as the basis of the Protestant secession. This we do not merely conjecture from Contarini's cherishing those views; he himself expressly says so. He enlarges on man's proneness to evil; that this proceeds from the impotency of the will, which no sooner inclines to evil than it is occupied more in suffering than in doing; through Christ's grace alone does it become free. He recognises therefore the papal government, yet demands its being directed according to God's will and the common greatest good.

Contarini laid his writings before the pope. In Nov. 1538, he accompanied him, one beautiful day, to Ostia. "On that occasion," says he in writing to Poole, "this good old man of ours made me sit beside him on the way, and conversed with me alone on the reform of the compositions. He said that he had by him the small treatise which I had written on the subject, and had read it in the morning. I had already abandoned all hope. But he now spoke to me in such a christian-like way, that I have conceived new hopes that God will yet accomplish something great, and not permit the gates of hell to prevail against his Spirit."[2]

It may be readily supposed that a thorough reformation of abuses bound up with so many personal rights and pretensions, and with so many of the usages of life, must have been the hardest task that a man could possibly undertake. Meanwhile pope Paul seemed more and more desirous to devote himself to it, in good earnest.

He appointed commissions accordingly, for carrying these reforms into effect,[3] for the Chamber,[4] the Rota,[5] the Chancery

[1] The word rational must be taken here in a limited sense. Nothing can be truly rational that is inconsistent with the Divine will, or unscriptural, as every kind of popedom unquestionably is. Tr.

[2] Gaspar C. Contarinus Reginaldo C. Polo. Ex ostiis Tiberinis XI. Nov. 1538. (EPp. Poli, 142.)

[3] Acta Consistorialia (6 Aug. 1540,) in Rainaldus' Annales ecclesiastici tom. XXI. p. 146.

[4] *Chamber*, the tribunal which took cognizance of the revenues of the ecclesiastical state.

[5] *Rota* or *Ruota Romana*, the highest papal court of appeal, whose jurisdiction extends over all Catholic Christendom, and which decides not only spiritual controversies, but all questions concerning ecclesiastical benefices, above five hundred *scudi*; and the decisions thereof are of the highest authenticity, derived from the doctrine of the pope's infallibility. Tr.

and the Penitentiary; he sent for Giberto, also, to come to him again. There appeared reforming bulls; arrangements were made for the general council which pope Clement had dreaded and shunned so much, and which even Paul III. in his private relationships, might have found much cause to avoid.

How then, if, in point of fact, changes for the better were admitted, if the Roman court was reforming itself, and the abuses of its constitution were removed; and if, too, that same dogma, from which Luther had started, became the principle of renovation in life and doctrine;—was there here no possibility of effecting a reconciliation? For be it remembered, how tardily and reluctantly the Protestants tore themselves from the unity of the church.

To many it seemed possible; not a few placed sanguine hopes on religious conferences.

According to the theory of the popedom, the pope could not approve of these attempts, since by them it was proposed to decide, not without the intervention of the civil power, controversies of which he himself claimed the supreme cognizance. He carefully guarded himself also; yet allowed it to go on, and sent his deputies to it.

He went to work in this affair with much caution; was careful in every instance to select moderate men; persons who subsequently, on many occasions, even fell under the suspicion of Protestantism. He gave them, besides, judicious directions as to their mode of life and political conduct.

When, for example, he despatched Morone, then but a young man, to Germany, he neglected not to enjoin him "not to contract debts, to pay in the inns to which he should be directed, to dress neither luxuriously nor meanly; to attend church indeed, but without even the appearance of hypocrisy." He was, in his own person, to exhibit the Romish Reformation that had been so much talked of; and dignity tempered with serenity was recommended to him.[1] In the year 1540, the bishop of Vienna had fallen upon a most extreme measure. He thought the articles held by Luther and Melanchthon, and declared to be heretical, should be laid before the new faith people, and that

[1] *Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ*, 24th Oct. 1536. MS.—[Instructions for the cause of the faith and the council delivered to the bishop of Modena, 24th October, 1536, MS.]

they should be shortly asked whether they were disposed to renounce them? Any such measure, nevertheless, was by no means recommended by the pope to his nuncio. "We fear they would rather die," said he, "than consent to any such recantation."[1] He wished but to see some hope of reconciliation. On the first gleam of such a hope he was to send a not offensive formula, which had been already drawn up for the purpose by wise and worthy men. "Might matters be supposed already advanced thus far! Hardly can we venture to expect it!"

But never did the two parties approach each other more nearly than at the conference at Ratisbon in 1541. Political circumstances were remarkably favourable. The emperor, who needed to avail himself of the force of the empire for a war with the Turks, or against France, wished for nothing more earnestly than a reconciliation. He chose the most intelligent and moderate Roman catholic divines, Cropper and Julius Pflug, for the conference. On the other hand, the landgrave Philip of Hesse was again on good terms with Austria; he hoped to have the chief command in the war for which people were then preparing; with admiration and satisfaction the emperor saw him ride into Ratisbon, on a splendid war-horse, and vigorous as the animal he bestrode. The pacific Bucer and the tractable Melanchthon appeared on the side of the Protestants

The pope's eagerness for a prosperous result appeared at once, in his choice of the legate whom he sent, falling on that very Gaspar Contarini whom we have seen so deeply implicated in the new turn taken by men's minds in Italy, and so active in the project of general reforms. Now he stood in a still more important position, midway betwixt the two opinions and par-

[1] *Instructiones pro Rev^mo D. ep. Mutinensi apostolico nuncio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spiræ, 12 Maji 1540, celebrando. Timendum est atque adeo certe sciendum, ista quæ in his articulis pie et prudenter continentur non solum fretos salvo conductu esse eos recusaturos, verum etiam ubi mors præsens imminneret, illam potius præelecturos.*—[Instructions for the most Rev. Lord bishop of Modena, apostolic nuncio appointed to be present at the convention of the Germans to be held at Spires, 12th May, 1540. It is to be feared, and even certainly to be known, that not only such as are trusting to a safe conduct will reject what things are piously and prudently contained in these articles, but that even where instant death impends it would be preferred.]

The articles referred to in this quotation, cannot be those of Luther and Melanchthon, for these the persons alluded to would not certainly reject. And if popish articles are meant, then the passage refers to something else than a simple interrogatory. Tr.

ties that divided the world; at a most advantageous conjuncture; with a commission to attempt, and the prospect of effecting their reconciliation;—a position which, though it were not a point of duty, makes it allowable for us to consider his personal circumstances and qualities more closely.

Messire Gaspar Contarini, the eldest son of a noble family in Venice that traded to the Levant, had particularly devoted himself to philosophical studies. It is not beneath our notice, to observe how he did this. He devoted three hours a day to his peculiar studies, never exceeding or falling short of that proportion of time; he began each time with close repetition; he went through every course of study until its completion, and never skipped over any.[1] He would not permit the subtilties of Aristotle's commentators to carry him into similar refinements in reasoning; he found nothing more ingenious than falsehood. He gave proofs of the most decided talent, yet of still greater steadiness. He sought not after the adornment of discourse, but expressed himself simply, as the case required. As nature brings forth her productions in a regular order, one year revolving after another, so did his faculties develope themselves.

Admitted, in rather early life, into the council of Pregadi, the senate of his native city, it was a considerable time before he ventured to speak. Not that he did not wish it, or that he had nothing to say, but he was wanting in presence of mind. At length, on obtaining sufficient self-command, he spoke, not, indeed, very gracefully, nor with much wit, nor yet with much force and animation, yet so simply, and so much to the purpose, as to gain the utmost respect.

His lot fell in the most momentous times. He witnessed his native city's loss of its territory, and personally contributed to its being recovered. On Charles the V.'s first coming to Germany, he was sent to him as an ambassador; and here he perceived the secession from the church commence. They arrived in Spain just as the ship Vittoria returned from the first circumnavigation of the globe.[2] And, in so far as I can discover, he

[1] Johannis Casse Vita Gasparis Contarini: in Jo. Casse Monimentis Latinis, Edit. Hal. 1708, p. 88.

[2] Beccatello, Vita del C. Contarini (Epp. Poli III.) p. CIII. There is also a particular edition, which, however, has only been taken out of the volume of letters, and has the same pages.

was the first to resolve the problem of its arriving a day later than it should have been according to its log-book. The pope, to whom he had been sent as ambassador after the sack of Rome, he helped to reconcile with the emperor. We find clear evidence of his remarkable penetration and knowledge of the world, as well as of his enlightened patriotism, in his small work on the constitution of Venice,—a most instructive and well-conceived treatise—and in his reports as an ambassador, to be found here and there in manuscript.[1]

One Sunday in 1535, just as the grand council had met, and as Contarini, who by this time had come to fill the most important public offices, was seated beside the ballot boxes, information was received that pope Paul, with whom he was personally unacquainted, and had no sort of connection, had made him a cardinal. Upon this all hastened to congratulate him, as he stood confounded and unwilling to believe it. Aluise Moncenigo, who had till then opposed him in state affairs, exclaimed that the commonwealth had lost its best citizen.[2]

Yet to him this honour had its less pleasing side. How could he think of abandoning that free ancestral city which offered him its highest dignities, and at all events a sphere for his activity that put him on a perfect equality with the chiefs of the state, in order to serve a pope, who was often passionate and would not allow himself to be hampered by any binding laws? Was he to withdraw to a distance from his simple and venerable republic, whose manners corresponded with his own, to measure himself with others in the luxury and splendour of the Roman court? His chief motive, as we are assured, in accepting it, was the consideration that in such difficult times, a mischievous effect might be produced by the example of disrespect for so high a dignity.

And now the whole of that zeal which he had hitherto devoted to his native city, he applied thenceforth to the general concerns of the church. He found himself often opposed by the cardinals, who thought it strange that one so newly arrived, and a

[1] The first is of 1525, the other of 1530. The former of these in particular, being for the earlier period of Charles V., is very important. I can find no trace of it either in Vienna or in Venice. I discovered a copy in Rome; but have not succeeded in seeing any other.

[2] Daniel Barbaro to Domenico Veniero: Lettere volgari, I. 73.

Venetian, should want to reform the Roman court; at times he had even the pope against him. He once opposed the appointment of a cardinal. "We know," said the pope, "how men sail in these waters; cardinals like not that another should become equally honourable with themselves." Contarini was hurt at this, and said, "I don't consider my cardinal's hat to be my highest honour."

In this new position, too, he preserved the same strictness, simplicity, and activity; the same dignity and suavity of temper.

Nature leaves not the simply formed plant without the adornment of the blossom in which its being exhales and communicates itself. In man it is his temper, which being the collective result of all the higher faculties of his being, then gives their expression to his moral bearing and appearance. In Contarini it was suavity; inherent truthfulness; purity of morals, and especially that profound sense of religion which makes a man happy while it enlightens him.

Full of this temper of mind, moderate, almost at one with the Protestants on the most important point of doctrine, Contarini made his appearance in Germany, hoping to be able to heal the schism that had taken place, by a regeneration proceeding from doctrine on that very point; and by the removal of abuses.

But whether it had already gone too far, whether the deviations from Roman orthodoxy had already struck root too vigorously, is a question which I may not at once decide.

Another Venetian, Marino Justiniano, who left our fatherland shortly before this diet, and who seems to have carefully contemplated the state of things, represents it at least as very possible.[1] He finds only some important concessions indispensable, and names the following: "The pope must no more think of claiming respect as Christ's vicegerent in civil as well as ecclesiastical things—substitutes of blameless life and capable of instructing the people, must be put in the room of ignorant and scandalous bishops and priests—neither the sale of masses, nor plurality of benefices, nor the abuse of compositions, must be any longer tolerated—the violation of the laws that relate to fasting, must be visited with light punishments at the utmost;

[1] *Relazione del clar^mo M. Marino Giustinian Kav^r (ritornato) dalla legazione di Germania, sotto Ferdinando re di Romani. Bibl. Corsini at Rome n.* 481.

were the communion then in both kinds, and the marriage of priests allowed, the people of Germany would forthwith renounce all dissension, would yield obedience to the pope in things spiritual, would allow the mass to continue, would submit to auricular confession, and even own the necessity of good works, as fruits of faith, that is to say, in so far as they result from believing. As schism has been caused by abuses, so must it be taken away by having these abuses corrected

Here be it remembered, that the Landgrave Philip of Hesse had declared the year before, that the secular power of the bishops might be tolerated, if means could be found for securing the proper exercise of their spiritual authority; that with respect to the mass, people might easily come to a settlement, if it were conceded that the communion should continue to be administered in both kinds.[1] Joachim of Brandenburg expressed his readiness to acknowledge the papal primacy, without hesitation, under certain restrictions. Meanwhile approximations were likewise made on the other side. The imperial ambassador repeatedly urged that concessions must be made on both sides, to the utmost extent consistent with the divine honour. The non-protesting party would likewise have been well pleased, had the spiritual government of the bishops, who had in effect become princes, been taken away from them throughout Germany and handed over to superintendents, and had a general and legally valid alteration been adopted with respect to the alienation of ecclesiastical property. Neutral things, which might either be done or omitted, began to be talked of; even in the spiritual electorships, prayers were appointed for a favourable progress to the work of reconciliation.

We will not dispute about the degree of feasibility and probability of this success; it was at all events extremely difficult, but supposing that the prospect seemed but slight, still it was worth an effort. Thus much we perceive that once more there

[1] Letter of the Landgrave's in Rommel's Urkundenbuche, p. 85. Compare the bishop of Lunden's in Seckendorf, p. 299. Contarini al C^l Farnese 1541, 28th April (Epp. Poli III. p. CCLV.) The Landgrave and the Elector demanded both the marriage of the priests and communion in both kinds; the former showed himself more difficult to deal with, with respect to the primacy, and the latter with respect to the doctrine *de missa quod sit sacrificium*—[on the doctrine of the mass being a sacrifice.]

was exhibited a great propension for such an effort, and that it became an object of more than ordinary hopes.

But let us ask whether the pope too, without whom matters could come to no issue, was disposed to remit somewhat of the rigour of his demands. In this respect especially, a passage in the body of instructions with which he dismissed Contarini, is very remarkable.[1]

He did not arrogate to himself the boundless plenitude of power, upon which so much urgency was shown on the imperial side. He conjectured that demands might be put forth in Germany, to which no legate, not even he, the pope himself, could venture to accede without consulting other nations. Yet he did not on that account reject all negotiation. "We must first," says he, "see whether the Protestants will agree with us in principles; for example, upon the primacy of the holy see, the sacraments, and something else." If we inquire what this something else might be, we find that the pope does not express himself quite distinctly. He indicates it as being what was approved at once by holy Scripture, and by the constant usage of the church; and that it was known to the legate.[2] Upon this groundwork, he adds, an attempt might be made towards coming to a mutual understanding on all the disputed points.[3]

There can be no question that this vague mode of expressing himself was purposely adopted; Paul III. may have been will-

[1] Instructio data Revmo Cll Contareno in Germaniam legato d. 28 menais Januarii 1541. To be found in many libraries in manuscript; printed in Quirini Epp. Poli III. CCLXXXVI.

[2] Professor Ranke speaks as if it were only one thing that the pope left unspecified, but the words *alia quædam fuere* leave no doubt that several things were meant. TR.

[3] "Videndum inprimis est an Protestantes et ii qui ab ecclesiæ gremio defecerunt, in principiis nobiscum conveniant, cujusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus, tanquam a deo et salvatore nostro institutus, sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ sacramenta, et alia quædam quæ tum sacrarum litterarum autoritate tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione hactenus observata et comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus, quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur."—[First it must be seen whether the Protestants and those who have revolted from the bosom of the church agree with us in principles, of such a kind as the primacy of this holy see, as instituted by God and our Saviour, the sacraments of the holy church, and some other things which have been observed and approved at once by the authority of the sacred scriptures, and by the perpetual observation of the universal church, and with which we know you to be well acquainted, which things being admitted at the very beginning, the utmost harmony may be attempted in other matters.] In this the reader has only to keep constantly in view, the supremely orthodox, and, from its very nature, inflexible position of a pope, in order to perceive how much is involved in such an address.

ing to try how far Contarini might bring matters, and yet have had no wish to tie himself up beforehand with respect to the ratification. Next he allowed a certain scope to his legate. It would unquestionably have cost the latter new efforts to render acceptable to the obstinate curia what people had obtained at Ratisbon, without the possibility of completely satisfying them; but on this, on a reconciliation and union among the assembled divines, all in the first instance depended. The mediating tendency was still too doubtful; it could not as yet be distinguished by a name; it had first to gain some fixed point, before it could hope to make itself available for more.

The negotiations were opened on the 5th of April, 1541; a draught communicated by the emperor and approved, after a few alterations, by Contarini, was proposed as the basis on which they might proceed. Even here the legate thought it advisable to depart a step from his instructions. The pope had required before every thing else the acknowledgment of his primacy. Contarini saw well, that on a question so much calculated to set men's passions in a ferment, the attempt might founder at the very outset. He went into the arrangement, that of the articles proposed for conference, that relating to the papal primacy should much rather be the last. He considered it better to begin with those in which he and his friends approached the Protestants in their views, these being points, besides, of the highest moment, and touching upon the very foundations of the faith. In the discussions upon these he had the greatest share. His secretary assures us that nothing was decided by the Roman catholic divines, nor even a single alteration adopted, without his being first consulted.[1] Morone, bishop of Modena, Tomaso da Modena, master of the sacred palace, both men who in the article of justification were of the same views, supported him.[2] The greatest difficulty they had to contend with, arose from a German divine, Luther's old antagonist, Doctor Eck. But upon insisting that he should explain himself, point for point, he too was brought at last to declare his mind satisfactorily. In fact, in a short time an agreement was come to; who would have ventured to hope so

[1] Beccatelli, Vita del Cardinal Contarini, p. CXVII.

[2] Pallavicini, IV. XIV. p. 483, from Contarini's letters.

much, on the four important articles of human nature, original sin, absolution, and even justification? Contarini assented to the chief point of the Lutheran doctrine, that man's justification was effectual through faith alone, without merits; to this he only added that this must be a living and active faith. Melanchthon acknowledged that this was just the Protestant doctrine.[1] Bucer eagerly maintained that in the collated and reconciled articles there was comprehended all that was required "in order to a man's living a godly, righteous, and holy life, before God and the congregation."[2] No less pleased were people on the opposite side. The bishop of Aquila called it a holy colloquy; he had no doubt that it would bring about the reconciliation of Christendom. These friends of Contarini, who were of the same mind with him, were delighted to hear how far he had succeeded. "In contemplating this harmony of sentiment," wrote Poole to him, "I have experienced a satisfaction such as I could never have received from any concord of sweet sounds. Not only because I perceive the approach of peace and concord, but also because these articles are the foundations of the Christian faith. They seem, indeed, to treat of many things, of faith, of works, of justification; yet upon that, even justification, is grounded all the rest, and I congratulate you, I thank God, that on that point the divines of both parties have united. We trust, that He who has so mercifully made a commencement, will also bring it to a completion."[3]

This was a moment, if I am not mistaken, of essential consequence to Germany, nay, to the world. To the former, the

[1] Melanchthon to Camerarius, 10th May, (Epp. p. 360): *adsentiuntur justificari homines fide, et quidem in eam sententiam ut nos docemus.*—[They agree that men are justified by faith, and indeed hold that opinion as we teach it.] Compare Planck; Geschichte des Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs, III. II. 93.

[2] Alle Handlungen und Schriften, zu Vergleichung der Religion durch die Kaiserl. Majestät, &c. verhandelt ao. 1541, durch Martinum Bucerum, in Hortleder, Book I. chap. 37, §. 280.

[3] Polus Contareno. Capranicæ, 17 Maji, 1541. Epp. Poli, Tom. III. p. 25. The letters of that bishop of Aquila in Rainaldus, 1541, No. 11, 12, are remarkable. It was thought, that if an agreement could be but come to on the point of the supper, everything else might be allowed to settle itself. "Id unum est quod omnibus spem maximam facit, assertio Cæsaris se nullo pacto nisi rebus bene compositis discessurum, atque etiam quod omnia scitu consiliisque rev^{mi} legati in colloquio a nostris theologis tractantur et disputantur."—[This alone it is which gives the greatest hopes to all, even the emperor's asserting that he will on no account go away until all things are well settled, and also that all are handled and discussed with the cognizance and councils of the most Rev. legate, in conference by our divines.]

points that we have touched upon, involved the prospect of changing the collective spiritual constitution of the nation, and of giving to it a position at once of greater freedom in relation to the pope and his secular encroachments, and rendering it independent of any but itself. The unity of the church, and with it that of the nation, would have been maintained. But infinitely more extensive would the future consequences have been. Had the moderate party, from which these efforts proceeded, and by which they were directed, known how to maintain the ascendancy in Rome and Italy, what a totally different form must the (Roman) Catholic world too have assumed!

But so extraordinary a result could not be attained without a keen contest.

What was concluded at Ratisbon, had to be confirmed, on the one hand, by the approbation of the pope, and, on the other, by the assent of Luther, to whom there was even a special embassy despatched.

But already there here appeared many difficulties. Luther who, at the first blush of the business, declared himself to be not altogether repelled, soon, however, began to suspect that all was intended to deceive, and was but a device of his enemies. He could not persuade himself that on the other side as well as his own, the doctrine of justification had really taken root. In the reconciled articles he saw nothing, in fine, but piece-meal work, compounded of both opinions; he who regarded himself as constantly engaged in the contest between heaven and hell, here, too, thought he could recognise the machinations of Satan. He warned his master the elector, in the most urgent manner against appearing in person at Ratisbon. "He was the very man whom the devil was looking for."[1] An immense deal depended, in fact, on the appearance and the assent of the elector.

These articles were meanwhile sent also to Rome. They excited extraordinary interest. Cardinal Caraffa, and San Marcello, in particular, were greatly scandalized at what was said on the subject of justification, and it was with difficulty that Priuli

[1] Luther to John Frederick in de Wette's Collection.

could clearly explain its meaning.[1] The pope, however, did not at once express himself so decidedly as Luther had done. Cardinal Farnese made a letter be written to the legate to the effect, that his holiness neither approved nor disapproved of the decision. But all others who had seen it were of opinion that, granting its meaning to accord with the Roman Catholic faith, still it might have been expressed in plainer words.

Powerful as this theological opposition might be, it was neither the only one, nor perhaps the most influential. Another rose from the political side.

Such a reconciliation as was proposed, would have given an unwonted unity to Germany, and on the emperor, who might apply it to his own ends, would have conferred exorbitant power.[2] As the head of the moderate party, he must have obtained an authority of the highest kind throughout Europe, especially in the case of a council at last being called. How naturally did all the usual animosities start up to oppose this.

Francis the First believed himself directly threatened, and neglected not to interpose obstacles to the union. He bitterly complained of the concessions made by the legate at Ratisbon;[3] that "his proceedings dishearten the good and embolden the

[1] I cannot forgive Quirini for not having fully communicated Priuli's letter on these circumstances, though he had it in his possession.

[2] There was at all times an imperial party which defended this tendency. In this among other things lies the whole mystery of the negotiations of the archbishop of Lunden. He represented to the emperor, *che se S. M. volesse tolerare che i Lutherani stessero nelli loro errori, disponeva a modo e voler suo di tutta la Germania.*—[That if his Majesty wished to tolerate the Lutherans remaining in their errors, he might have all Germany at his absolute disposal.] Instruzione di Paolo III. a Montepulciano, 1539. Now, too, the emperor wanted toleration.

[3] He spoke of this with the papal ambassador to his court. Il C^l di Mantova al C^l Contarini in Quirini III. CCLXXVIII. Loces 17 Maggio 1541. "S. M^a Ch^ma diveniva ogni di piu ardente nelle cose della chiesa, le quali era risoluto di voler difendere e sostenere con tutte le forze sue e con la vita sua e de' figliuoli, giurandomi che da questo si moveva principalmente a far questo officio."—[His most Christian Majesty became every day more ardent in the affairs of the church, which he was resolved to defend and sustain with his utmost force, and with his life and that of his sons, swearing to me that that alone chiefly moved him to do that duty.] On the other hand Granvelle had different accounts; *m'affermò*, says Contarini in a letter to Farnese, ibid. CCLV., *con giuramento havere in mano lettere del re christ^mo, il quale scrive a questi principi protestanti che non si accordino in alcun modo, e che lui aveva voluto veder l'opinioni loro, le quali non li spiacevano.*—[He assured me with an oath, that he had in his possession letters from the most christian king, who wrote to those protestant princes, not to come to terms in any way, and that he had wished to see their opinions, which had not displeased him.] According to this, Francis I. must have interposed obstacles to a reconciliation on both sides.

bad, that in his compliancy to the emperor he will allow matters to proceed so far that they will be past remedy. Other princes too ought to have been called in and consulted." He assumed the mien of a man who saw both pope and church in danger. He engaged to defend them with his life and with all the resources of his kingdom.

And, already, it was not in Rome alone that the ecclesiastical scruples we have noticed, had struck root. It was besides remarked, that the emperor at the opening of the diet, when he spoke of the meeting of a general council, had not added a word as to the pope alone having the right to call it. This was thought to indicate that he himself claimed this right. In the old articles concluded with Clement VII. at Barcelona, people would have it that there was a place that pointed that way. And did not the Protestants constantly maintain that the calling of a council belonged to the emperor? How readily might he yield to them in a matter where his interest coincided so manifestly with their doctrine.[1] This would have involved the utmost risk of a schism.

Meanwhile people began to bestir themselves in Germany also. We have Giustinian's assurance before this, that the power which had accrued to the Landgrave from his putting himself at the head of the Protestant party, had suggested to others that they might make themselves equally powerful at the head of the Roman Catholics. One who took part in the proceedings of this diet, intimates that the dukes of Bavaria were averse to any agreement. He cautions the pope, in a special letter, against any national council, nay, against any council to be held in Germany; "that exorbitant concessions would have to be made there."[2] Other documents may be found in which German Roman Catholics complain directly to the pope of the progress made by Protestantism at the diet; the pliability of Cropper and Pflug, and the exclusion of Roman Catholic princes from the conferences.[3]

[1] Ardinghello al nome del C^l Farnese al C^l Contarini, 29 Maggio 1541.

[2] Literæ Cardinalis Moguntini in Rainaldus, 1541, n. 27.

[3] Anonymous, likewise in Rainaldus, No. 25. The side they came from may be drawn from the manner in which Eck is spoken of in them; *unus duntaxat peritus theologus adhibitus est*—[only one skilful divine is admitted.] They abound in insinuations against the emperor: *nihil*, so we read, *ordinabitur pro robore eccle-*

Enough, in Rome, France, and Germany, among the enemies of Charles V., among those who either really were or who affected to be the most zealous Roman Catholics, there arose a keen opposition to the mediating overtures. It was observed at Rome that there was an unwonted intimacy between the pope and the French ambassador; the report gained ground that he intended to marry his grand-daughter, Vittoria Farnese, to one of the Guises.

The consequence was inevitable; these movements could not fail vigorously to re-act on the divines. Eck, moreover, stuck to Bavaria. "The emperor's enemies," says Contarini's secretary, "both within and beyond Germany, who dread his greatness, were he to unite all Germany, begin to sow tares among those divines. Carnal envy broke up this conference."[1] The difficulties raised by the opposition make it not surprising that no further agreement could thenceforth be come to upon any article.

It were to overstep the line of justice, were we for this to blame the Protestants solely, or even chiefly. Shortly after the pope instructed his legate to announce it as his fixed determination, that neither publicly nor as a private person would he approve of a decision in which the (Roman) Catholic meaning should be expressed otherwise than in such words as should leave room for no ambiguity. The formulas in which Contarini had thought to combine the various opinions on the primacy of the pope, and the power of councils, were unconditionally rejected at Rome.[2] The legate had to consent to explanations that seemed even directly to contradict his previous expressions.

Something, however, might have resulted from this, had the emperor wished at least that, until further progress were made in the reconciled articles, people might abide by the formulas that

sia, quia timetur, illi (Cæsari) displicere.—[Nothing will be ordained for the strengthening of the church, because of the dread of displeasing him (the emperor.)

[1] Beccatelli Vita p. CXIX. "Hora il diavolo, che sempre alle buone opere s'attraversa, fece si che sparsa questa fama della concordia che tra catholici e protestanti si preparava, gli invidi dell' imperatore in Germania e fuori, che la sua grandezza temevano quando tutti gli Alemani fussero stati uniti, cominciarono a seminare zizania tra quelli theologi collocutori.—[Now the devil, who is always thwarting good works, so contrived that having spread this report of the concord that was preparing between the Catholics and the Protestants, those who were jealous of the emperor, in and out of Germany, and who dread his greatness when all the Alemanni (Germans) shall be united, began to sow tares among those divines who were to confer together.]

[2] Ardinghello a Contarini. The same, p. CCXXIV.

had been found, and in the rest, on both sides, tolerate differences of opinion. It was announced to the cardinal, that the whole college had with one voice determined under no condition to consent to a toleration in such essential articles.

After such high hopes and so auspicious a commencement, Contarini returned without effecting anything. He could have wished to accompany the emperor into the Netherlands, but this was refused to him.[1] He had no choice but to submit to listen in Italy to the calumnies, which had been circulated from Rome, over the whole country, with respect to his procedure and the pretended concessions he had made to the Protestants. But he had sufficient magnanimity to feel more bitterly the failure of such comprehensive views. What a lofty position was that which the moderate Roman Catholic sentiment occupied in him. But as it failed to carry its philanthropic intention into effect, the question occurs, how far it was likely even to maintain its own ground. Every great tendency has an inherent and inseparable purpose of making itself influential and effective; and if it cannot succeed in acquiring the mastery, failure involves its approaching ruin.

NEW ORDERS.

MEANWHILE men's minds had already begun to move in another direction, nearly allied in its origin to that which has been described, yet ever deviating more and more widely from it, and although based on the idea of reform, opposed throughout to Protestantism.

If Luther rejected the priesthood that had hitherto prevailed, in its principle and idea, a movement on the other hand commenced in Italy, for the purpose of restoring this principle, and bringing it anew into respect in the church, by securing a stricter observance of its functions. The corruption of the spiritual order was perceived on both sides. But while in Germany people would be satisfied with nothing short of the dissolution of monkery, attempts were made in Italy to renovate its youth;

[1] By whom? Not likely by the emperor, whose views at this time he seems to have done his utmost to carry into effect; but probably by the pope and other authorities at Rome. No doubt, what had passed at Rome, had thrown him again into that despair which we have seen the pope's plausibility for a time dissipate, and his wish to go to the Netherlands was not unlikely to have been expressed with the secret intention of passing over to England. TR.

while there the clergy rid themselves of so many trammels that they had hitherto borne, people here contemplated giving that body a stricter constitution. On this side of the Alps we (Germans) struck into quite a new path; on that side, on the contrary, attempts were repeated similar to those that had been made from time to time, for hundreds of years past.

For the ecclesiastical orders had ever declined into secularity, and then not seldom had it been requisite anew to remind them of their origin, and to bring them back to it. How necessary did the successors of Charlemagne find it to admonish the clergy, according to the rule of Ehrodegang, to live together in common and in spontaneous subordination. The simple rule of Benedict of Nursia did not long suffice even for the monasteries; during the tenth and eleventh centuries we everywhere find that strictly close congregations, with special rules, after the example of Cluny, became necessary. This had an instant re-action on the secular clergy; through the introduction of celibacy they became, as we have mentioned, almost subjected even to the rule of a (monastic) order. Not the less, however, and even in spite of the powerful spiritual impulse[1] communicated to the nations by the crusades, so that even the knights and barons subjected their profession as warriors to the forms of monkish laws, had all these institutes sunk into a deep decline when the begging friars arose. At their commencement they undoubtedly contributed to the restoration of primitive simplicity and strictness, but we see how they, too, gradually became disorderly and worldly, and how a leading feature in the corruption of the church was to be perceived in them at a glance.

As early as in the year 1520 and since, in proportion to the advances made by Protestantism in Germany, there arose in countries which had not yet been reached by it, a feeling of the necessity of a new amelioration of the hierarchical order. This feeling made its way even in the religious orders themselves, sometimes in one, sometimes in another of them.

Notwithstanding the great seclusion of the order of the Camaldoli, Paul Giustiniani found it implicated in the general corruption. In 1522, he instituted a new congregation of that order, which took the name of Monte Corona, from the hill on

[1] We fear there was not much spirituality in the impulse. Tr.

which it had its chief seat afterwards.[1] In order to the attainment of Christian perfection, Giustiniani held three things to be essential, solitude, vows, and the separation of the monks into distinct cells. Those small cells and oratories, such as are yet to be found here and there, on the highest hills, in charming wilds, such as seem to conduct the soul at once to sublime flights and to more profound tranquillity, are spoken of by him in some of his letters with special satisfaction.[2] The reform of these hermits extended to all parts of the world.

Among the Franciscans, who perhaps had become the most profoundly corrupted of any, yet another new effort at reformation was attempted, in addition to the many that had been made before. The Capuchin friars contemplated the restoration of the regulations of their original founder, divine service at midnight, prayers at appointed hours, discipline and silence, in short the whole severe rule of life laid down in the original institution. One cannot but smile at the importance which they attached to things of no consequence; but setting that aside, it must be acknowledged that they again behaved with great courage, as for example, during the pestilence of 1528.

Meanwhile little was done by any reformation of the religious orders alone, seeing that the secular clergy had become so entirely estranged from their callings. If an improvement was to be of any material consequence, it behoved to act upon them.

Here, too, we meet with members of that Roman oratory. Two of these men, in other respects, it appears, of the most opposite characters, took upon them to prepare the way for such a reformation. The one, Cajetan of Thiene, a man of a peaceful, quiet, and soft temper, of few words, and prone to indulge in the ecstasies of a spiritual enthusiasm; of whom it was said that he wanted to reform the world, but without its being known that he was in the world.[3] The other, John Peter Caraffa, of

[1] The erection is probably to be dated from the drawing up of the rule, after Mafacio being given up to the new congregation in 1522. Monte Corona was first erected by Basciano, Justinian's successor. See Helyot Histoire des ordres monastiques, V. p. 271.

[2] Lettera del b. Giustiano al vescovo Teatino bei Bromato Storia di Paolo IV. lib. III. § 19.

[3] Caracciolus: Vita S. Cajetani Thienæi c. IX. 101. *In conversatione humilis, mansuetus, modestus, pauci sermonis,—meminique me illum sæpe vidisse inter precandum lacrymantem.*—[In conversation humble, meek, modest, of few words—and

whom we shall have to speak more at large hereafter, was vehement, fervid, stormy, in short a zealot. But Caraffa too acknowledged, as he said, that his heart became only the more oppressed the more his desires were gratified, that it found peace only in the self-abandonment of a life devoted to God, only when in communion with heavenly things. Thus did they advance together, in that longing for retirement and meditation, which in the one was nature, in the other the object of his wishes, and of his idea what life should be, and in an inclination for spiritual activity. Convinced of the necessity that there was for a reformation, they combined to form an institute—called the order of the Theatines—having for its object both contemplation and the improvement of the clergy.[1]

Cajetan belonged to the *protonotari participanti;* he resigned these benefices; Caraffa held the bishopric of Chieti, and the archbishopric of Brundusium; he resigned both.[2] Joined by two very intimate friends who had likewise become members of the oratory, on the 14th of Sept. 1524, they solemnly took the three vows.[3] That of poverty they took with this special addition, that not only were they to possess nothing, but were even to abstain from begging; they were to wait at home for alms. After a short delay in the city, they took possession of a small house on the Monte Pincio, at the Vigna Capisucchi, which afterwards became the Villa Medici, and where at that time, although it lay within the walls of Rome, there was a deep solitude. Here they lived in the poverty they had prescribed for themselves, in the practice of spiritual exercises,

I remember having often seen him weeping during prayer.] The testimony of a pious society at Vicenza, which will be found there too, c. I. n. 12, describes him very well.

[1] Caracciolus c. 2. § 19, describes its object thus: *Clericis quos ingenti populorum exitio improbitas inscitiaque corrupissent, clericos alios debere suffici, quorum opera damnum quod illi per pravum exemplum intulissent sanarretur.*—[To make up what is wanting in those clergy, who to the vast destruction of the people have been corrupted by wickedness and ignorance, by means of other clergymen through whose labours the loss caused by the wicked example of the former may be healed.]

[2] From a letter from the papal *Datarius*, of 22d Sept. 1524, (Lettere di principi I. 135), we have authentic evidence that the pope long refused to accept the resignation, *(non volendo privare quelle chiese di così buon pastore)*—[none being willing to deprive that church of so good a pastor.] It was only in compliance with the repeated and urgent prayers of Caraffa, that he yielded his consent at last.

[3] The *acta* on this occasion are found in the Commentarius prævius AA. S.S. Aug. II. 249.

in the strictly arranged and monthly repeated study of the Gospels; after which they proceeded to the city to preach.[1]

They did not call themselves monks but regular clergy; they were priests bound by monkish vows. They proposed to establish a kind of seminary for priests. The brief of their erection, expressly allowed them to receive secular clergymen. They did not originally impose on themselves any precise form or colour of dress; that was to be determined by what was usual among the clergy of the country. They wished, also, to conduct divine service everywhere according to local usages. And so they rid themselves of many things that embarrassed the monks; they expressly declared that neither in life nor worship should any mere custom oblige the conscience;[2] on the other hand, they

[1] The radical defect of the Theatines seems to have been their persistance in building on an unscriptural foundation, in regard alike to justifying and inherent righteousness, and their idolatry of the saints as demigods and intercessors, must have placed an impassable gulf between them and all true Protestants. Let us turn, for example, to "the Spiritual Combat," a work eminently fitted to impress minds of any religious susceptibility, and to form the charm of the man who resigns himself to it. As Alban Butler, in his Lives of the Saints, attributes it to Lawrence Scupoli, "a Theatine of Italy," and as those who ascribe it rather to D. John de Castanisa, a Spanish Benedictine, yet admit that Scupoli put the finishing hand to it with many additions, we may consider it as a specimen of the practical theology of Cajetan, Caraffa, and their reforming associates. Now, there are a great many excellent things in the book. It warns people from being deceived by ignorantly placing their devotion in exterior works, such as long vocal prayers, hearing masses, assisting at the divine office, spending many hours in church, and frequent communion. Yet bodily chastisement, either in punishment of past offences, or for a greater humiliation and subjection to their Creator, is spoken of as "one of the excellent fruits of a consummate virtue." And in the xlviii. xlix. and l. chapters, there are such flagrant exhortations to blasphemy and idolatry, as must horrify every one whose views of God and of the "one Mediator between God and man," are drawn from the sacred oracles alone. We are recommended to say to the Virgin Mary, "that Providence designed her from all eternity to be the mother of mercy and refuge of sinners," to represent to her what *so many learned men have asserted*, and what has been confirmed by so many miraculous events, that no one ever called upon her with lively faith, without experiencing her assistance." Here the opinions of fallible men, coupled with a monstrous falsehood, are made the ground for a sinner's looking up to Mary, a fellow-mortal and fellow-sinner, as the object of religious faith and confidence. The next chapter calls her "an inexhaustible source of blessings," who "ever proportions her favours to the confidence placed in her." The 50th chapter recommends our assigning the several days of the week to the different orders of the blessed. "On Sunday, beg the intercession of the nine choirs of angels; on Monday, invoke St. John the Baptist; on Tuesday, the Patriarchs and Prophets; on Wednesday, the Apostles; on Thursday, the Martyrs; on Friday, the Bishops and Confessors; on Saturday, the Virgins and other Saints. But let no day pass without imploring the assistance of our blessed Lady, the Queen of all Saints; without invoking your Angel Guardian, the glorious Archangel St. Michael, or any other Saint, to whom you have any particular devotion." Thus gross idolatry, even with the Theatines, was a matter of daily practice, and it seems incredible that their union with Protestants could ever have been seriously contemplated. They presented to the naturally idolatrous heart of man, a complete system of heathen worship, tricked off with Christian names. Tr.

[2] Rule of the Theatines in Bromato's life of Paul IV. *lib.* III. § 25. "Nessuna

wished to devote themselves to clerical duties, preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and the visitation of the sick.

Thus there was again beheld what had quite fallen out of use in Italy, priests appearing in the pulpits; with the barett, cross, and clerical coat. They were next seen in the oratory; often, too, in the form of a mission on the streets. Caraffa himself preached; he displayed that exuberant eloquence which was peculiar to him to his dying day. He and his companions, persons belonging for the most part to the nobility, and who might have enjoyed the pleasures of the world, began to wait upon the sick in private houses and hospitals, and to attend the bedsides of the dying.

Here was a resumption of clerical duties, and it was of the utmost consequence.[1] Not that this order was properly a nursery for priests; for it was never sufficiently numerous to be so, but it adapted itself to be a nursery for bishops. In course of time it became the peculiarly noble order of priests; and it being

consuetudine, nessun modo di vivere o rito che sia, tanto di quelle cose che spettano al culto divino e in qualunque modo fannosi in chiesa, quanto di quelle che pel viver comune in casa e fuori da noi si sogliono pratitare, non permettiamo in veruna maniera che acquistino vigore di precetto."—[We do not permit that any custom, any mode of life or ritual whatever, whether in things respecting divine worship, and in any way done in church, or in things usually practised by us in common life at home, or out of doors, should acquire the force of positive obligation.]

[1] The cessation of *preaching* during several centuries previous to the Reformation and its resumption by the Reformers, are supposed by some to have been predicted in the words of the Apocalypse; "thou must prophesy (that is, preach) again," &c. chap. x. 8—11. The following notices on this subject will be read with interest:—"We find from the rituals that botn the *reading* and the *preaching* continued integral and established parts of the church service. But, as regards the *former*, besides the diminution of the scripture lessons in the congregational worship, arising partly out of the monastic multiplication of services, accordant with the now recognised *seven canonical hours* of prayer, (the most of which services were attended by monks only,) and apportionment to them of much that was before read to the congregation; besides this I say, *legends of saints* had now begun to be read at times instead of scripture;—the *Psalms*, the chief scripture lessons remaining, were *chanted* by priests instead of being read to the people; moreover, in the West, as language underwent its mutations, through the intermixture and settlement of the invading Gothic hordes, the Latin, in which they were chanted, was rapidly becoming *an unknown tongue*. As for the *preaching*, it had both become more rare, and where performed of anything but the primitive evangelic character." This the author attributes first to the narrow views entertained of its *obligation*, next, to that exaggerated view of the efficacy of the sacraments which led to their administration, being thought the *essential* duty of the ministry. Again, the increasing *ignorance and superstition* often made the preaching of the gospel to be considered as out of the question, in the case of priests and even of bishops. Besides all which, *restrictions* were now canonically imposed on the free preaching of the gospel, that might impede its revival. See Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, vol. II. p. 488—490.

It is hardly necessary to observe that there was this essential difference between the revived preaching of the Reformers, and that here described by Professor Ranke, namely, that the one was, the other was not, *the preaching of the gospel*. Tr.

carefully observed from the very commencement that the new members were of noble descent, proofs of noble extraction were therefore required at times in order to being admitted as members. It will readily be seen that the original plan of living upon alms without begging, could be carried out only under such conditions.

Meanwhile the great point was that the good idea[1] of combining clerical duties and consecration, with the vows of monks, was approved and imitated in other places.

Upper Italy, ever since 1521, had been the scene of prolonged warfare, and was consequently overrun with devastation, famine, and diseases. How many children thus too became orphans, and were threatened with the ruin alike of soul and body! Happily among mankind, compassion is ever neighbour to distress. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Miani, collected the children whom flight had brought to Venice, and took them into his house; he went about the islands around the city, in search of them; regardless of the upbraidings of his brothers-in-law, he sold the silver plate and most costly tapestry in his house, in order to procure the means of finding shelter and clothing, food and instruction, for the children. To this he gradually devoted all his active energies, and, in Bergamo especially, met with much success. Indeed the hospital which he founded there, was so nobly supported that he was emboldened to make similar attempts in other cities, and in the course of time such hospitals appeared at Verona, Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa. At length he and some friends of congenial sentiments united in forming a congregation, after the model of the Theatines, consisting of clerks regular, and bearing the name di Somasca. Their hospitals received one common constitution.[2]

[1] A Protestant can hardly hold this to be a good idea, unless in the interests of the papacy. A Christian ministry untrammelled by monkish vows, seems indispensable to the simple and unsophisticated Christianity of the New Testament, the religion that sanctifies instead of denouncing, or at least depreciating domestic life. Tr.

[2] "Approbatio societatis tam ecclesiasticarum quam secularium personarum, nuper institutæ ad erigendum hospitalia pro subventione pauperum orphanorum et mulierum convertitarum."—[Approbation of the society, consisting of both ecclesiastical and secular persons, lately instituted for the erection of hospitals in aid of poor orphans and converted women,] which last object was in some cases combined with the first. Bull of Paul III. 5th June, 1540. Bullarium Cocquelines, IV. 173. It farther appears from the Bull of Pius V. *Injunctum nobis* 6 Dec. 1568, that the members of this congregation then for the first time came under vows.

Milan, of all cities, had suffered from the evils of war in the course of the sieges and assaults which it had sustained, sometimes from the one, sometimes from the other side. To mitigate these calamities by active beneficence, to remove the disorderly habits which they had brought in their train, by instruction, preaching, and good example, such was the object of the three founders of the order of Barnabites, Zacharia, Ferrari, and Morgia. It appears from a Milan chronicle with what amazement people first beheld these new priests traverse the streets, meanly dressed, with round baretts, all alike, with sunken heads and all as yet but young. Their place of residence was at St. Ambrosio, and there they lived in common. For their support they were mainly indebted to the countess Ludovica Torella, who sold her patrimonial estate and devoted the price to good works.[1] The Barnabites, too, had the form of regular clergy.

But whatever might be accomplished by all these congregations in their own circle, either the limited extent of their object, as in the instance we have last mentioned, or that circumscription of their means, which was involved in the nature of the case, as in the instance of the Theatines, hindered their exercising a general and thoroughly efficient influence. They are remarkable as signalizing, in the spontaneity of their origin, a powerful tendency, which contributed immensely to the restoration of Roman Catholicism; but other forces were requisite in order that the bold advance of Protestantism might be effectually withstood. These forces developed themselves in a similar course, but in a very unlooked for and extremely peculiar manner.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

Of all the chivalries of the world, that of Spain alone had retained somewhat of its spiritual element. The wars with the Moors, which while hardly terminated in the peninsula, were still prosecuted in Africa, the very neighbourhood of the Moriscoes who had been left behind in a conquered state, and with whom the Spaniards remained on a footing of constant religious animosity, the adventurous expeditions against other unbelievers beyond

[1] Chronicle of Burigozzo in Custode; Continuation of Verri. Storia di Milano, IV. p. 88.

the Atlantic ocean—all kept alive this spirit. It became idealized in books, like the Amadis, overflowing with simple, enthusiastic, loyal gallantry.

Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde,[1] youngest son in the house of Loyola, born at the castle of that name between Aspeitia and Ascoitia in Guipiscoa, of a family that ranked with the best in the country—*de parientes mayores*, the head of which had always to be invited to do homage by a special letter, after spending his younger years in the court of Frederick the Catholic, and in the retinue of the duke of Najara, was filled with this spirit. He eagerly pursued the praise of knighthood; fine arms and horses, the renown of valour, the adventures of personal encounters and of love, had no fewer charms for him than for others; but in addition to this, he was characterized by a strong tendency to religious fervour; in those early years he had made the first of the apostles the theme of a chivalrous romance.[2]

His name, notwithstanding, would likely have appeared among the other gallant nobles of Spain, to whom Charles V. gave such ample opportunity of distinguishing themselves, but that he had the misfortune to be wounded twice, and in both legs, at the defence of Pamplona, against the French, in the year 1521. He was possessed of such firmness, that when taken home he allowed his wounds to be twice opened up, and while suffering the most acute pain he only clenched his fist. His recovery was most imperfect.

He knew and was fond of the romances of chivalry, particularly the Amadis. And now, while waiting till he should be quite recovered, the life of Christ, and those of some of the saints, fell into his hands.

Naturally of a fanciful humour, excluded from a career which had seemed to promise him the most splendid good fortune, and now thrown alike into inactivity, and into the feverish excitement caused by his sufferings, he was placed in one of the most singular predicaments possible. The deeds, too, of St. Francis and St. Dominick, who here appeared to him in all the lustre of their ghostly renown, struck him as worthy of his imitation; and

[1] He is so called in judicial documents, and our not knowing how he came to have the name of Recalde, cannot prove anything against its genuineness. *Acta Sanctorum* 31 *Julii*. *Commentarius prævius*, p. 410.

[2] Maffei; Vita Ignatii.

from reading about them in such circumstances, he felt both a disposition and a capacity for copying their example, and emulating them in self-denial and strictness of life.[1] Not seldom, indeed, did those ideas give place to very worldly thoughts. Not the less did he picture to himself how he should seek out, in the city where she dwelt, the lady to whose service he had in his heart devoted himself—she was no countess, says he, no duchess, but still more than this—with what wit and elegance he would address her; how he would signalize his devotion to her, and what feats of chivalry he would perform in her honour. He allowed himself to be carried away sometimes by one, sometimes by another of these fancies; by turns they engrossed his soul.

But the longer this lasted, and the worse the prospect of his recovery, the more did the religious fancies gain the ascendancy. Should we be doing him injustice, were we to deduce this result from his being led to perceive by degrees that his perfect cure was becoming impossible, and that he could never again be fit for military service and the honour of knighthood?

Nor was it so abrupt a transition to something totally different, as one may perhaps suppose. In his spiritual exercises, which have always been deemed to have originated in the first reveries of his excitement, he represented to himself two armies, the one at Jerusalem, the other at Babylon, Christ's and Satan's; in the one all that is good, in the other all that is evil, and each equipped for contest with the other. Christ was a king who announced his determination to subdue all the territories of the infidels. Whoever would offer him military homage, as a soldier in his host, must nevertheless be content with the same food and clothing as himself; he must endure the same hardships and watching that Christ endured, and according as he does this, would he share in his Master's triumph and rewards. Before him, and the virgin, and the whole court of heaven, each

[1] On this point we have most authentic information from the *Acta antiquissima, a Ludovico Consalvo ex ore Sancti excepta,*—[the oldest minutes taken by Ludovic Consalvo, from the mouth of the saint.] He thought once: *Quid, si ego hoc agerem quod fecit b. Franciscus, quid si hoc quod b. Dominicus?*—[What if I should do as St. Francis, what if I should do as St. Dominick did?]—Then: *de muchas cosas vanas que se le ofrecian una tenia:*—[Of many vain things that presented themselves to him, one only took hold of him,] even the honour he intended to show his mistress.] *Non era condesa, ni duquesa, mas era su estado mas alto que ninguno destas.*—[She was neither a countess nor a duchess, but something higher than any of these,] a singularly frank and simple confession.

will then declare that he will follow the Lord with the utmost loyalty, share in all his crosses, and serve him in true spiritual and bodily poverty.[1]

Such fantastic notions it might be that led to his transition from worldly to spiritual knighthood, for such was that which he contemplated, but it was one whose ideal perfection lay wholly in the achievements and privations of the saints. He abandoned his father's home and his relations, and went off to climb the steeps of Mount Serrat; not in compunction for his sins, not under the impulse of any properly religious want, but, as he himself said, from the sole desire of accomplishing feats no less great than those for which the saints were so renowned; to undertake penances no less or even still more severe, and to serve God in Jerusalem. He hung up his weapons and armour before an image of Mary; and before it he spent the night, kneeling or standing in prayer, with his pilgrim staff never out of his hand, a manner of watching different from the vigils of his knighthood, but having an express reference to the Amadis, where such exercises are so minutely described. The dress of a knight in which he had come, he gave away, and provided himself with the rough woollen garment of the hermits, who had their lonely dwellings among those naked rocks. After going through a general confession, instead of proceeding at once, as required by his Jerusalem project, to Barcelona, for he dreaded his being recognised on the highway, he went first to Manresa, in order that after new penitential exercises there, he might from that reach the seaport.[2]

But here other trials awaited him. The turn which he had taken, more as an amusement than in earnest, had, as it were, become his absolute master, and put forth all its serious energy in his soul. He engaged in the severest penances in the cell of a Dominican monastery; at midnight he rose to pray, he spent seven hours a day on his knees, and scourged himself regularly thrice a

[1] *Exercitia spiritualia: secunda hebdom. Contemplatio regni Jesu Christi ex similitudine regis terreni subditos suos evocantis ad bellum*, u. a. St.—["Spiritual exercises, week second. Contemplation of Jesus Christ from the similitude of an earthly king calling out his subjects to war," and other pieces.]

[2] *Acta antiquissima: cum mentem rebus iis refertam haberet quæ ab Amadeo de Gaula conscriptæ et ab ejus generis scriptoribus*,—[when he had his mind stuffed with the things written by Amadeus of Gaul, and writers of that sort,] what an odd mistake, for Amadis is truly no story-teller—*nonnullæ illæ similes occurrebant*,—[several such fell in his way.]

day. But this was so severe for him, that he often doubted whether he could continue it for life; what was of far more consequence, he remarked that it did not procure him peace. He had spent three days at Mount Serrat in making a confession, extending over his whole past life; but this he did not deem sufficient. He repeated it at Manresa; recalling forgotten sins and searching out the merest trifles; but the more minutely he went to work, the more painful were the doubts that beset him. He conceived that he was not accepted by God, nor justified in his sight. He read in the lives of the fathers, that God had once been softened and moved to show mercy by total abstinence from food; and he too on one occasion abstained from all nourishment, from one Sunday to that following. His confessor forbade his practising this abstinence, and as there was nothing he prized so highly as obedience, he complied. True, he felt now and then that his melancholy left him, as a heavy garment drops from the shoulders, but soon the old evils returned. It seemed to him as if his whole life had been one continuous course of sin. He was even tempted at times to throw himself out at the window.[1]

Here we are involuntarily reminded of the painful state into which Luther was thrown, by very similar doubts, twenty years before. What religion required, a complete reconciliation with God, even to the consciousness of the same, was never to be attained by the ordinary course prescribed by the church, in the case of the inexplorable depths of a soul living at enmity with itself. But from this labyrinth these two men extricated themselves by very different ways; Luther reached the doctrine of reconciliation through Christ without works; from this point he first understood the scriptures, on which he powerfully stayed himself. As for Loyola, we do not find that he searched the scriptures, or that doctrine made any impression on him. As

[1] Maffei Ribadeneira, Orlandino, and all others relate these struggles. The most authentic accounts will always be found in the *Acta*, which proceeded from Ignatius himself: the following passage, for example, indicates the condition in which he lay: "Cum his cogitationibus agitaretur, tentabatur sæpe graviter magno cum impetu ut magno ex foramine quod in cellula erat, sese dejiceret. Nec aberat foramen ab eo loco ubi preces fundebat. Sed cum videret esse peccatum se ipsum occidere, rursus clamabat: Domine, non faciam quod te offendat."—[While he was tossed to and fro with these thoughts, he was often tempted with a mighty impulse to cast himself out of the large opening in his cell. This opening was not far from where he prayed. But when he saw it was a sin to kill himself, he again cried out: Lord, I will not do what may offend thee.]

he lived entirely on inward emotions and on thoughts that had their source in himself, so he believed that he was subject to the suggestions, sometimes of the good, sometimes of the evil spirit. At length he became conscious to himself of the difference between them, and thought it lay in this, that the soul felt itself gladdened and solaced by the one, and depressed and tormented by the other.[1] One day he seemed to himself as if he had awaked out of a dream. He believed that he had palpable proof that all his sufferings were Satan's temptations. He resolved from that very hour, to have nothing more to do with his past life, to probe those wounds no further, never again to touch them. This implies not so much the attainment of comfort, as a mere resolution; it is more an assumption which a man grasps at, because such is his pleasure, than a conviction to which he must necessarily submit. It had no need of scripture; it rested on the feeling of an immediate connection with the kingdom of spirits. It never could have satisfied Luther; he would have no inspiration, no apparitions; he held them all alike objectionable; he would have nothing but the simple, written, unambiguous word of God. Loyola, on the contrary, lived wholly in fancies and reveries. Christianity seemed to him to be best understood by an old woman, who told him, in his afflictions, that Christ must yet appear to him. This at first threw no light into his mind, but now he thought he saw with his eyes Christ at one time, and the Virgin at another. He stood weeping aloud on the steps of St. Dominick's at Manresa, believing at that moment that he was contemplating the mystery of the Trinity;[2] he spoke of nothing else the whole day; his similitudes were inexhaustible. The mystery of the creation suddenly shone above him in mystical symbols. In the consecrated wafer he saw him who was God and man. Having gone one day by the side of the Llobregat to a church at some distance, as he sat down and fixed his eyes on the deep stream that rolled

[1] One of his most peculiar and earliest observations, the commencement of which he himself referred to the reveries that accompanied his illness. In Manresa he became assured of its being true. It is much brought out in the spiritual exercises. There we find detailed directions, *ad motus animæ quos diversi excitant spiritus discernendos, ut boni solum admittantur et pellantur mali,*—[for distinguishing the motions of the soul produced by different spirits, so that the good may be admitted and the bad repelled.]

[2] En figura de tres teclas.—[In the shape of three harpsichord keys.]

before him, he suddenly found himself enraptured with an intuitive perception of the mysteries of the faith. On rising he seemed to himself to be quite another man. For him, then, there was no further needed any testimony, any scripture. Even had there been any such, he would without hesitation have presented himself to death, in behalf of the faith he had hitherto confessed, and which he now saw.[1]

If we have rightly apprehended the fundamental traits of this so singular a development of character, this chivalry of abstinence, this fanatical determination of purpose and fantastic asceticism, it is not necessary to proceed a step farther with the life of Inigo Loyola. He did go to Jerusalem in the hope of lending his aid, alike in confirming believers and converting infidels. But how was he to accomplish the latter in particular, ignorant as he was, without companions, and without a commission. His project of remaining in the Holy Land was nullified by the explicit prohibition of the authorities at Jerusalem, who for that possessed the express sanction of the pope. On his return to Spain too, he had sufficient trials to encounter. On his beginning to teach and to communicate to others the spiritual exercises which meanwhile suggested themselves to him, he was even suspected of heresy. It would have been the most singular caprice of fortune, if Loyola, whose society, centuries afterwards, passed into Illuminati, were himself really associated with a sect of that name.[2] And it cannot be denied that the Spanish Illuminati of that time, the Alumbrados, to whom he was suspected to belong, cherished opinions that bore a resemblance to his fancies. Departing from the ceremonial holiness, sanctioned by Christianity up to that time, they too resigned themselves to inward raptures, and believed, as he did, that they beheld the mystery—they speak of that of the Trinity in particular—in immediate revelation. Like Loyola, and afterwards

[1] Acta antiquissima: *his visis haud mediocriter tum confirmatus est*,—[having seen these things he was not a little confirmed,]—(the original: y le dieron tanta confirmacione siempre de la fe), *ut sæpe etiam id cogitarit, quod etsi nulla scriptura mysteria illa fidei doceret, tamen ipse ob ea ipsa quæ viderat statueret sibpro his esse moriendum*,—[so that he often thought that although no scripture taught him those mysteries of the faith, yet on account of the things which he had seen, he would resolve to die for them.]

[2] Lainez and Borgia likewise were subjected to this reproach. Llorente Hist. de l'Inquisition, III. 83. Melchior Cano unhesitatingly calls them Illuminati, the Gnostics of that age.

his followers, they made the general confession the condition of absolution, and insisted above all things on mental prayer. May I not maintain that Loyola did not remain altogether unaffected by these notions, but I dare not add that he belonged to the sect. He differed from them mainly in this respect, that while they considered themselves as raised by the acquirements of the Spirit, above ordinary duties, he, on the contrary, old soldier as he was, declared obedience to be the highest of all the virtues. To the church and her authorities he subjected on every occasion his whole inspiration and inward conviction.

Meanwhile these trials and obstacles had a result which determined the complexion of his whole future life. In the condition in which he stood at that time, without learning, ignorant of the principles of theology, and without political abettors, he must have lived out his days without leaving a trace of his existence behind him; sufficiently happy to have effected a few conversions within the bounds of Spain. But having had imposed upon him at Alcala and Salamanca four years of theological study, as a prerequisite to his resuming the teaching of certain, especially, of the more difficult doctrines, he had of necessity to enter on a course which gradually opened a field for indulging his passion for religious activity, such as he had not anticipated.

He repaired to what was then the most celebrated university in the world, Paris.

His studies were attended with more than ordinary difficulties. He had to pass through the grammar class, which he had commenced in Spain, and to attend that of philosophy, previous to his being admitted to that on theology.[1] But while occupied with the words which he had to decline, and the logical ideas which he had to analyse, he was seized with those raptures of deep religious sentiment which he had been wont to combine with these exercises. There was something magnanimous in his ascribing this to the suggestions of the evil spirit, who wanted

[1] According to the oldest chronicle of the Jesuits, *Chronicon breve* AA. SS. p. 525, Ignatius resided in Paris from 1528 to 1535. "Ibi vero non sine magnis molestiis et persecutionibus primo grammaticæ de integro, tum philosophiæ ac demum theologico studio sedulam operam navavit."—[But there, not without great annoyances and persecutions, he laboured sedulously, first at grammar, which he resumed, then at philosophy, and finally at the study of theology.]

to seduce him from the right way, and in his subjecting himself to the most rigorous discipline.

While his studies opened up to him a new, and that the real world, still he never on that account relinquished for a moment his religious turn, and even the communication of it to others. Even here it was that he made those first conversions which proved so permanent, so effective, nay, for the world itself, so eventful.

Of the two students who shared Loyola's apartment at the college of St. Barbara, one, Peter Faber from Savoy, a man, reared among his father's herds, who had one night, under the open canopy of heaven, devoted himself to God and to study, was not difficult to gain over. With Ignatius, for this was the name that Inigo went by in foreign countries, he completed the philosophical course, and the former took the opportunity of communicating to him his ascetic principles. Ignatius taught his young friend to contend with his failings, prudently not attacking them all at once, but one after another, as he then would always have some one virtue to make the special object of his pursuit, he kept him to confession, and to the frequent taking of the Supper. They lived in the closest fellowship. Ignatius made Faber share with him in the alms that were supplied to him, in tolerable abundance, from Spain and Flanders. He found more difficulty in dealing with the other, Francis Xavier, from Pamplona in Navarre, whose only ambition it was to add the name of a man of learning to the long list of his ancestors, men renowned for their exploits in war, who had shone with lustre on his family tree for the preceding five hundred years. He was handsome, wealthy, full of spirit, and had already acquired some footing in the royal court. Ignatius neglected not to show him all the deference which he claimed, and took care that it should be paid to him by others also. He procured for him a tolerable attendance at his first prelection. Having first formed a personal intimacy with him, his example, and the strictness of his mode of life, failed not to have their natural influence. He prevailed with both to conduct their religious exercises under his direction. Nor did he spare them; he kept them fasting for three successive days and nights; and this he enjoined on Faber during the severest winters, when the frost was

such that waggons crossed the Seine on the ice. He obtained a complete mastery over both, and communicated to them his views.[1]

What an important spot did that cell of St. Barbara become, which brought together these three men, and in which, in the exuberance of their fantastic religiosity, they drew up schemes and made preparations for undertakings, of the remote consequences of which they themselves were not aware.

Let us contemplate the first movement in which the farther development of this alliance originated. After being joined by some Spaniards, Salmeron, Lainez and Bobadilla, to all of whom Ignatius had made himself indispensable by good counsel or support, they repaired one day to Montmartre church. Faber, who was by that time priest, read mass. They promised chastity; they bound themselves by oath, on the completion of their studies, to devote their lives, in absolute poverty, in Jerusalem, to attendance on Christians or to the conversion of the Saracens; but in the event of their finding it impossible to reach Jerusalem, or to remain there, they were to make an offer of their strenuous exertions to the pope, for any country he might command them to go to, without reward or condition. Thus swore each of the party and then received the consecrated wafer, after which Faber took the oath, and then administered the wafer to himself. Thereafter they partook of a repast at St. Deny's Well.

Here was a league formed among some young men; fanatical, not even feasible; still following out the ideas that had originally possessed Ignatius, and only thus far removed therefrom, that they expressly took into account the possibility of their being unable to carry them into effect.

At the commencement of 1537, we find them, in fact, with three other associates, met in Venice, in the contemplation of commencing their pilgrimage. We have already perceived many changes in Loyola; we have seen him make the transition from a secular to a spiritual knighthood, fail into the severest temptations, and work himself out of them, by having recourse to a fantastic asceticism; then he became a theologian and the foun-

[1] Orlandinus, who has also written a life of Faber, which I have not seen, enters also, in his great work, *Historiæ Societatis Jesu pars* I. p. 17, into more details on this point than Ribadeneira.

der of a fanatical society. Now, at last, his views took their permanent direction. The war which had just broken out betwixt Venice and the Turks, at once prevented his departure, and still further damped the idea of the pilgrimage; but then he found in Venice an institution, which, it may be said, first properly opened his eyes. For a long while Loyola attached himself in the closest manner to Caraffa; he took up his residence in the monastery of the Theatines, that had been formed in Venice. He served in the hospitals placed under the superintendence of Caraffa, and in which the latter made his novices exercise their gifts. Ignatius, it is true, did not find the Theatinish institution quite to his mind; he spoke to Caraffa about some important changes in it, and about these they seem to have fallen out with each other.[1] But from this it may already be seen, what a deep impression it had made on him. Here he beheld an order of priests, zealously and strictly devoting themselves to duties properly clerical. If obliged, as it became ever more and more evident that he would be, to remain on this side of the Levant, and to make Western Christendom the sphere of his active endeavours, he perceived clearly that he could not fitly enter on any other course.

He and all his companions, in fact, took priest's orders at Venice, and after a course of forty days' prayer, four of the party, including himself, commenced preaching at Vicenza. On the same day, and at the same hour, they appeared in different streets, mounted on stones and waving their hats, while they lifted up their voices in calls to the people to repent. Strange preachers they were; ragged and haggard-looking, speaking an unintelligible gibberish, half Spanish, half Italian. In those parts they remained until the year had elapsed that they had resolved to wait over, and then they proceeded to Rome.

As they were about to separate, for they wished to travel by different routes, they drew up their first rules, in order that while living apart from each other, they might observe a certain uniformity of life. But what answer were they to give should they be questioned as to their employment? They pleased themselves

[1] *Sachinus: cujus sit auctoritatis quod in b. Cajetani Thienæi vita de beato Ignatio traditur.*—[Sachinus: upon whose authority rests what is related respecting Ignatius in the Life of the blessed Cajetan of Thiene,] before Orlandinus, fully investigates this circumstance.

with the idea of making war on Satan, like soldiers; and following out Ignatius's old military whims, resolved to call themselves the company of Jesus, just as a company of soldiers bears the name of its captain.[1]

In Rome they at first had no very easy position. Ignatius thought he saw every opening closed against them, and here they found it necessary once more to clear their characters of the old suspicion of heresy. Meanwhile, however, their manner of life, their zeal in preaching and teaching, and their attendance on the sick, drew around them numerous adherents, and so many showed a readiness to join them, that they were encouraged to think of having a regular constitution for their society.

They had already laid themselves under two vows; they now took a third, that of obedience. But as Ignatius had ever declared obedience to be one of the chiefest virtues, they sought forthwith to out-do all the other orders in that respect. It was already a great step, their having resolved to choose their general once for life; but this did not content them. To that they added the special obligation, "to do whatever might be enjoined on them by the pope for the time being, to go into whatever country he should send them to, to Turks, heathens, or heretics, without objection, without condition or reward, and without delay."

What a contrast to the tendencies that had hitherto characterized those days! While the pope was meeting on every side with opposition and desertion, and had no prospect but that of being abandoned by still greater numbers, here was a society formed, spontaneous, full of zeal, enthusiastic, for the purpose of devoting itself exclusively to his service. He could have no scruple to sanction them, first in 1540, under certain limitations, and then in 1543, unconditionally.

Meanwhile the society now took its final step also. Six of the

Ribadeneira Vita brevior, c. 12, remarks that Ignatius chose this name, *ne de suo nomine diceretur*,—[lest it should be called after himself.] Nigroni explains *societas*, "quasi dicas cohortem aut centuriam quæ ad pugnam cum hostibus spiritualibus conserendam conscripta sit. Postquam nos vitamque nostram Christo D^no^ nostro et ejus vero ac legitimo vicario internis obtuleramus,"—[as you would speak of a cohort or company raised for the purpose of engaging with spiritual enemies. After we had presented ourselves and our life to Christ our Lord, and to his true and legitimate Vicar *internis*,]* are the words of the *Deliberatio primorum patrum*. AA. SS. II. p. 463.

* *Internis* I confess myself unable to translate, and presume it must be a misprint for *in terris*, i. e. "vicar on the earth." Tr.

oldest members met to elect the leader who, as was laid down in the first scheme that they delivered to the pope, "was to distribute degrees and offices as he should think fit, and advise with the members in drawing up the plan of the constitution, but in every thing else should only have to command; in him Christ was to be revered as if present amongst them." With one voice they elected Ignatius who, as Salmeron noted on the slip containing his vote, "had begotten them all in Christ, and had nourished them with his milk."[1]

And now for the first time the society was regularly organized. It, too, was an association of clerks regular; it, too, was based on a combination of clerical and monkish duties, but it was distinguished in many ways from others of that kind.

While the Theatines had already allowed several of their less important obligations to drop, the Jesuits carried these still further.[2] It was not enough for them to avoid all monastic peculiarity of dress; they likewise declared themselves released from having to conduct in common the devotional exercises which engross most of the time in monasteries, and from the obligation of singing in choir.

Exempted from these far from necessary employments, they devoted their whole time and energies to duties of real consequence. Not to any special one, like the Barnabites, although they allowed attendance on the sick to be imposed on them, that being a means of enhancing their reputation; not under hampering conditions, like the Theatines, but with utmost effort they applied themselves to the most important. First, there was preaching; already, on separating at Vicenza, they had pledged themselves to preach mainly for the common people; to think more of impressing their hearers than of making a display of elaborate eloquence; this they were now carrying out in prac-

[1] *Suffragium Salmeronis.*

[2] They themselves regard this as constituting the difference betwixt the Theatines and them. Didacus Payva Andradius: Orthodoxarum Explicatt. lib. I. fol. 14: "Illi (Theatini) sacrarum æternarumque rerum meditationi psalmodiæque potissimum vacant: isti vero (Jesuitæ) cum divinorum mysteriorum assidua contemplatione docendæ plebis, evangelii amplificandi, sacramenta administrandi atque reliqua omnia apostolica munera conjungunt."—[These (the Theatines) chiefly devote themselves to meditation on sacred and eternal things, and to psalmody: but these (the Jesuits) conjoin with assiduous contemplation of the divine mysteries, the office of teaching the common people, amplifying the gospel, administering the sacraments, and all other apostolic duties.]

tice. Next, there was the confessional; for immediately connected with that, was the direction and governing of the conscience; in the spiritual exercises, which had been the means of uniting them with Ignatius, they possessed an important auxiliary. Lastly, there was the instruction of youth; to this likewise they had intended to bind themselves in their vows by a special clause, and although this intention, it is true, was not then carried into effect, yet it was inculcated most earnestly in their rule. Above all things they wished to gain the rising generation. Enough, they allowed all secondary engagements to fall aside, and devoted themselves to substantial, efficient, influence-promising labours.

Ignatius's fantastic endeavours resulted, accordingly, in a preeminently practical movement; his ascetic conversions gave birth to an institution founded on calculations of the utmost worldly shrewdness.

He saw all his anticipations far exceeded. He now held in his hands the unrestricted direction of a society into which a great part of his peculiar views had passed, and which by study formed its peculiarities of religious conviction in the same manner as he himself, by accidental circumstances and genius, had done; which, it is true, did not carry his Jerusalem project into effect, a project that remained wholly without result, but which, for the rest, proceeded to form the most remote, and, in their consequences, the most effective missions, and which, most of all, took up the cure of souls he had constantly enjoined, on a more extensive scale than he ever could have anticipated; whose obedience to him, in fine, was that at once of the soldier and of the priest.

Before taking a nearer view of the effective character which the society very soon acquired, we have yet to investigate one of the most important causes whence this arose.

FIRST SITTINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

We have seen what interests combined to make the emperor demand the calling of a council, and what led to this demand being refused on the side of the pope. There was but one point of view in which a new church convention could have any thing

desirable for the pope. In order to the doctrines of the Roman catholic church being inculcated and diffused with full and unintermitted zeal, it was necessary that there should be a settlement of those doubts which had arisen on one or other of them, within the bosom of the church itself. Now nothing short of a council could do this, with absolute authority. Every thing depended only on its being summoned at the favourable moment, and held under the influence of the pope.

That great crisis at which the two ecclesiastical parties had made a closer mutual approach than ever, on the ground of a middle and moderate opinion, in regard to this, too, was of decisive consequence. The pope, as we have said, thought he could perceive that the emperor himself cherished the pretension of being entitled to summon the council, and at this moment, while assured on all sides of the adherence of the Roman catholic princes, he lost no time in anticipating him here. It was in the midst of those commotions that he definitely resolved to proceed to the calling of an ecumenical convention of the churches, and to cut short all delays;[1] he forthwith caused this to be intimated to Contarini, and through him to the emperor; the negotiations were vigorously prosecuted; finally, the brieves were issued; and the next year we find that his legates had arrived in Trent.[2]

Meanwhile, on this as well as former occasions, new obstacles occurred; the number of bishops that appeared was quite too inconsiderable; the times too warlike, and circumstances otherwise not very propitious; it was not until December 1545, that the council was actually opened. The old procrastinator had found the desirable moment at last.

For what could have been more so than that in which the

[1] "Ardinghello al C^l Contarini, 15 Giugno 1541, in Quirini III. CCXLVI.: Considerato che nè la concordia a Christiani è successa e la tolerantia,"—[Ardinghello to the most illustrious Contarini, 15th June 1541, in Quirini III. CCXLVI.: Considering that from concord among Christians comes success and toleration,] (that which was proposed at Ratisbon, which had been rejected by the council of Cardinals,) "è illecitissima e damnosa e la guerra difficile e pericolosa, pare a S.S. che si ricorra al rimedio del concilio.—Adunque, S. Beatitudine ha determinato di levar via la prorogatione della suspensione del concilio e di dichiararlo e congregarlo quanto piu presto si potrà."—[is illegal and condemnable, and war difficult and dangerous, it appears to his Holiness that he should have recourse to the meeting of a council. —Therefore, his Beatitude has determined to take away the prorogation of the suspension of the council, and to publish and convene it with all the speed in his power.]

[2] They entered the town on the 22d Nov. 1542.

emperor had resolved to take up arms against the advance of Protestantism, which, as he supposed, threatened him in his imperial dignity, and in the government he had introduced into his hereditary territory. In as much as he stood in need of the pope's assistance, he could not give effect to the claims which he had formerly seemed wishful to assert as to a council. The war besides must fully occupy him; looking at the power of the Protestants there was no seeing in what perplexities it might involve him; so much the less then could he press the reform with which he had hitherto threatened the Roman see. The pope, besides, had contrived to cut off beforehand the way for his doing so. The emperor demanded that the council should first begin with reform; to the papal legates it appeared a victory that the resolution was carried, that reform and points of doctrine should be discussed simultaneously;[1] but, in fact, the points of doctrine only were taken up first.

While the pope contrived to put out of the way what might have proved to his prejudice, he laid hold of whatever was likely to turn to his advantage. To him, as has been shown, the final settlement of the controverted points was of the utmost consequence. It must now be seen how far it was possible to retain one or other of the views that leant to the Protestant system, within the pale of Roman Catholic orthodoxy.

First, for matters were gone about very systematically, revelation itself was the topic of discussion, together with the sources from which the knowledge of it is to be drawn. Here immediately voices were raised in the direction of Protestantism. Nachianti, bishop of Chiozza, would hear of nothing but scripture; he insisted that every thing necessary to salvation stood written in the gospel. But he had an immense majority against him. It was resolved, that those unwritten traditions that had been received from the lips of Christ, and transmitted down to the latest times under the safeguard of the Holy Ghost, should be received with no less reverence than holy writ. With respect to this last, reference was not once made to the original text. An authentic translation was recognised in the Vulgate,

[1] A mode of escaping from the difficulties suggested by Thom. Campeggi. Pallavicini VI. VII. 5. Moreover a Reformation-bull was drawn up from the very first, but it was never published. *Bulla reformationis Pauli papæ III. concepta non vulgata, primum edidit* H. N. Clausen. Havn. 1829.

and the only engagement made, was that for the future it should be printed in the most careful manner.[1]

After having in this fashion laid the foundation—not without reason was it said that half the journey was already accomplished—they proceeded to that decisive article of justification, and the doctrines that stand or fall along with it. To this controversy the chief interest was attached.

For there were not a few in fact at the council, whose views on this point co-incided with Protestant opinions. The archbishop of Siena, the bishop della Cava, Giulio Contarini, bishop of Belluno, and along with these five of the divines, ascribed justification simply and solely to the merits of Christ and to faith. Charity and hope, according to their exposition, were the concomitants, and good works the evidence of faith; they were nothing more; but faith alone was the ground of justification.

How could it be thought that at the very moment when the pope and the emperor were attacking the Protestants with an armed force, the fundamental view to which their whole existence might be traced, could obtain any weight in a council held under the auspices of the pope and the emperor? In vain did Poole admonish them, in no case to reject a doctrine only because Luther maintained it. Too many bitter personal animosities were mixed up with the question. The bishop della Cava and a Greek monk actually came to blows. Upon so unequivocal an expression of Protestant opinion, the council could not so much as once enter into any serious discussions; these bore only, and this was already important enough, on the intermediate opinion, as proposed by Gaspar Contarini, who had but just died, and his friends.

The general of the Augustinians, Seripando, propounded them, not however without an express reservation that they were not Luther's opinions that he defended, but much rather those of his most reputed opponents, for example, of a Pflug and a Cropper. He held that there is a twofold justification,[2] one

[1] Conc. Tridentini Sessio IV: *in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur,*—[be held authentic in public readings, discussions, preachings, and expositions.] It was to be printed in an improved shape, *posthac,* [afterwards,] not quite as Pallavicini has it, *quanto si potesse piu tosto:* VI. 15, 2.—[as far as could be done at the soonest.]

[2] *Parere dato a* 13 *di Luglio* 1544.—[Dated apparently 13th July 1544.] Excerpted from Pallavicini VIII. XI. 4.

dwelling in us, inherent, whereby from being sinners we become children of God, that it also is of free unmerited grace, active in good works, conspicuous in the practice of the virtues, but not capable, of itself, of conducting us to the glory of God; the other the righteousness and the merit of Christ, given and imputed to us, which restores all defects, and is complete and saving. This is just what Contarini had taught. If it be asked, said he, on which of these righteousnesses we should build, that which is indwelling, or that in Christ imputed, the reply of the godly man must be, that we have to commit ourselves to the latter only. Our righteousness is now but begun, is imperfect, and full of defects; Christ's righteousness, on the contrary, is genuine, perfect, absolutely and alone well pleasing in the eye of God; in virtue of it alone can a man believe that he can become justified before God.[1]

Yet even under this modification, which, as we perceive, leaves untouched the essence of Protestant doctrine, and may be approved by its adherents, this opinion encountered warm opposition.

Caraffa, who had already opposed it when under discussion at Ratisbon, now held a place among the Cardinals commissioned to superintend the council of Trent. He produced a treatise of his own on justification, in which he warmly controverted all opinions of the kind.[2] The Jesuits had already risen on the same side. Salmeron and Lainez had procured for themselves the well devised privilege of delivering their sentiments, the former first, and the latter last. They were learned, energetic, in the bloom of life, and full of zeal. Instructed by Ignatius never to support an opinion that the least approached innovation,[3] they opposed Seripando's doctrine with their utmost

[1] *Contareni tractatus de justificatione.*—[Contarini's treatise on justification.] One must not fall upon the Venetian edition of 1589, as was at first the case with me. This passage will be sought for there in vain. As early as in 1571, the Sorbonne at Paris had, as it were, approved of the treatise: in the Paris edition of this year the passage will be found entire; in 1589, on the contrary, Fra Marco Medici, the Inquisitor General at Venice, would no longer allow it to pass: not contented with simply omitting the (condemned) passages, they were modified and altered agreeably to the received doctrine. One is astonished on coming upon the collation in Quirini Epp. Poli III. ccxiii. One must remember these unjustifiable violences in order to account for a hatred so bitter as that which Sarpi manifests towards him.

[2] Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV. Tom. II. p. 131.

[3] Orlandinus VI. p. 127.

might. Lainez appeared on the field of controversy more with a work than with a speech in reply. He had the greatest number of the divines on his side.

These opponents possibly admitted to some extent the above distinction of justifications. Only they maintained that the imputative righteousness became merged in the inherent; or that Christ's merits became immediately attached and communicated to man by faith; that a man must by all means build on Christ's righteousness, not, however, because it completes ours, but because it produces ours. All depended just upon this. According to Contarini's and Seripando's views, the merit of works could avail for nought. By this view its efficiency was preserved. It was the old doctrine of the Schoolmen, that the soul, invested with grace, merited eternal life.[1] The bishop of Bitonto, one of the most learned and eloquent of those fathers, drew the distinction between a preliminary justification, dependent on Christ's merits, by which the ungodly becomes delivered from a state of perdition, and a subsequent justification, earned by a man's personal righteousness, and dependent on grace infused into and dwelling in us. In this sense, said the bishop of Fano, faith is no more than the door to justification, but a man durst not stand waiting there; he must enter and complete the whole course.

Nearly as these views seem to touch, yet are they quite opposed to each other. The Lutheran, too, requires the inward new birth, points out the path of salvation, and maintains that good works must follow; but it makes the divine favour flow from the merits of Christ alone. The Tridentine council, on the other hand, admits, it is true, Christ's merit, but it ascribes justification to the same, only in so far as it produces that inner second birth, and, along with it, good works, on which, at the last, everything depends. "The ungodly," it says,[2] "is justified, in that through the merits of the most holy passion, by the power of the Holy Ghost, the love of God becomes implanted in his heart and dwells therein; having in this wise become a friend of God, man advances from virtue to virtue, and becomes renewed from day to day. In observing the commandments of

[1] Chemnitius, Examen concilii Tridentini I. 355.
[2] Sessio VI. c. VII. X.

God and of the church, he grows, by help of faith, through good works, in the righteousness that is attained through the grace of Christ, and becomes more and more justified."

And thus did the view maintained by the Protestants become completely excluded from Roman catholicism; everything intermediate was put aside. This happened just as the emperor had achieved his successes in Germany, as the Lutherans were surrendering themselves on all sides, and as Charles was proceeding not the less strenuously to put down all the refractory spirits that still held out. Already had the defenders of the middle view, cardinal Poole and the archbishop of Siena, under other pretexts, as was natural, left the council;[1] instead of moderating and limiting others in their creed, they must have had reason to dread seeing their own assailed and condemned.

But herewith the most important difficulty was overcome. When the justification within a man is progressive, and that too in a continued development, the sacraments, by means of which it is either commenced, or, after being commenced, is promoted, or after being lost, is recovered, become indispensable to it.[2] There was found no difficulty in retaining and referring to the Author of the faith, the whole seven, as they had been received hitherto, in as much as it was held that the institutions of the church of Christ are communicated, not only through scripture, but also through tradition.[3] But these sacraments now embrace, as we know, the whole life of man and all the successive steps of its development; they lie at the foundation of the hierarchy, in so far as it governs the days and hours of a man's existence; and as they are understood not only to be the signs of grace, but also to impart it, they complete the mystic relation which man is supposed to hold with God.

The very reason for tradition being admitted was because the

[1] It was singular at least that they both should have been prevented by attacks of an extraordinary sickness, as it was called, from returning to Trent. *Polo ai Cli Monte e Cervini* 15 *Sett.* 1546. *Epp.* T. IV. 189.—[Poole to the most illustrious Monte and Cervini, 15th Sept. 1546. Epp. T. IV. 189.] This did Poole much injury. "Mendoza al Emperador Carlos, 13 July 1547. Lo Cardinal de Inglaterra le haze danno lo que se a dicho de la justificacion."—[Mendoza to the Emperor Charles, 13th July 1547. The Cardinal of England has been much damaged by what he has said about justification.]

[2] Sessio VII. Procemium.

[3] Sarpi communicates the discussions on this subject: *Historia del concilio Tridentino*, p. 241. (Edition of 1629.) Pallavicini is very incomplete upon it.

Holy Ghost dwells in the church evermore; as that for admitting the Vulgate was because the Romish church, through the special favour of God, is (supposed to be) preserved from all errors. It was of a piece then with this indwelling of the divine element, that the justifying principle, also, should reside in man himself, that the grace bound up with the visible sacrament becomes step by step imparted to him, and embraces his life and death. The visible is at the same time the true church, which had been called the invisible. It can acknowledge no religious existence beyond its circle.

INQUISITION.

MEASURES, in the meantime, had already been taken for disseminating these doctrines, and for the suppression of such as were opposed to them.

Here we must once more revert to the times of the conference of Ratisbon. On its being observed that no determination had been come to with respect to the German Protestants, that meanwhile, in Italy too, controversies about the sacrament, doubts as to purgatory, and other doctrinal notions that seemed to threaten the Romish ritual, were gaining the ascendancy, the pope one day asked cardinal Caraffa what antidotes he would recommend for these evils. Upon this the cardinal stated that a thoroughly efficient inquisition was the only thing that would do, an opinion in which he was supported by John Alvarez of Toledo, cardinal of Burgos.

The old Dominican Inquisition had long since gone to decay. As the monkish orders continued to be invested with the power of choosing the inquisitors, it so happened that these not seldom shared themselves in the opinions meant to be attacked. In Spain a departure had already taken place from the earlier form, in so far as a supreme tribunal of the Inquisition had been established in that country. Caraffa and Burgos, both old Dominicans, men of a gloomy integrity, zealots in behalf of pure Roman catholicism, severe in their manner of life, unbending in their opinions, advised the pope to establish a general supreme court of Inquisition in Rome, after the model of that in Spain, and that on it all others should be made to depend. As St. Peter,

said Caraffa, vanquished the first heresiarchs nowhere but in Rome, so ought Peter's successors to trample down all the heresies of the world in Rome.[1] The Jesuits glory in the fact that their founder, Loyola, supported this proposal by a special representation on the subject. The bull was issued on the 21st of July.

It appointed six cardinals, among whom Caraffa and Toledo were named first, as commissaries of the apostolic see, and general and universal inquisitors in matters of faith, for both sides of the Alps. It empowered them, in all places, as they should think proper, to delegate clergymen with similar authority, to have an exclusive jurisdiction in deciding appeals against the procedure of these delegates, and to proceed even without the participation of the ordinary ecclesiastical law courts. Every man, without exception, and without respect to rank or dignity, was to be subject to their judicial authority. They were to throw suspected persons into prison; to punish the guilty even capitally, and to confiscate their goods. One sole limitation was imposed on them. They were to have full power to punish; the extension of mercy to the guilty on their repentance, the pope reserved to himself. Thus were they to do, arrange, and execute whatever might be required for the suppression, and utter extirpation, of the errors that had broken out in the Christian commonwealth.[2]

Caraffa lost not a moment in giving effect to this bull. He was not at all rich, yet he was too impatient on this occasion to wait for money from the apostolic chamber. He hired a house forthwith; from his own means he fitted up apartments for the officials and prisons; these he provided with bolts and strong locks, with fetters, chains, and bonds, and all those horrid appur tenances of his office. He then appointed commissaries general, for the various countries of Christendom. The first, so far as I can see, was his own divine, Teofilo di Tropea, of whose severity, such cardinals as Poole had soon cause to complain.

"The following rules," says the manuscript biography of

[1] Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV. lib. VII. §. 3.

[2] "Licet ab initio. Deputatio nonnullorum Cardinalium generalium inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis, 21 Julii 1542." Cocquelines IV. 1, 211.

Caraffa, "the cardinal prescribed for himself, as the fittest to be adopted in this matter.[1]

"First, that in matters of faith, one must not venture upon a moment's delay, but the most energetic measures must at once be taken, on the slightest suspicion presenting itself.

"Secondly, no deference must be shown to any prince or prelate whatever, however exalted in rank.

"Thirdly, much rather must those be prosecuted with the utmost rigour, who shall endeavour to avail themselves of the protection of a potentate; on nothing short of confession should lenity and fatherly compassion be shown in dealing with an offender.

"Fourthly, people must not degrade themselves with any sort of toleration for heretics, and particularly for Calvinists."

Here, as we perceive, all is that stern severity which winks at no transgression, and looks at no consequences, until confession of guilt is obtained. Frightful, indeed, particularly when we consider that this was just the time when men's views were as yet undeveloped, and when many were endeavouring to combine the more profound doctrines of Christianity with the established order of the existing church. The weak gave way and submitted; men of stronger minds, on the contrary, now first properly comprehended the antagonist opinions, and tried to make their escape from violence.

One of the first of these was Bernardine Ochino. It had long ere this been remarked that he had been less sedulous in the observance of his monastic duties, and in 1542 people took exception to his preaching. He maintained, in the most decisive manner, the doctrine of justification by faith alone; quoting a passage in St. Augustine, he would exclaim, "He who without thee hath created thee, shall it be not without thee that he saves thee?" His comments on purgatory seemed not very orthodox. Already had the nuntio at Venice prohibited him from entering the pulpit for some days; he was then summoned to appear at Rome; he had advanced as far as Bologna, as far indeed as Florence, when, probably from a dread of the newly-erected in-

[1] Caracciolo, Vita di Paolo IV. MS. c. 8. "Haveva egli queste infrascritte regole tenute da lui come assiomi verissimi: la prima, che in materia di fede non bisogna aspettar punto, ma subito che vi è qualche sospetto o indicio di peste heretica far ogni sforzo e violenza per estirparla," &c.—[Translated in the text.]

quisition, he resolved to flee. The historian of his order allows him, not improperly,[1] when he had come as far as the St. Bernard, once more to halt and call to his remembrance all the honours that had been shown him in his lovely fatherland, the innumerable crowds that received him with the highest expectancy, that heard him with eager attention, and accompanied him on his way home, at once pleased and wonder-struck: an orator, assuredly, loses more in leaving his fatherland than any man else does. But he forsook it, advanced in years as he was. He gave the seal of his order, which he had always carried about with him, to his attendant, and went to Geneva. Meanwhile his convictions never became settled, and he fell into very extraordinary errors.

About the same time Peter Martyr Vermigli left Italy. "I tore myself," says he, "from so many dissimulations, and rescued my life from the peril that impended." Many of the students whom up to that time he had reared at Lucca, followed him somewhat later.[2]

Celio Secundo Curione allowed danger to approach him more closely. He waited until the bargello (sheriff) seemed to be in search of him. Curione was a large and powerful man. With no better arms than the knife that he had with him, he passed right through the midst of the sbirri (criminal officers), threw himself on his horse, and rode off. He went to Switzerland.

There had already been commotions on one occasion in Modena, and now they were excited anew. Mutual complaints prevailed. Philip Valentin withdrew to Trent. Castelvetri, too, found it advisable to seek safety, for some time at least, in Germany.

For in Italy persecution and terror burst forth on all sides. Party hatred came to the aid of the inquisitors. How often, after having long looked out in vain for some other opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on his enemies, would a man have recourse to an accusation of heresy! The monks who held by

[1] Boverio, Annali I. 438.

[2] A letter of Peter Martyr's addressed to the flock he had left behind him, in which he expresses his regret that he had sometimes wrapt up the truth in darkness, and hid it under lock and key. See Lives of Beza and Peter Martyr. Gerdesius and M'Crie have collected many particular notices in the works already quoted.

the old faith, now had weapons at hand wherewith to attack that whole host of intellectual persons who had been carried away by their literary studies into the religious movement, and condemned their enemies to perpetual silence. These two parties hated each other with equal bitterness. Hardly is it possible, exclaims Antonio dei Pagliarici, "to be a Christian and to die in one's bed."[1] The academy of Modena was not the only one that was dissolved. That of Naples likewise, established by the Seggi, originally intended for the promotion of literature only, but which, following the spirit of the times, went quite over to theological discussions, was closed by order of the viceroy.[2] Literature became subjected to the strictest censorship. In 1543, Caraffa issued orders that for the future, no book, of whatever tenor, whether old or new, durst be printed without leave from the Inquisitors; booksellers were to send descriptions of their whole stock to these officials, without whose permission they were no longer to make sales of books; the custom-house officers received orders to allow no package of books, manuscript or printed, to proceed to its address without having previously laid it before the Inquisition.[3] An index of prohibited books was gradually adopted, a measure of which Louvain and Paris presented the first examples. In Italy Giovanni della Casa, who was on terms of the closest intimacy with the Caraffa family, had the first catalogue, of nearly seventy numbers, printed at Venice. More copious editions appeared in 1552 at Florence, in 1554 at Milan, and the first that assumed the form generally adopted in later times, at Rome in 1559. It comprised the writings of cardinals and the poems of that very Casa himself. Nor were such laws imposed on printers and booksellers alone; it came to be made a matter of conscience even for private persons to give notice of forbidden books, and to co-operate towards their destruction. This measure was carried into

[1] Aonii Palearii Opera, ed. Wetsten. 1695, p. 91. Il C^l di Ravenna al C^l Contarini, Epp. Poli III. 208, already adduces this reason: "Sendo quella città (Ravenna) partialissima nè vi rimanendo huomo alcuno non contaminato di questa macchia delle fattioni, si van volontieri dove l'occasion s'offerisce carricando l'un l'altro da inimici."—[That city (Ravenna) being most addicted to party spirit, not a man residing there who is not contaminated with that stain of faction, they voluntarily proceed, as occasion offers, to abuse one another as enemies.]

[2] Giannone, Storia di Napoli XXXII. c. V.

[3] Bromato VII. 9.

effect with a severity that almost exceeds belief. Although the book on the benefits of Christ had probably been disseminated to the extent of thousands of copies, it has now utterly vanished; not a copy is anywhere to be found. Whole heaps of them that had been carried off, were burnt at Rome.

In all these arrangements and undertakings, the clergy availed themselves of the assistance of the secular arm.[1] It proved advantageous to the popes that they held a territory belonging to themselves, and of so respectable an extent, for in that they could set the example, and present a model to other princes. In Milan and Naples the government could the less venture upon opposition, in that it had itself contemplated the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition; in Naples the confiscation of property alone remained prohibited. In Tuscany, the Inquisition was accessible to secular influence through the legate whom the duke, Cosmo, had contrived to procure for himself; the fraternities which it established, nevertheless, gave much offence; in Siena and Pisa it opposed the universities with an unbecoming presumption. In the Venetian territories, it is true, the Inquisitor continued to be still so far subject to secular superintendence, for in the capital, ever after April 1547, three Venetian nobili had seats in his court, and, in the provinces, the rector of each of the towns, a magistrate who occasionally assumed doctors (of divinity) into his council, and in difficult cases particularly, as soon as complaints were preferred against persons of consequence, first consulted the council of Ten, took part in the examination; but this did not prevent the orders from Rome being carried into effect, in essentials.

Thus were the movements of dissentient religious opinions, in Italy, smothered and annihilated. Nearly the whole order

[1] Nor was the government the only part of the laity that joined in these efforts. "Fu rimediato," says the Inquisitor's Compendium, "opportunamente dal S. officio in Roma con porre in ogni città valenti e zelanti inquisitori, servendosi anche talhora de secolari zelanti e dotti per ajuto della fede, come verbi gratia del Godescalco in Como, del Conte Albano in Bergamo, del Mutio in Milano. Questa risolutione di servirsi de' secolari fu presa perche non soli moltissimi vescovi, vicarii, frati e preti, ma anco molti dell' istessa inquisitione, erano heretici."—[This was opportunely remedied by the holy office in Rome, through the establishment in all the cities, of able and zealous inquisitors, taking the assistance likewise at times of zealous and learned laymen, as an auxiliary to the faith, such, for example, as that of Godescalco in Como, the Count Albano in Bergamo, and of Mutio in Milan. Which resolution of taking the services of laymen was adopted, because not only very many bishops, vicars friars and priests, but many, further, of that very inquisition, were heretics.]

of Franciscans was obliged to submit to retractations. The greater number of the followers of Valdez agreed to recant. In Venice, foreigners, such as Germans who might happen to be there in pursuit of trade or literature, were allowed a certain measure of freedom; natives, on the contrary, were compelled to abjure their opinions; their meetings were dispersed. Many fled; such refugees we meet with in all the towns of Germany and Switzerland. Those who would not submit, and who could not save themselves by flight, were punished. In Venice they were sent out from the canals and marshes to the open sea, with two barges; between these there was laid a plank, and the condemned being placed upon it, the rowers at the same instant pulled away from each other; the plank dropt into the water, and the unhappy victims could but call upon Christ, and then sank beneath the waves. Autos-da-fe, with all the formalities, were held at Rome, in front of the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva. Many fled from place to place with wife and child. We can trace them for a while and then they disappear, probably from having fallen into the nets of their merciless hunters. Others kept quiet. The duchess of Ferrara who, but for the Salic law, would have been heiress to the kingdom of France, found no defence in her high birth and rank. Her very husband was her adversary. "She sees no one," says Marot, "to whom she might express her complaints; the mountains are between her and her friends; she mingles her wine with tears."

GRADUAL COMPLETION OF THE JESUIT INSTITUTE.

In this development of things, while opponents were violently thrust aside, while dogmas were firmly fixed anew in the spirit of the age, and while the ecclesiastical government, in providing for their observance, employed arms which it was impossible to evade, in strictest alliance with that power, arose the order of the Jesuits.

Not only in Rome but throughout all Italy it obtained extraordinary success. Although originally destined by its own members for the common people, it soon found its way among the leading classes of society.

In Parma, it enjoyed the favour of the Farnese family;[1] even

[1] Orlando expresses himself oddly. "Et civitas," says he, II. p. 78, "et privati

princesses subjected themselves to its devotional exercises. In Venice, St. John's Gospel was expounded by Lainez for the express edification of the nobility; and, aided by a Lippomano, he succeeded, even as early as 1542, in laying the foundation of a college of Jesuits. In Montepuciano, Francis Strada prevailed on some of the principal men of the town, to accompany him through the streets and to beg with him. Strada knocked at the doors and his companions took the alms that were offered. At Faenza, although Ochino had produced a great effect there, they succeeded in obtaining much influence, in reconciling parties that had lived at enmity for ages, and in founding societies for the maintenance of the poor. I adduce but a few instances of their success; they appeared in all quarters, obtained adherents, formed schools, and firmly established themselves.

But as Ignatius was quite a Spaniard, and imbued throughout with Spanish notions, as perhaps his cleverest disciples, too, were from that country, his society, into which this spirit was infused, obtained a success in the pyrenean peninsula, as almost exceeded what it enjoyed in Italy. In Barcelona, it made a very important acquisition in the person of the viceroy Francis Borgia, duke of Candia. In Valencia, such numbers flocked to the preaching of Araos that they could not be contained in a church, so that a pulpit was erected for him in the open air; in Alcala, there very soon gathered round Francis Villanova, followers of consideration, although he was in ill health, a man of low origin, and quite unlearned; it was from this place and Salamanca, where a commencement was made in 1548, with a very confined bad house, that the Jesuits mainly extended themselves afterwards over Spain.[2] Meanwhile they were welcomed no less cordially in Portugal. Of the first two that were sent to him at his request, he allowed only one to proceed to the East Indies, namely, Xavier, who afterwards earned by his labours there the title of an apostle and a saint; the other, Simon Roderick, he

quibus fuisse dicitur aliqua cum Romano pontifice necessitudo, supplices ad eum literas pro Fabro retinendo dederunt."—[Both the city and those private persons who were said to have had some relationship with the Roman pontiff, presented a supplicatory letter to him, praying that they might retain Faber.] As if people were not aware that Paul III. had a son. Moreover the Inquisition was afterwards introduced into Parma on the occasion of an opposition being formed against the priests of the Jesuit party.

[2] Ribadeneira, Vita Ignatii c. XV. n. 244, c. XXXVIII. n. 285.

kept near his own person. At both courts the Jesuits procured for themselves extraordinary approbation. They thoroughly reformed that of Portugal, and at the Spanish they were at one and the same time confessors to the principal grandees, to the president of the council of Castile, and to the Cardinal of Toledo.

As early as in 1540, Ignatius had sent some young men to Paris to pursue their studies there, and from that point his society extended itself to the Netherlands. Faber had the most decisive success in Louvain. Eighteen young men, already bachelors or masters (of arts), offered themselves, to leave home, university, and country, and to accompany him to Portugal. They were even to be seen in Germany, and among the first Peter Canisius, who rendered them so much service, entered their order on his three and twentieth birth day.

It was not in the nature of things that this rapid success should not exert the most essential influence on the development of the constitution of the society. It was completed in the following manner.

Few were admitted by Ignatius into the circle of his first companions, called the professed; for he found that few men were to be had at once fully accomplished (for his purpose) and good and pious. Even in the first plan which he transmitted to the pope, he expresses his design of founding colleges at one or other of the universities, for the purpose of properly forming the characters of young persons; and such, as we have said, attached themselves to him to an unexpected amount. These formed the class called scholastics, in contradistinction to the professed.[1]

But very soon an untoward circumstance presented itself. As the professed, by their distinctive fourth vow, pledged themselves to perpetual travelling in the service of the pope, there was a contradistinction in so many colleges as became necessary being committed to their charge, these being institutions whose success depended on the constant presence of those who conducted them.

[1] Pauli III. facultas coadjutores admittendi d. 5 Junii 1546: "ita ut ad vota servanda pro eo tempore quo tu, fili præposite, et qui pro tempore fuerint ejusdem societatis præpositi, eis in ministerio spirituali vel temporali utendum judicaveritis, et non ultra astringantur." Corpus institutorum I. p. 15.—[So that they shall be astricted to keep their vows for whatever time, thou my son, and those who for the time being preside over the said society, shall judge requisite to employ them in spiritual and temporal matters, and no longer.]

Ignatius soon found it necessary to establish a third class between these two; these were the spiritual coadjutors, who also were priests, men of literary acquirements who expressly devoted themselves to the instruction of youth. This was an institution of the utmost consequence, in so far as I am aware, peculiar to the Jesuits, and to which the society has been mainly indebted for its prosperity. These first could settle at any particular spot, make it their home, acquire influence and make themselves masters of the education of the youth of the place. Like the scholastics they came under three vows only, and be it well noted, that these were simple only, not solemn. The meaning of this is, that they themselves would have fallen into excommunication had they chosen to withdraw again from the society; but the right of discharging them was conceded to the society, though only in strictly defined cases.

And now but one thing farther was requisite. It would have disturbed the studies and occupations to which these classes were destined, had they been obliged at the same time to devote themselves to looking out for a livelihood. The professed lived in their houses on alms; but this was rendered unnecessary to the coadjutors and scholastics, by the colleges being allowed to have common revenues. For the administration of these, in so far as it did not fall into the hands of the professed, who, meanwhile, could not themselves enjoy them, as well as for attending to all externals, Ignatius further assumed secular coadjutors, who indeed not the less laid themselves under the simple three vows, but had to content themselves with the conviction that they were serving God, while supporting a society which watched for the salvation of men's souls,and were to have no higher aims.

These arrangements, well-calculated in themselves, laid the foundation at the same time of a hierarchy, peculiarly adapted, in its various gradations, to fetter the human mind.[1]

An attentive observation of the laws that were successively given to this society, shows that one of the chief objects by which they were dictated, was that all the common ties which bind men together, should be completely cut asunder. Love of kindred was condemned as a carnal affection.[2] Whoever renounced his

[1] The novices, guests, and indifferents formed the base, out of whom the various classes rose in regular gradation.

[2] *Summarium constitutionum*, § 8, in the *Corpus institutionum societatis Jesu*.

property for the sake of entering the society, was not to relinquish it to his relations, but to mete it out to the poor.[1] Whoever once entered, neither received nor despatched letters without their being first read by a superior. The society will have nothing less than the whole man; it seeks to lay fetters on all his inclinations.

His very secrets it desires to share with him. He enters with a general confession. He has to point out not only his faults but even his virtues. A confessor is appointed for him by his superiors; the superior reserving to himself the granting of absolution for such cases as it should seem proper for him to take in hand.[2] This was insisted on, in order that he might acquire a perfect knowledge of the person subject to him, and then make such use of him as he thinks proper.

For in this society obedience takes the place of every other tie, and every other motive, that the world can present to human activity; obedience for its own sake, and without respect to the end to which it is directed.[3] None is to desire being put into another rank from that in which he stands; the secular coadjutor is not to learn reading or writing without leave, if he can do neither before. Each is blindly to submit to the government of his superiors, with an absolute renunciation of his own interest, as if he were a thing without life, a staff, for example, which serves the person who holds it in his hand, for any purpose he pleases to apply it to. They are to appear in the light of the divine providence.[4]

Antverpiæ, 1709. *Tom. I.* Faber is commended in Orlandinus III. 66, for having so far suppressed his feelings on arriving once at his native town in Savoy, after an absence of some years, as to pass on without halting.

[1] Examen generale c. IV. § 2.

[2] Precepts, only contained in the *Summarium constitutionum* § 32, § 41, the *Examen generale* § 35, § 36, and *Constitutionum Pauli* III. c. 1, n. 11. "Illi casus reservabuntur,"—[those cases shall be reserved,] so it runs in the last passage, "quos ab eo(superiore) cognosci necessarium videbitur aut valde conveniens,"—[which it shall seem necessary or very convenient for him (the superior) to be informed of.]

[3] The letter of Ignatius *fratribus societatis Jesu qui sunt in Lusitania*,—[to the brethren of the society of Jesus who are in Portugal,] 7 Kal. Ap. 1553, § 3.

[4] Constitutiones VI. 1. "Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac regi a divina providentia per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac cadaver essent."—[And let each be persuaded that they who live under obedience ought to allow themselves to be borne about and governed by the divine providence, acting in their superiors, just as if they were a corpse.] Here now is the other constitution, VI. 5, according to which it appears as if even a sin might be ordered. "Visum est nobis in Domino - - nullas constitutiones, declarationes vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine domini Jesu Christi vel in virtute obedientiæ jubeat."—

What a power was this with which the general of the society now became invested, in having the absolute direction of this obedience, during his whole life, and without being responsible to any one for the purposes to which it was applied. According to the scheme drawn up in 1543, all the members of the order who should happen to be in one and the same quarter, with the general, were to be taken into consultation, even about the smallest matters. The scheme of 1550, sanctioned by pope Julius III., releases him from this obligation, in so far as he himself should not deem it advisable.[1] Only in the case of an alteration of the constitution, or of the dissolution of houses and colleges that have once been established, is any consultation necessary. In other respects it invests him with all the authority that might be useful for the government of the society. He has assistants for the different provinces, who, however, must strictly confine themselves to the matters committed to them. He appoints, as he sees best, the president of the provinces, colleges, and houses; receives and dismisses, dispenses and punishes, in short, has a sort of papal authority on a smaller scale.[2]

Herewithal but one thing was to be dreaded, namely, that the general, thus invested with so much power, might himself apostatize from the society's principles. In so far he was subjected to certain restrictions. It is not a matter perhaps of so great importance, as it may have seemed to Ignatius, that the society, or its deputies, had the power of laying down rules with respect to certain external matters, such as meals, dress, going to bed, and the ordinary course of daily life;[3] but it is always something

[It hath seemed good to us in the Lord, that no constitutions, declarations, or any prescribed rule of living can lead to an obligation to (commit) mortal or venial sin, unless the superior shall command these in the name of the Lord Jesus or in virtue of obedience.] One can hardly believe his eyes on reading this. And in fact there is a possibility of attaching another meaning to it than that which offers at the first glance. *Obligatio ad peccatum mortale vel veniale* may rather point to the engagement with which a constitution is made binding, so that the person breaking it becomes guilty of one or other (mortal or venial) sin. Now it must be owned that the Constitution should be more distinct, and that nobody is to be slandered who in good faith refers the word *ea* to *peccatum mortale vel veniale* and not to *constitutiones*.

[1] "Adjutus, quatenus ipse opportunum judicabit, fratrum suorum consilio, per se ipsum ordinandi et jubendi quæ ad Dei gloriam pertinere videbuntur, jus totum habeat."—[Assisted in so far as he shall judge opportune, let him have the right by himself of ordaining and commanding what things shall seem to pertain to the glory of God,] says Julius III.'s confirmation of the Institute.

[2] Constitutiones IX. III.

[3] Schedula Ignatii AA. SS. Commentatio prævia n. 872.

that the possessor of supreme power is deprived of a freedom which the most insignificant man enjoys. The assistants, moreover, who were not appointed by him, had their eyes upon him continually. A person was regularly appointed to admonish him of his duty, called the Admonitor, and in case of his committing grossly improper acts, the assistants could summon a meeting of the general congregation, which thereupon was empowered even to pronounce the general's deposition.

COMPLETION OF THE JESUIT INSTITUTE.

THIS carries us one step further.

If, without suffering ourselves to be blinded by the hyperbolical expressions in which the Jesuits have described this authority, we will rather consider to what it might practically amount, under the enlargement which the society very soon received, we shall find that matters stood thus. With the general remained the supreme direction of the whole, and principally the superintendence of the superiors, whose consciences it behoved him to know, and on whom he conferred the various offices established in the society. These, on the other hand, possessed within their own sphere, a similar authority which they often exercised more sharply than the general did his.[1] Superiors and general, in a certain measure, formed a counterpoise to each other. The general had to be made acquainted also with the personal qualities of all who were subject to him, of all members of the society;—and though here, as is self-evident, he could interfere only in urgent cases, still he held the supreme superintendence. A committee of the professed, on the other hand, exercised a reciprocal superintendence over him.

Other institutes besides this of the Jesuits, there have been, which, forming a world within a world, and having released their members from all other ties, have engrossed them to themselves, and begotten in them a new principle of existence. This was the very object for which the Jesuit institute likewise was designed. But in this it has a peculiar character, that on the one hand, it not only favours, but even demands the development of individual character, and on the other hand, takes absolute possession of it, and makes it all its own. Thus must we

[1] Mariana. Discurso de las enfermedadas de la compania de Jesus c. XI.

account for all the relationships that were established, the personal qualities cultivated, the subordination and reciprocal superintendence that were enjoined. They compose, nevertheless, a strictly exclusive and complete unity; full of nerve and practical energy; for which very reason the monarchical principle in the government was made so strong. The subjection to it was absolute, unless that its possessor himself departed from the principle.

It quite accords with the idea of this society, that none of its members should be invested with any spiritual dignity. This would have involved the discharge of duties, and entanglement with connections, which would have made all superintendence impossible. At the commencement at least, this point was most strictly insisted upon. Jay wished and durst not accept the bishopric of Trieste, and when Ferdinand I. who had offered it to him, desisted from pressing his wish in compliance with a letter from Ignatius, the latter caused a solemn mass to be celebrated, and a *Te Deum* to be sung.[1]

It forms another important feature in the society, that while it exempted itself, in general, from the more cumbersome exercises of divine worship, individual members likewise were directed not to overdo their religious exercises. They were neither to weaken their bodies with fasting, watching, and chastisements, nor to withdraw too much time from the service of their neighbours. Moderation was to be observed even in work. The high-spirited horse was to be reined in as well as spurred; no more weapons were to be carried than a man could wield; they were not to overwhelm themselves with labour to such a degree as to impair the free action of the mind.[2]

It is evident how much the society desired to make all its members, as it were, its own property, but therewithal to encourage the most powerful development of the faculties that can possibly be attained, without going beyond that principle.

This, in fact, was indispensable in order to its discharging the difficult employments which it had taken upon itself. These, as

[1] Excerpt from the *liber memorialis* of Ludovicus Gonsalvus: "quod desistente rege S. Ignatius indixerit missas et Te Deum laudamus in gratiarum actionem:"—[that on the king's desisting, St. Ignatius ordered masses and a Te Deum laudamus, by way of thanksgiving.] Commentarius prævius in AA. SS. Julii VII. n. 412.

[2] Constitutiones V. 3, 1. Epistola Ignatii ad fratres qui sunt in Hispania. Corpus institutorum II. 540.

we have seen, were preaching, education, and the confessional. To the last two of these the Jesuits specially devoted themselves, according to a method peculiar to itself.

Education had been hitherto in the hands of those literary persons who, after having long prosecuted their studies in a thoroughly profane manner, had thereafter entered upon a spiritual course in its commencement, not quite agreeable to the Romish court, and finally rejected by it. The Jesuits made it their business to force these persons out of employment and to step into their situations. They were, in the first place, more systematic; they divided the schools into classes; their instructions were carried on, from the first initiatory principles to the highest steps, in one uniform spirit; they looked farther into the morals of their pupils and formed well-bred people; they enjoyed the favour of the civil government; finally, they gave their instructions gratis. On a college being founded by a city or a prince, no private person was required to pay anything further. They were expressly forbidden to ask or receive wages or alms; education, like preaching and saying masses, was gratuitous; in the very church there was no collection box. As men are at present constituted, this must have been immensely serviceable to the Jesuits, particularly as they now actually taught with equal success and zeal. Not only were the poor helped on thereby, says Orlandino,[1] but the wealthy were also thereby relieved. He remarks their unheard-of success. We behold, says he, many decked out in the splendid purple of cardinals whom, not long before, we had before us on the benches of our schools; others have been advanced to a share in the government in cities and in states; we have reared bishops and their counsellors; nay, even other ecclesiastical societies have been supplied with members from our schools. They had the skill, as may readily be supposed, to attach men of prominent talents to their order. They formed themselves into a body of teachers which, by extending itself over all Roman catholic countries, by being the first to give education that religious tone which it has retained ever since, and by maintaining a strict unity of discipline, method,

[1] Orlandinus lib. VI. 70. A comparison might be instituted with the cloister-schools of the Protestants, in which too the religious tendency was completely predominant. See Sturm in Ruhkopf History of School Establishments, S. 378. It may depend upon the difference.

and doctrine, procured for itself an incalculable amount of influence.

But how much did they strengthen that influence by contriving to make themselves masters alike of the confessional and of the direction of consciences! No age was ever more ready to receive it, or seemed, as it were, to need it more. It was inculcated upon the Jesuits by their book of laws, that "in the nature and manner of their granting absolution, they should follow one and the same method, should practise themselves in cases of conscience, should accustom themselves to a short method of interrogation, and have the examples of the saints, their sayings, and other aids in readiness, wherewithal to counteract every kind of sin,"[1] rules which, as is manifest, are very well calculated for the wants of mankind. Meanwhile the rare success to which they attained, and which involved a real extension of their modes of thinking, was based on yet another important element.

There is something very remarkable in the little book of spiritual exercises which Ignatius, I will not say first drew up, but which he elaborated in a manner most peculiarly his own,[2] and with which he drew together, and attached to himself, his earlier and, afterwards, his later disciples, as well as his adherents in general. It became more and more influential; the more so probably for this very reason, that it was recommended only as the occasion seemed to require, at moments of mental disquietude and of an inward sense of need.

It is not a book of doctrinal divinity; but a directory for a man's own reflections. The soul's longings, says Ignatius, are not to be satisfied with the knowledge of a multitude of things, but only by a man's own inward contemplations.[3]

These contemplations he undertakes to guide. The spiritual adviser points to the object to be aimed at; the person under exercise must follow it out. Ere he goes to sleep, and likewise when he first awakes, he has to direct his thoughts to it, and

[1] Regula sacerdotum, § 8, 10, 11.

[2] For after all that has been written on both sides, it is very clear that Ignatius had in his eye a book of the same kind by Garcia de Cisneros. What is most peculiar about it, however, seems traceable to him. Comm. præv. n. 64.

[3] "Non enim abundantia scientiæ, sed sensus et gustus rerum interior desiderium animæ replere solet."—[For not abundance of knowledge, but the inward sense and taste of things, usually satisfies the longing of the soul.]

strives to exclude every other object; windows and doors are to be shut; on his knees, and extended on the ground, he is to follow out the train of reflection.

He begins with calling his sins to remembrance. He considers how the angels, for a single sin, were cast into hell, but for him, although his offences have been much greater, the saints interceded, heaven and the stars, the animal and the vegetable worlds, ministered to his wants; and now he calls upon the crucified Christ, that he may be freed from his sin, and may not fall into eternal condemnation; he is sensible that he is answering him; they converse together as a friend with a friend, as a servant with his master.

It then becomes his chief concern to edify himself with reflections on sacred history. "I see," so it runs, "how the three persons of the Godhead survey the whole earth replenished with men, who must go on to hell; they resolve, in order that these may be saved, that the second person should take upon him human nature; I cast a glance over the entire circuit of the earth, and perceive in one corner of it the humble home of the Virgin Mary, whence proceeds salvation." He advances from one great step to another in sacred history; he places before his mind the transactions recorded there in all their details, arranging them in categories according to their import, religious fancy, free from the trammels of the word, is allowed the amplest scope to expatiate; the garments and the footsteps of holy persons are imagined to be touched and kissed. In this excited state of the imaginative faculty, in the feelings of the greatness of that soul's felicity which is replenished with divine graces and virtues, the subject of one's own condition comes again under review. If the man has still to choose his position in life, he now makes the choice, consulting only the wants of his heart, while the sole object he contemplates is that of solemn dedication to the love of God, while he fancies himself to be standing in the immediate presence of God and of the saints. But if the man have already made this choice, he then reviews his manner of life, the kind of company he maintains intercourse with, his domestic habits, his necessary expenditure, what he has to give to the poor, all with the same sentiments that a man would wish to have entertained at the moment of his death, without having any thing

besides to occupy him but what tended to promote God's glory and his own salvation.

Thirty days are devoted to these exercises. Reflections on sacred history and the most personal circumstances, prayers, and resolutions, alternate with each other. The soul is kept always on the stretch and active of itself. Finally, in the contemplation of the providence of God, "who in his creatures as it were operates effectively for men," one is to believe once more that he is standing in the sight of the Lord and of his saints; he is implored to venture to devote himself to his love and worship; the man makes an offer of his liberty; he devotes to him memory, judgment, will; and thus he concludes a covenant of love with him. "Love consists in a community of all powers and possessions." In reward for its sacrifice, God imparts his graces to the soul.

It will suffice to have given here a cursory idea of this book. In the course it pursues, in the individual positions it assumes and their mutual connection, there is a cogency which admits, indeed, of some inward play of thought, yet confines it within a narrow circle, and lays restraints on its movements. His aim being contemplation governed by the fancy, for this it could not have been better adapted, and here he was the less likely to fail, from its being based on his own experience. Ignatius himself has step by step embodied the lively movements of his awakening and spiritual progress, from the commencement to the year 1548, when it was approved by the pope. True, it has been said, that Jesuitism took advantage of the experience of Protestants, and here and there this may have been the case. On the whole, however, they present the strongest contrast. Here, at least, Ignatius opposes the methods of the Protestants, which were discursive, argumentative, descending to principles, and from their very nature polemical, with quite a different method, short, intuitive, and leading to contemplation; calculated to work upon the fancy; inspiriting to instantaneous resolution.

And thus was that element of the fancy which had animated him from the first, grown to an extraordinary degree of influence and importance. But as he was likewise a soldier, aided by that same religious fancy, he mustered a standing army of spiritual warriors, selected man by man, and educated indivi-

dually for his object, which army he commanded in the service of the pope. He saw it extend over all the countries of the world.

When Ignatius died, his society comprised thirteen provinces, exclusive of the Roman.[1] It might even then be seen at a glance where lay the sinews of its strength. The greater number of these provinces, namely seven, belonged to the Pyrenean peninsula and its colonies alone. There were ten colleges in Castile, five in Aragon, and five also in Andalusia; Portugal out-numbered every other place in its colleges, and it had likewise houses for the professed and for novices. It had acquired an almost absolute mastery over the Portuguese colonies. Twenty-eight members of the order were employed in Brazils, and about a hundred in the East Indies, from Goa to Japan. From that quarter an attempt had been made in Ethiopia, and a provincial sent thither, with, as was thought, an absolute certainty of success. All these provinces, in which the Spanish and Portuguese languages and ecclesiastical orders prevailed, were comprehended under one commissary-general, Francis Borgia. The society's influence was most extensive in the nation in which the idea of it had first been suggested. But it was hardly less so in Italy. There were three provinces speaking Italian; 1st, the Roman, directly superintended by the general, with houses for the professed and novices, the collegium Romanum and the collegium Germanicum, which last had been established expressly for Germans at the suggestion of cardinal Morone, but without having yet met with any real success; Naples, too, belonged to this province; 2d, the Sicilian with four colleges already completed, and two only commenced; the first Jesuits had been brought thither by the viceroy della Vega;[2] Messina and Palermo emulated each other in founding colleges, and from these the rest afterwards followed; and 3d, the properly Italian province, comprehending upper Italy with ten colleges. There had been no such success in other countries; in all quarters opposition arose from Protestantism, or from an already decided leaning towards it. In France, properly speaking, there was but a single college in existence; Germany was made to form two distinct provinces,

[1] In the year 1556. Sacchinus Historia Societatis Jesu, p. II., sive Lainius: from the beginning.

[2] Ribadeneira; Vita Ignatii p. 203.

but as yet they existed only in their infancy. The upper German province established itself at Vienna, Prague, and Ingolstadt; still, in all quarters it maintained itself very doubtfully; the lower province was to comprise the Netherlands, yet Philip had not given the Jesuits any legal existence here.

But already this first rapid progress gave the society warranty of the mighty influence which it was destined to wield. Its attaining so powerful an influence in the two peninsulas, countries peculiarly Roman catholic, was of the utmost consequence.

CONCLUSION.

We see how, as a counteractive to the Protestant movements, which were every moment enlarging their sphere, a new tendency was in this manner developed, in the very midst of Roman catholicism, in Rome, and around the pope.

Just like those movements, it proceeded from that secularization of the church, which had hitherto characterized that body, or rather from that feeling of the need that there was for a change, which had consequently begun to prevail.

At first there were symptoms of a mutual approach. There was a period in Germany when people had not fully determined to allow the hierarchy to come so completely to the ground, and when even in Italy there was a disposition shown to admit of rational modifications in the same. That period passed away.

While the Protestants, staying themselves on Scripture, went back with an ever-increasing eagerness to the primitive forms of the Christian faith and life, a determination was shown, on the other side, to maintain and merely renovate, and to imbue with spirit, earnestness, and severity, the ecclesiastical establishment, such as in the course of the current century it had come to be. There Calvanism developed itself, a system more anti-Roman catholic by far than Lutheranism; here whatever reminded one of Protestantism at all, was repelled with conscious hostility and confronted with direct opposition.

Thus two springs gush forth on the high hill top in close neighbourhood to each other; which after having poured their waters over various lower parts of the eminence, go off in opposite directions, and are separated for ever.

BOOK THIRD.

THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE sixteenth century is remarkable above all for being prolific in religious movements. Down to the present day we live amid the opposite convictions which then first began their course.

Would we more precisely indicate the period in the world's history, in which the schism was completed, we shall find that it did not coincide with the first appearance of the Reformers upon the scene, for opinions did not at once become clearly settled, and an assimilation of the controverted points was long in being despaired of; it was only about the year 1552, that all attempts that way completely failed, and the three grand forms of western Christianity fixed them themselves for ever apart.[1] Lutheranism was stricter, more austere, and more exclusive; Calvanism went off from it on the most important articles, albeit that Calvin himself had previously passed for a Lutheran; opposed to both, Roman catholicism assumed its modern form and structure. The three theological systems endeavoured, in opposing each other, to establish themselves upon the point which each had adopted, and, proceeding from it, to supplant both the others, and subject the world to itself.

It might seem as if it were the Roman catholic tendency, which chiefly contemplated no more than the renovation of the

[1] Not for ever surely, as respects Lutheranism and Calvinism, both which involve what ought ever to unite, and often does unite, in closest fellowship, so called Lutherans and Calvinists, namely, implicit deference to Holy Scripture, and the cordial reception of the righteousness by faith, which is therein revealed, as the sole sure foundation of a sinner's hope. This is one of those passages in which the author has unfortunately given the papists a handle against Protestantism, carrying his love of systematic arrangement quite too far. True Lutheranism and true Calvinism must ever tend to union with each other, but never with true Romanism. TR.

existing establishment, that must have found it easier than the others did, to push forwards and advance upon the scene. But the advantage it possessed was not great. It, too, was encompassed and circumscribed by many other impulses of a secular kind, by profane learning, and heterodox theological convictions. It resembled matter in a state of fermentation, with regard to which it seems doubtful whether it will really seize and overpower the elements in which it is generated, or be overwhelmed by them.

The first obstacle it met with was found in the popes themselves, their personal qualities, and their policy.

We remarked how a thoroughly unspiritual bent of mind in the supreme heads of the church had become inveterate, had evoked opposition, and given an immense impulse to Protestantism.

Every thing depended on how far the strict ecclesiastical tendency would overmaster this bent of mind, and whether it would bring about a change or not.

I find that the antagonism of these two principles, of what was usually done and permitted and the policy hitherto prevalent, with the necessity that was felt for introducing an internal reformation, constitutes the main interest in the history of the next popes.

PAUL III.

Too much importance is generally attached at the present day to the aims and influence of persons in high situations, of princes and governments; their memories must often do penance for the sins of the community; sometimes, too, people attribute to them, what really proceeded spontaneously from the community at large.

The Roman catholic movement which we reviewed in the preceding book, first appeared under Paul III., but it were a mistake to suppose that it originated with that pope, and to ascribe it to him. He very clearly saw of how much consequence it was to the Roman see, and not only tolerated but even promoted it; still, it may be said without hesitation, that in his own personal disposition he was never devoted to it.

Alexander Farnese, such was Paul III.'s earlier name, was

as worldly a person as ever pope had been before him.[1] Born in 1468, his character was completely formed previous to the close of the fifteenth century. He had studied at Rome under Pomponius Lætus,[2] and in the gardens of Lorenzo Medici at Florence. He had fully imbibed that taste for elegant learning, and for the works of art, which distinguished that period; and even its morals were then no stranger to him. His mother on one occasion found it necessary to have him confined as a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, and there he contrived to take advantage of an opportunity when he was not watched, presented to him by the procession on Corpus Christi day, to let himself down from the castle by means of a rope, and to escape. He acknowledged a natural son and a natural daughter. Notwithstanding all this, for at that time no one was much scandalized at such things, he was at a tolerably youthful age advanced to be a cardinal. During his cardinalship he laid the foundation of that most beautiful of all the Roman palaces, the Farnese; at Bolsena, where his patrimonial estates lay, he built for himself a country house, which Pope Leo found sufficiently inviting for him to visit it repeatedly. But with this sumptuous and splendid life he combined endeavours of another kind. From the very first he fixed his eyes on the supreme dignity. He is marked by this peculiarity, that he sought to obtain it by pursuing a course of the most complete neutrality. The French and imperial factions divided between them Italy, Rome, and the college of cardinals. He conducted himself with so considerate a reserve, with so happy a tact, that no one could say to which he inclined most. Even as early as upon the death of Leo, and, again, upon that of Adrian, he was on the point of being elected. He disliked the remembrance of Clement VII. who had deprived

[1] A severe judgment at once on Paul III. and his predecessors. Roman Catholics own that he had weaknesses, and are angry at the Protestants, apostates, and heretics, as they call them, who attack the failings of their popes, as if God ought to have set angels at the head of their church, instead of men who, weak and sinful themselves, must be the fitter to sympathize with their fellow-sinners. Was it from such tender feelings for the errors of others, that this worldly pope re-established the Inquisition? Tr.

[2] Pomponius Lætus was a philosopher who, we are told, troubled himself little about religion or Christianity. He retained his popularity to the end of the 15th century, but fell into disrepute under Paul II., and died at the age of seventy, under Alexander VI., so miserably poor that he had to be taken to an hospital during his last illness, and was buried at the expense of his friends. He published an abridgement of the lives of the Cæsars, from the death of Gordian to Justin III., &c. Tr.

him of twelve years of the popedom which might have belonged to him. At last in October 1534, in the fortieth year of his cardinalship, and the sixty-seventh of his life, he attained his object and was elected.[1] [2]

Very differently did he feel now with respect to the grand oppositions of interest presented in the world, the struggles of those two parties betwixt which he himself now occupied so important a position; the necessity for opposing the Protestants, and the secret bond he maintained with them on account of their political position; the natural inclination he felt, owing to the state of his Italian principality, to weaken the preponderance of the Spaniards, and the risk of danger incident to every attempt towards that object; the urgent need there was for a reform, and the undesirable limitation with which it seemed to threaten the power of the pope.

It is well worth while to observe how his life and character opened out amid such a complication of opposing exigencies.

Paul III. had an accommodating, splendid, and liberal manner. Seldom has a pope been so much liked in Rome as he was. There was something magnanimous in appointing some distinguished cardinals, without their being previously aware of the honour to be conferred on them, a course contrasting greatly to his advantage, with the petty personal views which had almost become the established rule. But he not only called these men into the college of cardinals; he allowed them likewise to exercise an unwonted freedom there; he bore with opposition in the consistory, and encouraged unreserved discussion.[3]

[1] Onuphrius Panvinius, Vita Pauli III.

[2] Previous to his elevation to the popedom, Cardinal Farnese seems to have been an active man of business as well as a showy churchman, and probably enhanced his fortune very considerably by the profits of many rich benefices and appointments. In addition to several rich bishoprics, he had been legate at Viterbo, and sent as legate also to the court of Charles V. in Spain. Tr.

[3] In 1538 Mark Anthony Contarini read a report on the state of the Roman court, to the Senate of Venice. Unfortunately I have been unable to find this work either in the Venetian archives or anywhere else. In a MS. on the Turkish war of this period, under the title "Tre libri delli commentarj della guerra 1537, 8, 9,"—[Three books of commentaries on the war of 1537, 8, 9,] in my possession, I find a short extract therefrom, whence I have taken the above notices. "Disse del stato della corte, che molti anni inanzi li prelati non erano stati in quella riforma di vita ch'eran allora, e che li cardinali havevano libertà maggiore di dire l'opinion loro in concistoro ch'avesser avuto gia mai da gran tempo, e che di ciò il pontefice non solamente non si doleva, ma se n'era studiatissimo, onde per questa ragione si poteva sperare di giorno in giorno maggior riforma. Considerò che tra cardinali vi

But while he forbore from shackling the freedom of others, and was pleased that each should enjoy the advantages that belonged to his position, he had no idea of relinquishing a single prerogative of his own. The emperor on one occasion remonstrated with him for having advanced two of his grandsons to the cardinalship, at much too early an age; he answered he would act like his predecessors; there had been instances even of babes in their cradles being created cardinals. For his family he showed a predilection that even in that station was unusual.[1] He had resolved that, like other popes, he would advance it to princely dignities.

Not that, like another Alexander VI., he made every thing else subordinate to this object; this no man can say. He contemplated with the utmost eagerness the restoration of peace betwixt France and Spain, the suppression of the Protestants, the subjugation of the Turks, and the reformation of the church; but therewithal he had the aggrandizement of his family much at heart.

In taking upon himself all these designs, inconsistent as they were with each other, in pursuing at once public and private objects, he had necessarily to follow an exceedingly cautious, circumspect, dilatory, and expectant policy, every thing depending on the favourite moment, the happy combination of circumstances, which he had tediously to prepare long beforehand, and then endeavour with the utmost rapidity to snatch and maintain.

Ambassadors found it difficult to negotiate with him. They were amazed that one who allowed not the slightest want of

erano tali uomini celeberrimi che per opinione commune il mondo non n'avria altretanti."—[He said that for many years before, the prelates had not showed that reform of life which they then manifested, and that the cardinals had more freedom in expressing their opinions in the consistory than they had had for a great while, and that not only was the pope far from displeased with this, but was most studious of it, for which reason one might hope for greater reformation from day to day. I consider that among the cardinals there, there were men of such celebrity that it was commonly thought the world had not their match.]

[1] Soriano 1535. "E Romano di sangue et è d'animo molto gagliardo: - - - stima assai l'ingiurie che gli si fanno, et è inclinatissimo a far grandi i suoi."—[He has the blood of a Roman in him, and is very high-spirited: - - - he thinks enough of injuries that may be done to him, and is much set on aggrandizing his own family.] Varchi (Istorie fiorentine p. 636,) says of Paul's first secretary, "who would do everything that he could, and could do everything that he would." Among many other presents he once had sixty silver wash-hand basins with their ewers given him. "How comes it," it was said, "that with so many wash-hand basins, his hands are never clean?"

energy to be seen in him, yet could seldom be induced to bring a matter to a close, to make up his mind. He tried to tie down others, to obtain from them some expression that would bind them, some assurance that they could not recall; but he himself would on no account come under any engagement. It was remarked of him even in smaller matters; that he was disinclined either to refuse or promise anything beforehand, and wanted to have his hands at liberty up to the last moment. How much more so in difficult conjunctures! At times, after having himself suggested a mode of escaping from a difficulty, or of mediating between opposing claims, on a disposition being shown to adopt it, not the less would he draw back. In short, he wished to remain at all times master of his negotiations.[1]

As we have said, he was one of the classic school. He was on every occasion studious of expressing himself, whether in Latin or Italian, in choice and elegant language, ever selecting and weighing his expressions with a twofold regard to meaning and form, and explaining himself in a low voice, and with tedious caution.

Often it was no easy matter for a man to know how he stood with him. It was thought at times that one might venture to conclude that instead of meaning what he said, he meant rather the reverse. But this conjecture did not always fall true. Those who knew him intimately remarked that he hoped best to gain

[1] In the Lettres et Mémoires d'Estat par Guill. Ribier, Paris 1666, one finds a number of samples of his negotiations, and their character, from 1537 to 1540, and from 1547 to 1549, in the despatches of the French ambassadors. Matteo Dandolo directly describes them, "Relatione di Roma 1551, d. 20 Junii, in senatu," MS. in my possession. "Il negotiare con P. Paolo fu giudicato ad ogn'un difficile, perchè era tardissimo nel parlare, perchè non voleva mai proferire parola che non fusse elegante et exquisita, così nella volgare come nella latina e greca, che di tutte tre ne faceva professione (I don't suppose he often negotiated in Greek) e mi aveva scoperto di quel poco che io ne intendeva. E perchè era vecchissimo, parlava bassissimo et era longhissimo, nè volea negar cosa che se gli addimandasse: ma nè anche (volea) che l'uomo che negotiava seco potesse esser securo di havere havuto da S. S^a il sì più che il no, perchè lei voleva starsi sempre in l'avantaggio di poter negare e concedere: per il che sempre si risolveva tardissimamente, quando volea negare."—[Negotiating with Paul was thought difficult by every one, for he was very slow of speech, for he never liked to utter a word that was not elegant and exquisite, in the vernacular as well as in Latin and Greek, all three of which he professed to speak, and explained to me what little I have understood. And also because he was very old, spoke in the lowest tone, and was very tardy, not wishing to refuse the things that were asked of him: but neither, too, did he like that the person with whom he negotiated should be secure of having had from his Holiness the yes rather than the no, for he wished always to retain the advantage of refusing and conceding, and because he always came to a decision with the utmost slowness, when he wished to refuse a request.]

an object by saying nothing about it, touching neither on the case itself, nor on the persons whom it concerned.[1] For it was not less observed in him, that he never would allow an object to drop, after being once contemplated. Whatever he once took in hand he hoped to carry through, if not at the moment, at some future time, under altered circumstances, and in a different way.

It was not inconsistent with such a character, so wide in the range of its calculations, so attentive to all that was passing around him, and so mysteriously considerate, that in addition to the powers of this earth, those of heaven also should enter into his calculations. The influence of the stars on the success of human efforts, was at that time little doubted, and Paul III. would hold no important meeting of the consistory, would undertake no journey, without selecting the proper days, and consulting the constellations.[2] An alliance with France found an obstacle in the want of conformity between the king's nativity and that of the pope. This pope felt himself placed, it would seem, amid a thousand mutually opposing influences; not only the earthly ones of this world, but the celestial, proceeding from a configuration of the stars; and he desired to pay due regard to both, to avert their disfavour, to take advantage of their favour, and betwixt all the rocks that threatened him on every side, to steer adroitly to his aim.

Let us consider how he attempted this, if success attended his efforts, if at last he really surmounted the antagonist forces of the general convulsion, or if he too were overpowered by them.

He succeeded, indeed, even in the first years of his administration, in effecting a league between Charles V. and the Venetians, against the Turks. To this measure he warmly pressed the Venetians, and on this occasion a hope was entertained even of seeing the Christian frontiers extended as far as Constantinople.

The only formidable obstacle to this undertaking, lay mean-

[1] Remarks of Cl. Carpi and Margarethens, "che son los," says Mendoza, "que mas platica tienen de su condicion,"—[who are the persons that have the best knowledge of his disposition.]

[2] Mendoza. "Es venida la cosa a que ay muy pocos cardenales, que concierten negocios, aunque sea para comprar una carga de lena, sino es o por medio de algun astrologo o hechizero."—[Matters came to such a condition that very few even of the cardinals would conduct any negotiations, even were it only to purchase a cargo of wood, unless by the assistance of some astrologer or wizard.] About the pope himself we find the most unquestionable details.

while in the renewed hostilities betwixt Charles V. and Francis I. The pope spared no pains in trying to compose this mutual animosity, and the conference that was held between the two princes at Nice, where he likewise appeared, was brought about entirely by him. The Venetian ambassador, who was on the spot, cannot find words sufficiently to commend the zeal and patience shown there by the pope. It was only after extraordinary efforts, and at the last moment, while he was threatening to leave the place, that he finally succeeded in mediating a truce.[1] He effected a mutual approach between the two princes, which, very soon after that, seemed to grow into a sort of intimacy.

While the pope was thus promoting the common interest, still he did not neglect his own affairs. The latter, it was observed, he contrived always to connect with the former, and then simultaneously advanced both. The Turkish war gave him the opportunity of confiscating Camerino. It should in fairness have been united with Urbino. The last Varana, heiress of Camerino, was married to Guidobaldo II. who entered on the government of Urbino in 1538.[2] But the pope declared that Camerino could not be inherited through a female line. The Venetians might fairly have been expected to support the duke whose ancestors had always enjoyed their protection, and served in their armies; and even now they interceded for him with much urgency and warmth; but the war made them hesitate about doing more. They dreaded lest the pope should call in the assistance of the emperor or of France, and shrewdly bethought themselves that were he to obtain the emperor's aid, the latter could accomplish the less against the Turks, while were he to obtain that of France, the peace of Italy might be jeoparded, and the condition of that country rendered still more dubious and solitary;[3] and so they abandoned the duke to his fate. He was forced to relinquish Camerino, and the pope invested his grandson, Octavius, with it. For already had his family risen to splendour and power. How advantageous to him had been the conference at

[1] Relatione del Cl^mo M. Niccolo Tiepolo del convento di Nizza. Informatt. politiche VI. (Berlin Library.) There is to be found an old edition of it also.

[2] Adriani Istorie 58 H.

[3] The deliberations are given in the Commentary on the Turkish war above referred to, and which is on this account particularly interesting.

Nice! At the very time when it was in progress, his son Peter Lewis obtained Novara and the territory attached to it from the emperor, and the latter irrevocably determined to marry his natural daughter Margaret, after the death of Alexander Medici, to Octavius Farnese. We can believe the pope when he says, that he had not passed over to the imperial party unconditionally. He wished rather to form a no less intimate connection with Francis I. The king too entered into this, and when at Nice, promised him the duke of Vendome, a prince of the blood, for his grand-daughter Victoria.[1] Paul III. felt gratified at this connection with the two greatest houses in the world; he was very susceptible of the honour it involved; he spoke of it in the consistory. Nor could his spiritual ambition fail to be flattered by his occupying, between the two potentates, a position which enabled him to establish peace, and to mediate in case of differences arising betwixt them.

But the further development of these events was not so propitious. It was far from being the case that any advantages were gained over the Osmans, and Venice had to accede to an unfavourable peace. Francis I. afterwards recalled the promise which he had personally made, and although the pope never abandoned the hope of actually effecting a family alliance with the house of Valois, the negotiations for that purpose became tediously protracted. The good understanding which the pope first introduced between the emperor and the king, seemed likely, indeed, for a while, to become more and more intimate; it even at one time gave rise to a certain peevish jealousy on the part of the pope; he already complained that after having established that good understanding, he was now slighted on account of it;[2]

[1] Grignan, Ambassadeur du Roi de France à Rome, au Connetable. Ribier I. p. 251. "Monseigneur, sa dite Sainteté a un merveilleux desir du mariage de Vendosme: car il s'en est entièrement déclaré à moy, disant que pour estre sa niece unique et tant aimée de luy, il ne desiroit apres le bien de la Chrestienté autre chose plus que voir sa dite niece mariée en France, dont le dit seigneur (le roi) luy avoit tenu propos à Nice et apres Vous, Monseigneur, lui en aviez parlé."—[Grignan, ambassador of the king of France at Rome. to the Constable. Ribier I. p. 251. My Lord, his said Holiness has a marvellous wish for a marriage with Vendome: for he has fully declared himself to me about it, saying that she being his only niece* and so much beloved by him, next to the weal of Christendom, he desired nothing more than to see his said niece married in France, about which the said lord (the king) had made propositions to him at Nice, and after you, my Lord, had spoken about it.

[2] Grignan, 7 March 1539. Ribier I. 406. Le cardinal de Boulogne au Roi 20

* The reader is no doubt aware that the natural children and grandchildren of the popes are, from motives of delicacy, called nephews and nieces. For "his Holiness" to speak about his bastards, would never do. Tr.

nevertheless it was but all too soon dissolved again, and hostilities commenced afresh. The pope then aspired to new objects.

Previous to this, he had ever openly maintained to his friends, and even given the emperor to understand, that Milan belonged to the French, and that it ought in point of justice to be restored to them.[1] This opinion he gradually abandoned. From Cardinal Carpi, who of all the cardinals had most of his confidence, we find, that, far from that, he made a proposal to Charles V. pointing a very different way.[2]

"The emperor," he says in it, "must not aim at being a mere earl, duke, or prince, he must be emperor and that alone; he ought to have not many provinces, but great vassals. His good fortune had ceased since he took possession of Milan. He cannot well be advised to restore it to Francis I. whose thirst for conquest he should thereby only stimulate, but he ought also not to retain it.[3] This alone made him enemies, that he was suspected of attempting to bring foreign countries into subjection to himself. Were he to do away with that suspicion, were he to bestow Milan on some particular duke, Francis I. would no longer find any adherents; he, the emperor, on the contrary, would find Germany and Italy devoted to him; his banners he might carry to the most remote nations, and associate his name, such is the expression, with immortality."

But if the emperor was neither to relinquish Milan to the French nor to keep it himself, on whom was he now to bestow that dukedom? To the pope it seemed no unreasonable escape

Avril 1539. Ib. p. 445. The pope told him "qu'il estoit fort estonné, veu la peine et travail qu'il avoit pris pour vous appointer, Vous et l'Empereur, que vous le laissiez ainsi arrière."—[That he was much amazed, considering the pains and labour it had cost him, to bring about a settlement of your differences, your's and the emperor's, that you should now leave him behind.]

[1] M. A. Contarini also has stated this in his report.

[2] Discurso del Rev^mo Cl^e di Carpi del 1543 (though probably a year earlier) a Carlo V. Cesare del modo del dominare. Bibl. Corsini, n. 443.

[3] "Se la M. V. dello stato di Milano le usasse cortesia, non tanto si spegnerebbe quanto si accenderebbe la sete sua: si che è meglio di armarsi di quel ducato contra di lui.—V. M. ha da esser certa, che, non per affettione che altri abbia a questo re, ma per interesse particolare, e la Germania e l'Italia, sinchè da tal sospetto non saranno liberate, sono per sostentare ad ogni lor potere la potentia di Francia."—[If your Majesty were to make a compliment of the state of Milan, you would not so much extinguish as enflame his thirst: indeed it were better to take up arms for that duchy against him.—Your Majesty may be assured that, not for any affection entertained by others for this king, but for their own interests, both Germany and Italy, in case of their not being freed from that suspicion, are for sustaining the power of France with all their might.]

from this difficulty, for it to be transferred to his grandson, the emperor's son-in-law. He had already hinted this in previous missions. At a new conference held with the emperor at Busseto, he formally proposed it.

The pope in his ideas was very far-seeing, if it be true that he thought also of a marriage between his grand-daughter and the heir of Piedmont and Savoy, so that his grand-children would have reigned on both sides the Po, on both sides the Alps.[1] In Bussetto everything concerning Milan was earnestly considered, and the pope cherished the liveliest hopes. The marquis of Basto, governor of Milan, whom he had gained over, with characteristic credulity and love of show, already appeared one day with a carefully prepared speech, for the purpose of accompanying Margaret, as his future lady, to Milan. I find that the negotiation was broken off in consequence of some excessive demands on the part of the emperor.[2] Yet it is difficult to believe that the latter could, at any price, ever have been inclined to abandon to foreign influence a principality so important, and so well situate.

For, in addition to this, the position which the Farneses had assumed to themselves, was full of danger to him. Of the Italian provinces governed or influenced by Charles, there was none in which the existing government had not been necessarily founded in violence, or at least established by force. Every-

[1] Dandolo; Relatione di Francia 1545: "Si è dubitato, che S.S^tà fosse per tener con Cesare in queste trattationi massime a beneficio de il duca di Savoglia, col quale gli voleva dar la nepote."—[However it is doubted, that his Holiness would be for keeping, in these negotiations with the emperor, chiefly to what was to be for the advantage of the Duke of Savoy, to whom he wished to give his niece.] In France people expressed themselves on this subject in the liveliest manner (gagliarde parole).

[2] Pallavicini has directly denied these negotiations. There is room for doubt perhaps from what Muratori also says about them (Annali d'Italia X. II. 51). He relies on historians who may possibly have written from hearsay. But the matter is set at rest by a letter from Girolamo Guicciardini to Cosmo Medici, Cremona, 26th June, 1543, in the Medici Archives at Florence. Granvelle himself spoke of it. "S. M^a mostrava non esser aliena, quando per la parte del papa fussino adempiute le larghe offerte eran state proferte dal duca di Castro sin a Genova."—[His Majesty showed that he was not averse, as soon as there should be fulfilled on the part of the pope the ample offers that had been proffered by the duke di Castro (extending) even to Genoa.] I know not what offers these might have been, yet they were too much for the pope. According to Gosselini, who was secretary to Ferdinand Gonzaga, the emperor at his departure dreaded "che in volgendo egli le spalle (i Farnesi) non pensassero ad occuparlo." (Vita di Don Ferrando p. iv.)—[Lest in following him the Farneses might think of engrossing him.] (Life of Don Ferdinand, p. iv.)—On this subject we find very copious details in a still unpublished biography of Basto, to be found in the Chigi Library at Rome.

where, in Milan as well as Naples, in Florence, Genoa, and Siena, there were malcontents belonging to the vanquished party. Rome and Venice were full of emigrants. The Farneses did not see, in their near connection with the emperor, any reason for refraining from allying themselves with these parties, which, though kept down, it is true, yet never ceased to be really powerful from the importance of their chiefs, their wealth, and the number of their adherents. At the head of the victors stood the emperor; the vanquished looked for an asylum to the pope. Innumerable secret threads knit them together; they never ceased to hold a visible or invisible connection with France; they were continually suggesting new plans and enterprises. These related sometimes to Siena, sometimes to Genoa, sometimes to Lucca. How often did the pope seek to gain a footing in Florence too, and to find admission there! But in the young duke Cosmo, he found the very man that could best oppose him. With stern self-reliance Cosmo expresses himself on this subject thus; "The pope, who has succeeded in so many enterprises, has nothing further so much at heart as to be capable of doing something in Florence also, and to estrange this city from the emperor, but he shall descend with that wish into the grave."[1]

In a certain respect, the emperor and the pope stood at all times opposed to each other, as the heads of two factions. Had the former married his daughter into the family of the pope, it had only been that he might have a check upon him, and as he himself said, that he might maintain the existing state of things in Italy. The pope, on the other hand, wanted to make this alliance with the emperor subservient to his acquiring some advantages from the imperial power. His family he hoped to aggrandize by availing himself at once of the emperor's protection, and of the assistance of his opponents. In reality there was still a Gibelline and a Guelph party, the one holding ever to the side of the emperor, the other to that of the pope.

Notwithstanding all this, in 1545, we find the two chiefs again on friendly terms. Margaret's hopes of being a mother,

[1] Letter of Cosmo's, found in the Medicean Archives. Further in 1537. "Al papa non è restato altra voglia in questo mondo se non disporre di questo stato e levarlo dalla divotione dell'imperatore," &c.—[To the pope there remains no other object to be wished for in this world, unless it be to dispose of this state, and to remove it from its devotion to the emperor," &c.]

the prospect of soon having a descendant of the emperor's in their family, made the Farneses feel a fresh cordiality towards Charles V. Cardinal Alexander Farnese repaired to him at Worms. This formed one of Paul III.'s most important missions. The cardinal once more succeeded in appeasing the emperor's displeasure. He endeavoured to exculpate his brother and himself from some things that had been alleged against them; with respect to others he prayed that they might be forgiven, and engaged that for the future they should all be obedient servants and sons to his Majesty. The emperor replied that in that case he would treat them as his own children. Thereupon they began to converse on matters of the deepest importance. They talked about the war with the Protestants and the council. It was agreed that the latter should be brought about without delay. In case of the emperor determining to employ arms against the Protestants, the pope came under a formal compact, to aid him with all his forces and with all his treasure, "even to the selling of his crown, should that be found necessary."[1]

In fact, the council was opened that same year, and here for the first time we fully perceive how this result was brought about. War too commenced in 1546. The pope and the emperor combined for the purpose of annihilating the league of Smalchalden, which made it not much less difficult for the emperor to govern the empire, than it was for the pope to govern the church. The pope furnished money and troops.

The emperor made it his object to combine the force of arms with pacificatory negotiations. While he employed war in rein-

[1] Granvelle himself supplies us with authentic information. "Dispaccio di Monsignor di Cortona al Duca di Fiorenza. Vormatia, 29 Maggio 1545. (Granvella) mi concluse in somma ch'el cardinale era venuto per giustificarsi d'alcune calumnie, e supplica S. M. che quando non potesse interamente discolpare l'attioni passate di N^ro Signore sue e di sua casa, ella si degnasse rimetterle e non ne tener conto. Expose di più, in caso che S. M. si risolvesse di sbattere per via d'arme, perchè per giustitia non si vedeva quasi modo alcuno, li Luterani, S. Beatitudine concorrerà con ogni somma di denari."—[Despatch from Monsignor di Cortona to the duke of Florence. Worms, 29th May, 1545. (Granvelle) convinced me in a word that the cardinal had come to justify himself with respect to some calumnies, and besought his Majesty that, since he could not entirely exculpate the past deeds of our Lord (the pope) nor his own and those of his house, he would deign to pardon and make no account of them. He further stated that in the event of his Majesty resolving to attack the Lutherans with arms, because it seemed as if there were no way of doing so in the way of justice, his Beatitude would concur with all the money he could raise.]

ing in the disobedience of the Protestants, the council was to determine ecclesiastical controversies, and, above all, to proceed with reforms which might make it in some measure possible for the Protestants to yield submission.

The success of the war exceeded all expectation. At first Charles might have been given up for lost, but in the most dangerous posture of his affairs, he resolutely maintained his ground; in the autumn of 1546 he saw the whole of Upper Germany in his hands; cities and princes rivalled each other in submitting to him; the moment seemed to have come when the Protestant party in Germany might be subdued, and when the entire North might again be made Roman Catholic.

At such a crisis, what was it that the pope did?

He recalled his troops from the imperial army; the council which at this very time was to fulfil its object, and to commence its pacificatory movements, he transferred from Trent, where it had been appointed to meet at the instance of the Germans, and pretending that an infectious disease had broken out there, he summoned it to meet in his second capital, Bologna.

There is no doubt as to his object in this. Once more did the political tendencies of the popedom run counter to those of the Romish church. He had never desired seeing the whole of Germany conquered and laid prostrate at the emperor's feet. It was something very different that his nice calculations had led him to look for. It is true he may have believed that some success on the emperor's part would prove for the advantage of the Roman catholic church; but therewithal, as he himself admits, he doubted not that he should see him encounter numberless difficulties, and entangle himself in perplexities, which would secure to him, the pope, on his side, more ample freedom for pursuing his own objects. Fortune mocked at his designs. He now had reason to fear, and had his attention directed to it by France, that this preponderance of power would indirectly affect Italy, and but too soon make itself sensibly felt by him, in spiritual as well as in secular concerns. But, besides this, his anxieties with respect to the council increased. It had long oppressed him already;[1] he had ere now had thoughts about dis-

[1] "Le même au meme."—[The same to the same] Ribier, I. 637. "S. S. a entendu que le duc de Saxe se trouve fort, dont elle a tel contentement, comme celuy qui estime le commun ennemy estre par ces moyens retenu d'executer ses en-

solving it; now, however, the prelates of the imperial party, rendered more and more courageous by victory, took a particularly bold step. Under the name of censures, the Spanish bishops proposed some articles which collectively had for their object a diminution of the papal authority; the reformation which Rome had always so much dreaded, seemed no longer to admit being delayed.

It seems strange, yet nothing is more true, that at the very moment that all northern Germany shuddered at the re-introduction of the papal government, the pope felt himself to be in league with the Protestants. He showed his satisfaction at the advance made by the electoral prince, John Frederick, against duke Maurice, and desired nothing more eagerly than that that prince might be able to hold out against the emperor. He sent to Francis I. who was already endeavouring to combine the whole world in a league against Charles, expressly exhorting him "to support those who were not utterly beaten." Again he deemed it likely that the emperor would have to encounter the greatest difficulties, and have his hands occupied for a long while. "In this," says the French deputy, "the wish was father to the thought."

But he deceived himself as he had done before. The emperor's good fortune defeated all his calculations. Charles obtained a victory at Muhlberg; he carried off with him the two heads of the Protestant party as prisoners, and could now direct his eye to Italy more keenly than ever.

For most profoundly, as may be supposed, did the conduct of the pope wound his feelings. He saw through his purposes very well. "The object of his Holiness since the first," he writes to his ambassador, "has been to entangle us in this undertaking, and then to leave us in the lurch."[1] The recal of the

treprises, et connoist-on bien qu'il seroit utile sous-main d'entretenir ceux qui luy résistent, disant que vous ne sçauriez faire dépense plus utile."—[His Holiness has heard that the duke of Saxony finds himself strong, and at this has all the satisfaction of one who calculates that the common enemy is by these means restrained from executing his enterprises, and it is well known that it would be useful to give underhand support to those who resist him, saying that you could not lay out money more usefully.]

[1] Copia de la carta que S. M. scriviò a Don Diego de Mendoça a XI. de Hebrero, 1547 aõs. "Quanto mas yva el dicho (prospero suceso) adelante, mas nos confirmavamos en creher que fuese verdad lo que antes se havia savido de la intencion y inclinacion de S.S. y lo que se dezia (es) que su fin havia sido por embaraçar nos en lo que estavamos y dexarnos en ello con sus fines, desinos y platicas, pero que, aun-

papal troops was not of so much consequence. Ill paid, and on that account defective in point of obedience and discipline, they had never been of much avail. But the removal of the council from Trent to Bologna, was of the utmost importance. It is wonderful how on this occasion too, the disagreement between the popedom and the empire, proceeding from the political position of the former, came in aid of the Protestants. Now it was that means might well have been found for compelling them to submit to the council. But as the council itself had split in two, for the imperial bishops remained in Trent, and as no common decisions, of a valid kind, could now be adopted, no man could be compelled to give his adhesion. The emperor had to submit to see the most essential part of his plans come to nothing, in consequence of his being deserted by his ally. Not only did he continue to urge the recal of the ecclesiastical convention to Trent, he gave out, "that he would come to Rome and hold the council there himself."

Paul III. gathered up all his energies; "the emperor is powerful," said he, "but we too are able for something; and we still have some friends." The long-talked of alliance with France was now concluded; Horatio Farnese was affianced to the natural daughter of Henry II. and no means were left untried in order to gain over the Venetians next, to join a common league. All the refugees began to bestir themselves. Just at the right time disturbances broke out in Naples, and a Neapolitan deputy made his appearance, with a request that the pope would protect his vassals in that quarter, nor were there wanting Cardinals who recommended him to agree to this.

Once more did the Italian factions begin to eye each other. They stood the more directly opposed to each other, from the two chiefs being now in open dissension. On the one side there were the governors of Milan and Naples, the Medici in Florence,

que pesasse a S.S. y a otros, esperavamos con la ayuda de N. S. aunque sin la de S. S., guiar esta impresa a buen camino." Copy of a letter written by His Majesty to Don Diego de Mendoza, February 11, 1547.—[However much our affairs prospered, the more were we confirmed in believing the truth of what we had formerly learned of the intention and inclination of his Holiness, and in fact it may be said, that his object was to embarrass us in the position in which we were placed, and leave us there with his cunning aims, designs, and practices; nevertheless, though it was of importance to his Holiness and others, we hoped, with the aid of our Lord, even without that of his Holiness, to bring this enterprise to a satisfactory conclusion.]

the Dorias in Genoa; Don Digo Mendoza, imperial ambassador at Rome, might be regarded as their centre; they had still in all quarters a strong body of Gibbeline adherents; and, on the other hand, there was the pope and the Farneses, the refugees and the malcontents, a newly formed Orsinish party, and the dependents of the French. For the one, there was that part of the council which remained in Trent; for the other, that which had gone to Bologna.

The hatred which these parties bore to each other, soon displayed itself in an act of violence.

The pope had taken advantage of his intimate connection with the emperor, to bestow upon his son Peter Luigi Parma and Placentia, as a dukedom, holding feudally of the papal see. He could no longer venture on such a measure with the recklessness of a Leo or an Alexander. Accordingly he restored Camerino and Nepi to the church; and endeavoured to demonstrate, by a calculation of the expense incurred in guarding that frontier fortress, the interest which his son would have to pay for the same, and the revenues of the restored territories, that the exchequer would suffer no loss. But it was only by addressing himself to the cardinals individually, that he could persuade them to consent, and even then he could not succeed with them all. Some spoke openly against it; others intentionally staid away from the meeting of the consistory at which the matter was to be considered; Caraffa was seen that day making a solemn visitation of the seven churches.[1] Neither was the emperor in favour of it; he wished at least that the dukedom should be given to his son-in-law Octavius, to whom Camerino likewise belonged.[2] He allowed it to pass because he stood in need of the pope's friendship, but he never approved of it; he knew Peter Luigi but too well. It was the very son of the pope that held in his hand all the threads of the secret leagues formed among the Italian oppositionists. None doubted of his being privy to the attempt made by Fiesco at Genoa, and that he had assisted the power-

[1] Bromato: Vita di Paolo IV. II. 222.

[2] The negotiations respecting this, commence with Mendoza's letter of 29th November, 1547. The pope says that he had granted the investiture to Peter Louis, because the cardinals had preferred this; and "haviendo de vivir tampoco como mostrava su indisposicion,—[having so short a time to live, as his indisposition clearly showed.]

ful leader of the Florentine emigrants, Peter Strozzi, after an unsuccessful attack upon Milan, to cross the Po at a moment of the utmost urgency, and alone effected his deliverance. It was conjectured that he himself had an eye to the possession of Milan.[1]

One day the pope, who considered himself as at all times under the influence of propitious stars, and that he could conjure all the storms that threatened him, appeared at the audience in particularly good spirits; he recounted the prosperous events of his past life, and compared himself in this respect with Tiberius; on that very day, his son, the possessor of his acquisitions, the prop of his fortunes, was assaulted by conspirators at Placentia, and murdered.[2]

The authors of the crime were the Gibellines of that city, who had become offended and exasperated at the violent measures of the duke, one of the severely governing princes of that time, who made it his special object to secure the obedience of the nobility; but as it was the universal impression at the time that the governor of Milan, Ferdinand Gonzaga, was concerned in the plot,[3] we can hardly doubt that such was the case. Gonzaga's biographer, who was his confidential secretary at the time, and who endeavours to exculpate him, asserts that no more was intended than that Farnese should be made prisoner, not that he should be murdered.[4] I find in some manuscripts a still closer hint, yet must not at once believe them, that the emperor had been previously apprized of the plot. At all events the imperial troops hastened forwards to take possession of Placentia; they gave practical effect to the claims of the empire to the possession of that city. This was in some wise a retaliation for the breaches of engagement committed by the pope in the Smalkaldic war.

[1] Gossellini: Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga p. 20. Segni: Storie Fiorentine, p. 292.

[2] Mendoga al emperador, 18 Sept. 1547. "Gastò la mayor parte del tempo" (on that day) "en contar sus felicidades y compararse a Tiberio imperador." [See the text.]

[3] "Compertum habemus Ferdinandum esse autorem."—[We have discovered that Ferdinand was the author,] said the pope in the consistory. "Extrait du consistoire tenu par N. S. Pere."—[Extract from the consistory held by our Holy Father,] in a despatch from Morvillier, Venice, 7th Sept. 1547. Ribier, II. 61.

[4] Gossellini, p. 45. "Nè l'imperatore nè D. Fernando, come di natura magnanimi, consentirono mai alla morte del duca Pier Luigi Farnese, anzi fecero ogni opera di salvarlo, comandando in specialità a congiurati che vivo il tenessero."—[Neither the emperor nor D. Ferdinand, as being naturally magnanimous, ever consented to the death of duke Peter Lewis Farnese; on the contrary they did everything to save him, specially enjoining the conspirators to take him alive.]

Affairs now assumed a posture altogether without a parallel.

It was pretended to be known that Alexander Farnese had said, that he could help himself by nothing so well as the death of some of the imperial ministers; he could not rid himself of them by violence; he must have recourse to stratagem. While in consequence of this, these were endeavouring to secure themselves from poison, some Corsican ruffians were apprehended at Milan, and brought to confess, truly or falsely I will not undertake to say, that they had been hired by the pope's relations to murder Ferdinand Gonzaga. At least Gonzaga was anew highly exasperated. He said that he must secure his life in the best way he could, and nothing further remained for him but to rid himself of two or three of these enemies of his, with his own or some other hand.[1] Mendoza thought, then will all the Spaniards in Rome be put to death; the populace secretly instigated to fall upon them; and the deed, when done, will be excused on the ground of the impossibility of restraining them.

A reconciliation was not to be thought of. It might have been wished that the emperor's daughter should interpose her good offices to that effect. But she had never felt happy in the Farnese family; she despised a husband who was much younger than herself; she revealed his bad qualities without compunction to the ambassador, and said she would rather cut off her children's heads than apply to her father about anything that could displease him.

Mendoza's correspondence with the emperor lies before me. It were no easy matter to find anything like the tenor of these letters, in point of profound hatred, restrained on both sides, yet on the part of both evident. It displays a sense of superiority, brimful of bitterness; of contempt, which is nevertheless on its guard; a feeling of distrust such as one cherishes towards an illdoer of no common sort.

If in this state of things, the pope looked for some support, some assistance, France alone could secure it to him.

In fact we find him occasionally discussing the relaitons of France with the Roman see, for hours at a time, in the presence of the French ambassador, and of cardinals Guise and Farnese.

[1] Mendoga al Emp. "Don Hernando procurara de asegurar su vida como mejor pudiere, hechando a parte dos o tres di estos o por su mano o por mano de otros." —[See the text.]

"In old books," says he, "I have read, during my cardinalship, I heard from others, and have found by experience since being pope myself, that the holy see has ever been powerful and flourishing, when allied with France, but has suffered losses as soon as it was otherwise; I can never forgive Leo X., my predecessor Clement, I cannot forgive myself, for having on any occasion favoured the emperor; but now I have resolved to unite myself for ever with France. I hope to live long enough to leave the papal see devoted to the French king; fain would I make him the first prince in the world; I will indissolubly attach my own family to him."[1]

He contemplated forming an alliance with France, Switzerland, and Venice, first to be a defensive league, of which, however, he himself says, that it was the door to an offensive one.[2] The French calculated that their friends, when united, would procure for them as extensive a territory in Italy as that which the emperor possessed there, and that the whole Orsinish party would anew devote their lives and property to the king. The Farneses thought that within the Milanese territory they might at least count upon Cremona and Pavia; the Neapolitan refugees promised to bring into the field 15,000 men, and forthwith to deliver up Aversa and Naples. The pope warmly entered into all these projects. We first apprized the French ambassador of an attack upon Genoa. He would have no objection were a league to be formed with the grand seignior or with Algiers, for the purpose of making the conquest of Naples. Edward VI. had just ascended the throne of England, and an unquestionably protestant government had taken the helm of its affairs, still the pope not the less recommended Henry II. (of France) to make peace with England, "in order," he said, "to be able to carry

[1] Guise au roy, 31 Oct. 1547. Ribier, II. 75.

[2] Guise au roy, 11 Nov. 1547. Ribier, II. 81. "Sire, il semble au pape, à ce qu'il m'a dit, qu'il doit commencer à vous faire déclaration de son amitié par vous présenter luy et toute sa maison: et pource qu'ils n'auroient puissance de vous faire service ny vous aider à offenser si vous premièrement vous ne les aidez à défendre, il luy a semblé devoir commencer par la ligue défensive, laquelle il dit estre la vraye porte de l'offensive."—[Guise to the king, &c. Sire, it seems good to the pope, from what he has told me, that he ought to begin to make you a declaration of his friendship by presenting to you himself and all his family: and as they should be unable to serve you or to aid you in taking the offensive, if you do not first aid them in defending themselves, it appears to him that there should be a defensive league in the first instance, the which, he says, is the true opening for the offensive.] The whole subsequent correspondence bears upon this.

into effect other objects involving the best interests of Christendom."[1]

Thus fierce was the pope's enmity towards the emperor; so close was his connection with the French; so extensive were the prospects he entertained; and yet he never completed his alliance, never took the final step.

The Venetians were perfectly amazed. "The pope," said they, "is attacked in his dignity, is insulted in his blood, is plundered of the chief possession of his family; he should snatch at any alliance, on any condition; notwithstanding, after so many causes of offence, we see him procrastinate and waver."

Generally speaking, when a man is offended, he runs into extreme measures. Yet there are natures in which this is not the case, which even when they feel themselves most deeply hurt, still pause and ponder, not because the passion of revenge is less strong in them, but because the consciousness of another's superiority holds a more powerful mastery over them; the sagacity that sees far into the future, preponderates in them; great reverses, instead of stimulating them, make them dispirited, vacillating, and weak.

The emperor was too powerful to need to apprehend anything serious from the Farneses. He pursued his course without paying any regard to them. He solemnly protested against the sittings of the council at Bologna, declaring beforehand, as null and void, whatever should be transacted there. In 1548, he published the Interim in Germany. However intolerable it seemed to the pope that the emperor should prescribe a form of faith, however bitterly he complained of ecclesiastical property being left to its present possessors, a measure in which cardinal Farnese said he could point out seven or eight heresies,[2] the

[1] François de Rohan au roy, 24 Février, 1548. Ribier, II. 117. "S.S. m'a commandé de vous faire entendre et conseiller de sa part, de regarder les moyens que vous pouvez tenir pour vous mettre en paix pour quelque temps avec les Anglais, afin que n'estant en tant d'endroits empesché vous puissiez plus facilement exécuter vos desseins et entreprises pour le bien public de la Chrestienté."—[Francis of Rohan to the king, &c. His Holiness has commanded me to give you to understand, and to counsel you on his part, to look to the means you can take advantage of for putting yourself at peace for some time with the English, in order that by not having hindrances in so many places, you may more easily execute your designs and enterprises for the public good of Christendom.]

[2] "Hazer intender a V. M. como en el interim ay 7 o 8 heregias." Mendoça 10 Juni 1548.—[See the text.] In the "Lettere del commendatore Annibal Caro scritte al nome del C^l Farnese"—[Letters of the commendator Annibal Caro, writ-

emperor would not allow himself to be bewildered. In the case of Placentia too, he would not yield a hair breadth. The pope first required that the possession should be restored; the emperor maintained that he had a right to it as belonging to the empire. The pope appealed to the treaty of 1521, in which these cities were guaranteed to the Roman see; the emperor pointed to the word investiture, as evidence of an intimation, on the part of the empire, that it had rights of superiority over them. The pope replied that the word was here employed in a different sense from the feudal; the emperor contested the point no farther, yet he declared that his conscience would not allow him to restore Placentia.[1]

The pope would now have willingly taken up arms, leagued himself with France, and put his friends and party in motion; in Naples, Genoa, Siena, Placentia, even in Orbitello, the intrigues of his dependents might be observed, willingly would he have revenged himself by some unexpected attack; but on the other hand, the emperor was too much his superior in point of power, not to be extremely formidable, and he dreaded, above all, his influence on ecclesiastical affairs. He took care that a council should be called which would declare itself as quite against him, and even proceed to depose him. Mendoza asserts that the plot of the Corsicans against Ferdinand Gonzaga had particularly alarmed him.

Be this as it may, this much is certain that he restrained himself and concealed his resentment. The Farneses even beheld, not unwillingly, the emperor take possession of Siena; they hoped that he would give it to them as a compensation for their losses. The oddest proposals were connected with this. "Let the emperor make this concession," it was said to Mendoza, "the pope must then bring back the council to Trent, and here not only act agreeably to the wishes of the emperor in other matters,

ten in the name of cardinal Farnese], which in other respects are composed with great reserve, there is to be found nevertheless, I. 65, a letter to cardinal Sfondrato, referring to the Interim, in which it is said: "the emperor has committed a scandalous offence in Christendom; he might indeed have taken in hand something better."

[1] "Lettere del cardinal Farnese scritte al vescovo di Fano, nuntio al imperatore Carlo, Informationi politiche XIX.,"—[Letters from cardinal Farnese written to the bishop of Fano, nuntio to the emperor Charles, political notices XIX,] and some instructions of the popes and Farneses, ib. XII., reveal these negotiations, of which I can touch upon the most important steps only.

for example, solemnly recognise his right to Burgundy, but declare Charles V. to be his successor in the papal see." "For," said they, "Germany has a cold climate, Italy has a warm one; and for the gout which the emperor suffers from, warm countries are most favourable."[1] I will not maintain that they were in earnest in this; the old pope lived in the belief that the emperor would die before him, but we see how doubtful, and how widely remote from the common order of things, were the paths which their politics ventured upon.

Their movements and negotiations with the emperor did not escape the notice of the French. We have a letter from the constable Montmorency, full of wrath, in which he speaks without reserve of the "hypocrisies, lies, aye of truly wicked tricks," practised at Rome against the king of France.[2]

At last, that he might do something, and at least gain some fixed point in these struggles, the pope determined, as the right to Placentia was contested not only with his family, but even with the church, to restore that dukedom immediately to the latter. It was the first occasion on which he had ever done anything against the interests of his grandsons. He doubted not they would willingly reconcile themselves to it; he believed that he had an unlimited authority over them; he had ever praised their stanch obedience, and considered himself fortunate in it. But the difference was, that on all previous occasions he had contended for their ostensible interests, whereas he now wished to effect something which ran counter to these.[3] They first tried indirectly to turn him from his purpose. They caused it to be represented to him that the day which he had appointed for the consistory to meet, was an unlucky one; it was Rochus day;

[1] Cardinal Gambava made this proposal to Mendoza at a secret conference held in a church. He said at least, "que havia scripto al papa algo desto y no lo havia tomado mal."—[That he had written the pope somewhat about that, and he had not taken it badly.]

[2] Le connestable au roy, 1 Sept. 1548. (Ribier, II. 155.) "Le pape avec ses ministres vous ont jusques-icy usé de toutes dissimulations, lesquelles ils ont depuis quelque temps voulu couvrir de pur mensonge, pour en former une vraye meschanceté, puisqu'il faut que je l'appelle ainsi."—[The constable to the king, &c. The pope with his ministers have hitherto treated you with all dissimulations, which they have since wished to cover with sheer lying, to make up a piece of real wickedness, for such I must call it.]

[3] Dandolo too assures us of his fixed resolution. "S.S. era al tutto volta a restituir Parma alla chiesa."—[His Holiness was always for restoring Parma to the church.]

the exchange with Camerino, which he wished to restore to them by way of compensation, would be rather a loss to the church; they now met him with the reasons which he himself had formerly employed; but they could only delay the matter, not prevent it. At last Paul III. instructed the commandant at Parma, Camillo Orsino, to keep that city in the name of the church, and to deliver it up to no man, be he who he might. After this declaration, which left no further room for doubt, the Farneses broke through all restraint. They would for no consideration allow themselves to be robbed of a dukedom, which placed them on an equal footing with the independent princes of Italy. Octavius made an effort to get Parma into his hands by force or stratagem, in defiance of the pope; and he was only prevented from attaining his object through the skill and resolution of the new commandant. But what must have been the feelings of Paul III. when he heard of it? It was reserved for the old man to find his grandsons, to whom he had been so affectionately devoted, and in bestowing favours on whom he had incurred the censures of the world, now as his life was drawing to a close, were rising against him! Octavius was not to be diverted from his purpose even by the failure of his attempt. He wrote directly to the pope that if he were not to regain possession of Parma in a friendly way, he would make peace with Ferdinand Gonzaga, and try to take possession of it with the arms of the empire. In fact, his negotiations with that mortal enemy of his house were already far advanced, and a courier had been despatched with definite proposals to the emperor.[1] The pope loudly lamented that he was betrayed by his own children; that their doings were such as would send him to the grave. He felt cut to the quick by a report arising that he himself was surely privy to the enterprises of Octavius, and had a share in them, which ran counter to his assertions. He told cardinal Este, that never in the course of his whole life had anything vexed him so much, not even the death of Peter Luigi, or the occupation of Placentia. But he would leave no room for the world to doubt what sentiments he cherished.[2] His sole comfort lay in the convic-

[1] Gossellini: Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga, p. 65.

[2] Hippolyt cardinal de Ferrare au roy, 22 Oct. 1549. Ribier, II. 248. "S.S. m'a asseuré n'avoir en sa vie eu chose, dont elle ait tant receu d'ennuy, pour l'opinion qu'elle craint qu'on veuille prendre que cecy ait esté de son consentement."—

tion that cardinal Alexander Farnese, at least, was innocent and devoted to him. But he came to know by degrees that he who enjoyed his utmost confidence, and who managed the great bulk of affairs, was too well aware of what was doing, and gave it his secret approval. This discovery broke his heart. On All-Souls day, (Nov. 2d, 1449) with a heart surcharged with grief, he imparted it to the Venetian ambassador. Desiring if possible to divert his thoughts a little, he went next day to his vineyard on Monte Cavallo. But he courted repose in vain. He sent for cardinal Alexander; one word led to another; the pope was in a state of extreme agitation; he snatched the barret (cap) from his nephew's hands and threw it on the ground.[1] The court already anticipated a change. It was generally thought that the pope would remove the cardinal from the administration. But it never went that length. This violent mental agitation, at the advanced age of 83, proved fatal to the pope himself. He immediately fell ill and died in a few days, on the 10th of Nov. 1549. Every one in Rome went to kiss his feet. No less beloved than his grandsons were hated, people pitied him for having been brought to the grave by the very persons to whom he had shown the greatest kindness.

In Paul III. we see a man full of mind and talent, and remarkable for his penetration and good sense, placed in the highest position that he could occupy. But how insignificant does even one mighty mortal appear in the light of universal history.

[Hippolyte cardinal of Ferrara to the king, &c. His Holiness has assured me that he never met with any thing in all his life that has so annoyed him, on account of the notion he fears people may choose to take up that this has been with his consent.]

1 Dandolo: "Il Rev^mo Farnese si risolse di non voler che casa sua restasse priva di Roma e se ne messe alla forte. - - S. S. accortasi di questa contraoperatione del Rev^mo Farnese me la comunicò il dì de' morti in gran parte con grandissima amaritudine, e il dì dietro la mattina per tempo se ne andò alla sua vigna di monte Cavallo per cercar transtullo, dove si incolerò per tal causa con esso Rev^mo Farnese. - - Gli fu trovato tutto l'interiore nettissimo, d'haver a viver ancor qualche anno, se non che nel core tre goccie di sangue agghiacciato (was nun wohl ein Irrthum ist), giudicasi dal moto della colera."—[The most Rev. Farnese resolved that he would not have his family remain in a private condition at Rome, but that it should make itself strong. - - His Holiness having penetrated into this counter-plot of the most Rev. Farnese, imparted it to me on All-Saints day, mostly with the utmost bitterness, and early on the following morning went to his vineyard at Monte Cavallo to seek to amuse himself, and there fell into a passion on that account with him, the most Rev. Farnese. - - All his internal parts were found in the healthiest state, so that he might have lived some years longer, but for three drops of congealed blood in his heart (which is surely a mistake) supposed to have been caused by a fit of anger.]

In all his projects and endeavours he is encompassed and overborne by the span-length of time which his mind can overtake, by its momentary struggles, which press on him with all the urgency of an everlasting interest. Add to this, that he is peculiarly hampered in the position he holds, by his personal ties. These give him abundance of occupation, fill his days, at times, possibly, with satisfaction, oftener with dissatisfaction and vexation, and teaze and worry him. Meanwhile he perishes, and the eternal revolutions of history fulfil their course.

JULIUS III.—MARCELLUS II

DURING the sittings of the conclave five or six cardinals happened once to be standing round the chapel altar, and were talking about the difficulty of finding a pope. "Take me," said Cardinal Monte, who was one of them, "and next day I will make you my favourites and confidants in the college of cardinals." "I ask, shall we take him," said Sfondrato, another of them, as they separated.[1] As Monte had the reputation of being of an impetuous and hasty temper, so in other respects he had small hopes of being elected; the lowest bets were taken on his name. Yet it so happened that he was elected (the 7th of February, 1550). From respect to Julius II. whose chancellor he had been, he called himself Julius III.

There was a smile of satisfaction on every face at the imperial court when this choice was known. Duke Cosmo had contributed most to bring about the election. To the high degree of fortune and power which the emperor had reached, there was now to be added his finding on the papal chair at last a pope who was devoted to him, and on whom he could safely reckon. It seemed likely forthwith that public affairs would take another turn.

The emperor still continued to attach the utmost importance to the council being again assembled at Trent. Still he hoped to oblige the Protestants to attend it, and to submit to its decisions. Into this proposal the new pope entered readily. Nay, his only fear was that, in calling attention to the difficulties that

[1] Dandolo Relatione 1551: "Questo rev^mo di Monte se ben subito in consideratione di ogn'uno, ma all'incontro ogn'uno parlava tanto della sua colera e subitezza che ne passò mai che di pochissima scommessa."—[See next sentence in the text.]

stood in the way, he might be supposed to be looking for a pretext for evading such a step. He became untiring in his assurances that it was not so; that he had acted all his life without dissimulation, and so would continue to do. In point of fact, he appointed the council to be resumed in the spring of 1551, and declared that he did this without paction or condition.[1]

But with the favourable disposition of the pope, all things were far from being gained.

Octavius Farnese, upon a decision of the cardinals in conclave, which had been procured by Julius, had been reinstated in the possession of Parma. This did not take place in opposition to the will of the emperor; negotiations had been carried on for a considerable time, and some hope was entertained of seeing a good understanding restored between them. The emperor, however, would not at once determine to grant him Placentia also anew; he even retained in his hands the townships in the territory of Parma, which had been taken by Gonzaga; Octavius, accordingly, continued to hold a hostile attitude.[2] After so many offences on both sides, it was not possible then but that he should ever cherish hatred and fear.

No doubt, the death of Paul III. had bereft his grandchildren of a great support, but it had at the same time given them a freedom which they did not before enjoy. They now no longer found it necessary to pay any regard to the circumstances of the world at large, or of the church, but could suit their proceedings to their own interests exclusively. Octavius, without the slightest restraint, might turn to Henry II. of France. He complained that people wanted to wrest Parma from him, and even to put himself out of the way, but his enemies should not succeed in either of these purposes.[3]

He did so at a time when he could reckon upon the best results. Like Italy, Germany also was filled with malcontents. All that the emperor had already done, all that was still expected from him, both his religious and his political management, had

[1] Lettere del Nunzio Pighino 12 e 15 Aug. 1550. Inff. polit. XIX.

[2] Gossellini: Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga, and Gonzaga's exculpation from the charge of having been the cause of the war, as contained in the third book (of the said life of him by Gossellini) authentically distinguish this turn of affairs.

[3] Lettere delli Signori Farnesiani per lo negotio di Parma.—[Letters of the Farnesian Lords about the affair of Parma.] Informatt. pol. XIX. The above is from a letter of Octavius's to cardinal Alexander Farnese, Parma, 24th March, 1551.

roused innumerable enemies against him. Henry II. could venture once more to adopt his father's anti-Austrian plans. He allowed his war with England to drop, concluded a treaty with Octavius, and took the garrison of Parma into his pay. French troops soon appeared in Mirandola also. The banners of France were seen flying in the very heart of Italy.

In this new complication of affairs, Julius III. kept himself steadily attached to the emperor. He deemed it insufferable that a miserable worm, Octavius Farnese, should dare to set himself up at once against an emperor and against a pope. "Our will is," he declares to his nuntio, "to embark in the same vessel with his Majesty, and to trust ourselves to the same fortune. We leave the determination of matters to him who has both the (requisite) sagacity and power."[1] The emperor declared himself for the immediate removal of the French and their adherents, by the employment of force. Accordingly we soon see the papal and imperial troops united take the field. An important fortress in the Parmesan territory fell into their hands, they laid waste the whole champain country, and completely invested Mirandola.

Yet the movement which, it is true, originated here, but which afterwards affected the whole of Europe, was not to be suppressed by these petty hostilities. War burst forth on all the frontiers where the territories of the emperor and the king of France touched each other, and both by land and sea. The German Protestants threw a very different weight into the scale from the Italians, when they too finally leagued themselves with France. This was followed up by the most decisive attack that Charles ever experienced. The French appeared on the Rhine, and the elector Maurice in the Tyrol. The veteran conqueror, on placing himself in the mountainous region that lies between Italy and Germany, so as the better to be able to keep both to their duty, found himself suddenly in great jeopardy, overcome, and all but taken prisoner.

[1] Julius Papa III. manu propria. [Julius Pope III. with his own hand.] "Instruttione per voi Monsignor d'Imola con l'imperatore. L'ultimo di Marzo. Informatt. polit. XII."—[Instructions for you, my Lord Imola, with the emperor. Last day of March.] He also mentions the ground of this close alliance: "non per affetto alcuno humano, ma perchè vedemo la causa nostra esse con S. Mª Cesarea in tutti li affari e massimamente in quello della religione."—[not on account of any human affection, but because we see our cause to agree with that of his imperial Majesty in all matters, but especially in that of religion.]

This had an instant effect on affairs in Italy. "We could never have believed," said the pope, "that God would thus have visited us."[1] In 1552, he had to submit to a truce with his enemies.

Misfortunes sometimes fall out, which, even to those who experience them, are not so unpleasant as one would suppose. They put a stop at once to a course of endeavours, which have already begun to run counter to their inclinations; and furnish a legitimate ground and a clear excuse for resolving to relinquish it.

Such, it almost appears, was the mischance that now befell the pope. He had seen with regret his territories filled with troops and his exchequer emptied, and at times too he thought he had cause to complain of the imperial minister.[2] The council had likewise become a source of real anxiety to him. Since the appearance of the German deputies, who had been promised a reformation, it took a bolder course; as early as in January 1552, the pope complained that people wished to rob him of his proper authority, that the Spanish bishops were aiming, on the one hand, at the servile subjection of the chapters, and, on the other, to deprive the Romish see of the collation of all benefices! yet he would not endure having wrested from him, under the pretence of removing abuses, what was no abuse, but an attribute of his essential authority.[3] It could not be altogether so disagreeable to him that the invasion made by the Protestants dispersed the council; he hastened to decree its suspension, and thereby rid himself of innumerable pretensions and broils.

After this Julius III. no longer took any serious part in political business. The inhabitants of Siena complained, indeed, that although, by his mother, he was half a countryman of theirs, he had supported Duke Cosmo in the design of bringing them into subjection; but a subsequent judicial investigation demonstrated the falsehood of this assertion. It was Cosmo rather that had ground to complain. The pope did not hinder

[1] Al Cl Crescentio 13 April 1552.

[2] Lettera del papa a Mendoza 26 Dec. 1551, (Inff. pol. XIX.) "Without pride be it said, advice we do not need; we can supply ourselves with that: help we certainly need."

[3] "Al Cl Crescentio 16 Genn. 1552."—[To Cardinal Crescentio, 16 Jan. 1552.] He exclaims: "non sarà vero, non comportaremo mai, prima lassaremo ruinare il mondo."—[Never truly shall it be so, never will I suffer it, sooner would I let the world go to destruction.]

the Florentine emigrants, who were the bitterest enemies of that ally of his, from assembling and making hostile preparations within the territories of the church.

In front of the Porta del Populo, the stranger to this day visits the Villa di papa Giulio. In recalling to memory the scenes of that period, he walks up the broad flight of steps to the gallery whence Rome is to be seen in its whole extent, from the Monte Mario to where he stands, and the windings of the Tiber. In the building of that palace and the laying out of that garden, Julius III. spent his whole existence. It was he himself who gave the first sketch of it, but there was no getting it finished; new suggestions and wishes occurred to him daily, which the architects strove to execute.[1] Here the pope lived out his days, and took no thought of the rest of the world. He was tolerably attentive to the interests of his relatives. Duke Cosmo gave them Monte Sansovino, which was the original seat of the family, the emperor gave them Novara, while the pope himself conferred on them the high offices at his disposal in the states of the church and in Camerino. He kept his word to a favourite whom he advanced to be a cardinal. He was a youth for whom he had conceived an affection in Parma. He had once seen him seized by an ape, and was pleased with his courageous conduct while in this jeopardy; from that time he educated him, and showed a fondness for him, which unfortunately proved to be all the merit this favourite ever had. Julius desired to see him and all his other relatives and dependents well provided for, but had no idea of involving himself on their account in hazardous complications. As we have said, the inoffensive and contented life he led at his villa, satisfied him. He gave hospitable entertainments, seasoned with his proverbial wit, which, to say the truth, was such

[1] Vasari. Boissard describes the circuit it comprehended at that time: "occupat fere omnes colles qui ab urbe ad pontem Milvium protenduntur,"—[it occupies almost all the heights that stretch from the city to the Milvian bridge,] (he describes its magnificence, and gives some of the inscriptions; for example: "Honeste voluptarier cunctis fas honestis esto."—[Be it lawful for all honest folks honestly to enjoy themselves:] and very conspicuous: "De hinc proximo in templo Deo ac divo Andreae gratias agunto," (I understand visitors to be meant) "vitamque et salutem Julio III. Pont^ci Maximo Balduino ejus fratri et eorum familiæ universæ plurimam et æternam precantor."—[In the nearest temple to this let (visitors) return thanks to God and the deified Andrew, and let them pray for life and health in abundance, and to eternity, to the pontiff Julius III., to Maximus Baldwin his brother, and to their whole family.] Where all is so very pagan, I have avoided translating "templo," "divo," and "salutem," by the Christian terms, "church," "saint," and "salvation." Tr.

at times as to cause a blush. In the great affairs of the church and state, he took no greater share than was absolutely necessary. He died on the 11th of April, 1555.

But certainly these affairs were not likely to fare well in such circumstances. The dissensions betwixt the two great Roman catholic powers boded more and more danger. The German Protestants had roused themselves vigorously from the defeat they had experienced in 1547, and now showed a firmer front than ever. The oft-contemplated Roman catholic reformation was not to be thought of; the future prospects of the Roman catholic church, it was not to be concealed, were extremely dark and doubtful.

But if, as we have said, within the bosom of that very church a tendency had developed itself which condemned, from the very heart, the course of life and manners that had been pursued by so many popes, was it not to be expected that this tendency should at last bestir itself on the election of a new pope? Much depended on his personal qualities; precisely on that account was this supreme dignity dependent on election, in order that some one, holding the sentiments that preponderated in the church, might be placed at the head of affairs.[1]

The death of Julius III. gave occasion to the first election in which the stricter party obtained an influence in the choice of a pope. Julius had often felt himself cramped in his little dignified career, by the presence of cardinal Marcello Cervini. This very person carried the election, 11th April, 1555. He became Marcellus II.

During his whole preceding life he had conducted himself nobly and irreproachably; the reform of the church, of which others only babbled, he had exemplified in his own person; he had excited the highest expectations. "I had prayed," says a contemporary, "that a pope might come, who should know how to rescue those fine words, church, council, reformation, from the contempt into which they had fallen; in this election I considered my hope accomplished; my wish seemed to have become a

[1] This might be the theory, but in practice the election depended on the cardinals, who could not for a moment be regarded as the church's legitimate representatives. It were a bitter satire on the Romish church indeed, to hold that the popes were a fair index of its general character at the time of their election, and yet that they were so in a great degree is perfectly true. Tr.

reality."[1] "The opinion," says another, "entertained of this pope's goodness and incomparable wisdom, led the world to hope that now, if ever, it would be possible for the church to extinguish heretical opinions, to put away abuses and corrupt living, and again to become sound and united."[2] Marcellus began his popedom entirely in this spirit. He would not suffer his relations to come to Rome; he introduced many savings in the expenditure of his court; he is said to have drawn up a memoir on the chief ameliorations required in the institutions of the church; he next wished to restore divine service to its genuine solemnity; all his thoughts were occupied with council and reform.[3] With respect to politics he took up a neutral position, and with this the emperor was content. "Truly," say these contemporaries, "the world was not worthy of him;" they applied to him the words of Virgil when speaking of another Marcellus. Fate would only show him to the world. He had been pope for only two and twenty days when he died.

We can say nothing of the effects produced by so short an administration, but this very commencement, and such a choice, already manifested the bent of mind which was beginning to acquire the ascendancy. In the next conclave also it retained this predominance. The strictest of all the cardinals, John Peter Caraffa, came forth from the same as pope, on the 23d of May, 1555.

PAUL IV.

We have often spoken of him already; he is the same that founded the order of the Theatines, that restored the Inquisition, and so materially promoted the permanent establishment of the old doctrines[4] at Trent. There was a party which contemplated the restoration of catholicism in all its strictness; in his person it was not simply a member of that party, but its founder and chief who now ascended the papal chair. Paul IV. was already seventy-nine years old, but his deep-set eyes still

[1] Scripando al Vescovo di Fiesole. Lettere di principi, III. 162.

[2] Lettere di principi, III. 141. Here the editor himself has taken the word.

[3] Petri Polidori de Vita Marcelli II. commentarius, 1744, p. 119.

[4] Old doctrines, if we look only to their having prevailed for several centuries in Western Christendom under the Roman antichrist, but new as compared with the doctrines of the Reformers, for these had all the antiquity of the Holy Scriptures, and of him who inspired those scriptures. Tr.

retained all the fire of youth. He was remarkably large and lean; walked with a hurried step, and seemed to be all sinew. As he had never confined himself hitherto, in his daily habits, to any precise rules, he would often sleep during the day and study at night—woe to the servant that entered his chamber until he had pulled the bell—so he ever followed in other matters the impulses of the moment.[1] But these were swayed by opinions formed in the course of a long life, and which were now become a second nature. He seemed to know no other duty, and no other business, but the restoration of the old faith to its former domination. Such characters are formed from time to time, and are occasionally to be met with even at the present day. Their notions of life and of the world have been taken from a single point of view; the individual and personal bent of their minds is so strong as absolutely to govern their powers of moral vision. They are indefatigable talkers, and have a certain freshness and vigour about them; pouring forth in an uninterrupted stream sentiments which seem to develope themselves in them from a certain necessity. Of what supreme importance do they become on attaining a position where their activity is purely dependent on their sentiments, and where power is the companion of their will. What might not all expect from Paul IV., a man who had never known what it was to be influenced by views, and who had always urged his opinions with extreme impetuosity, now that he was elevated to the highest rank.[2] He was himself surprised at his having attained it, having never purchased the goodwill of a single cardinal, and never shown traces

[1] "Relatione di M. Bernardo Navagero (che fu poi cardinale) alla Ser^ma Rep^ca di Venetia tornando di Roma Ambasciatore appresso del Pontefice Paolo IV. 1558."—[Report by M. Bernardo Navagero (who was afterwards cardinal) to the most serene republic of Venice on his return from Rome as ambassador at the court of the Pontiff Paul IV. 1558.] To be found in many Italian libraries, and also in the Informationi politiche at Berlin. "La complessione di questo pontefice è colerica adusta; ha una incredibil gravità e grandezza in tutte le sue azioni et veramente pare nato al signoreggiare."—[The complexion of this pontiff is choleric and adust; he has an incredible gravity and grandeur in all his actions; and truly he seems born to rule.]

[2] It may be supposed that his character did not please every body. Aretins, *Capitolo al re di Francia*, describes him:

"Caraffa ipocrita infingardo
Che tien per conscienza spirituale
Quando si mette del pepe in sul cardo."

[Caraffa, a lazy hypocrite, who makes a matter of conscience of things the most indifferent.]

of anything but the strictest severity. Not by the choice of the cardinals, but by God himself he believed that he had been elected, and was called upon to carry out the accomplishment of his views.[1]

"We engage and swear," said he accordingly, in the bull with which he entered on his functions, "in truth to see to it carefully, that the reformation of the church in general, and of the Roman court, be carried into effect." He distinguished the day on which he was crowned by issuing certain commands, relating to monastic establishments and the religious orders. He immediately dispatched two monks of Monte Cassino into Spain, with the view of restoring the decayed conventual discipline of that country. He formed a congregation for the general purposes of reform, divided into three classes, each of which was to consist of eight cardinals, fifteen prelates, and fifty learned men. The articles which were to come under their consideration, and which related to appointments to offices, were communicated to the universities. It will be seen that he went to work with great earnestness.[2] It seemed as if the ecclesiastical tendency which had already long made its influence felt in the lower departments of the church, now that it had taken possession of the popedom, was about to have the exclusive guidance of the public administration of Paul IV.

The only question was, what position he would assume in the general movements of the world's affairs.

It is by no means so easy to effect a change in the great movements which a government has once decidedly adopted; these have become gradually incorporated with all that is peculiar to it.

While, from the nature of the case, it must ever have been

[1] "Relatione del Cl^mo M. Aluise Mocenigo K. ritornato dalla corte di Roma 1560. (Arch. Venez.) Fu eletto pontefice contra il parer e credere di ogn'uno e forse anco di se stesso, come S.S. propria mi disse poco inanzi morisse, che non avea mai compiaciuto ad alcuno, e che se un cardinale gli avea domandato qualche gratia gli avea sempre risposta alla riversa nè mai compiaciutolo, onde disse: io non so come mi habbiano eletto papa e concludo che Iddio faccia li pontefici."—[Report of the most Illustrious M. Aluise Mocenigo K. on his return from the court of Rome in 1560. (Arch. of Venice.) He was chosen pope contrary to appearances, and to every one's belief, perhaps indeed to his own, as His Holiness himself told me shortly before he died, that he never had complied with the humours of any one, and that if a cardinal ever asked a favour of him he had always answered by refusing it, and had never complied with his wishes, whence he said: I know not how they elected me pope, and conclude that God makes the pontiffs.]

[2] Bromato: Vita di Paolo IV. lib. IX. § 2 § 17. (II. 224, 289.)

the wish of the popes to be relieved from the preponderance of Spain, the present moment seemed once more to make this possible. The war which we have seen result from the movements of the Farnese family, was the most unfortunate that Charles the V. ever waged. He was hard pressed in the Netherlands; Germany had revolted from him; Italy no longer remained true; he could no more reckon on the allegiance of the Estes and the Gonzagas; he himself was weary of life and in bad health. I know not if any other pope, in so far as not decidedly attached to the imperial party, would have withstood the temptations thus presented to him.

In the case of Paul IV. they were more than ordinarily powerful. Born in 1476, he had seen Italy while she still enjoyed the freedom of the fifteenth century, and his soul hung upon that remembrance. The Italy of that period he compared to a well-tuned instrument of four strings. He called Naples, Milan, the church and Venice, the four strings; he execrated the memory of Alphonso and Lewis the Moor, "abandoned and lost souls," he would say, "whose dissensions had destroyed that harmony."[1] He could never learn to endure that from that time downwards the Spaniards should be masters of the country. The Caraffa family from which he was descended, belonged to the French party; it had borne arms, times without number, against the Castilians and Catalonians; again, in 1528, it had attached itself to the French; during the disturbances of 1547, it was John Peter Caraffa that advised Paul III. to make himself master of Naples. But besides the animosity of party, he was influenced by hatred arising from another cause. Caraffa had always insisted that Charles V. favoured the Protestants from jealousy of the pope, and even attributed the progress of that party to the emperor himself.[2] The latter knew him well. He once thrust him out of the council that had been formed for the administration of the government of Naples; he never would

[1] "Infelici quelle anime di Alfonso d'Aragona e Ludovico duca di Milano, che furno li primi che guastarono cosi nobil instrumento d'Italia."—[Unhappy souls of Alphonzo of Aragon and Lewis duke of Milan, who were the first to spoil that noble instrument, Italy.] See Navagero.

[2] Memoriale dato a Annibale Rucellai Sett. 1555. (Informatt. pol. tom. XXIV.) "Chiama liberamente la Mª S. Cesarea fautore di heretici e di sciamatici."—[He was liberal in his explanations, that his imperial Majesty was a favourer of heretics and schismatics.]

allow him quietly to possess his Neapolitan benefices; moreover he had at times signified his mind plainly enough with respect to Caraffa's declamations in the consistory. The animosity of the latter, as may readily be supposed, only became the more violent. At once as a Neapolitan and as an Italian, as a Roman catholic and as pope, he detested the emperor, and next to his zeal for reform there was no passion he cherished more than this hatred.

He entered on the popedom not without some self-satisfaction, for he remitted taxes to the Romans, brought in corn, and saw a statue raised in honour of him on that account; and, in all the splendour of a magnificent court administered by Neapolitan nobles, received the homage of embassies that eagerly speeded from all sides to congratulate him; but even then, he was involved in numberless controversies with the emperor. As the latter could not but complain to the cardinals belonging to his party, of such a choice having been made; as his partisans held suspicious meetings; and as some of them had carried off from the harbour of Civita-Vecchia some ships that had been previously taken from them by the French,[1] the pope forthwith was breathing fire and flames. Either he imprisoned the vassals and cardinals of the imperial party, or they fled, and then he confiscated their property. But this was not enough for him. He entered without much consideration into the league with France which Paul III. had never been able to come to the determination of concluding. "The emperor," he said, "would fain but bring him to the ground by means of a sort of spiritual fever, but he was resolved to be above boards with him, and with the help of the king of France he would deliver this poor Italy from the tyranny of the Spaniard; he hoped yet to see two French princes reigning in Milan and Naples." For hours long would he sit after dinner at the black thick volcanic wine which he drank,[2]—it was the kind called

[1] "Instruttioni e lettere di Monsignor della Casa a nome del C^l Caraffa, dove si contiene il principio della rottura della guerra fra papa Paolo IV. e l'imperatore Carlo V. 1555."—[Instructions and letters of the bishop of della Casa, in the name of C^l Caraffa, where there is to be found the origin of the rupture in the war between Paul IV. and the emperor Charles V. 1555.] Also in the Inf. pol. 24.

[2] Navagero: "L'ordine suo è sempre di mangiare due volte il giorno: vuol esser servito molto delicatamente, e nel principio del pontificato 25 piatti non bastavano: beve molto più di quello che mangia: il vino è potente e gagliardo, negro e tanto spesso que si potria quasi tagliare, dimandasi mangiaguerra, che si conduce del regno di Napoli: dopo pasto sempre beve malvagia, che i suoi chiamano lavarsi i denti.

mangiaguerra,—and pour forth a torrent of invective against these schismatics and heretics, accursed of God, a race of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth, and whatever else he would call the Spaniards.[1] But he comforted himself with the promise; "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." Now had come the time when the emperor Charles and his son should receive correction for their sins. He, the pope, would inflict it; he would deliver Italy from his thraldom. Though no one should listen to him, or stand by him, yet some day hereafter it would be said that an old Italian, so near his death that he should rather have been taking repose and preparing for his dying hour, yet had conceived such lofty plans. It is not necessary that we should detail the particulars of the negotiations, into which he entered while his head was full of these thoughts. As the French, in spite of the understanding they had already come to with him, had agreed to a truce with Spain,[2] he sent his nephew

Stava a mangiare in publico come gli altri pontefici sino all'ultima indispositione, che fu riputata mortale, quando perdette l'appetito: consumava qualche volte tre hore di tempo dal sedere al levarsi da mensa entrando in varii ragionamenti, secondo l'occasione et usando molte volte in quel impeto a dir molte cose secrete e d' importanza."—[It is his ordinary custom always to eat twice a day; he likes being served very delicately, and from the commencement of his pontificate, twenty-five dishes have not satisfied him; he drinks much more than he eats; the wine is strong and heady, black, and so thick, that it might almost be cut; mangiaguerra wine is asked for, which is brought from the kingdom of Naples; after eating he always drinks malmsey wine, which his people call washing the teeth. He continued to take his meals in public like the other pontiffs up to the time of his last indisposition, which it was thought would be mortal since he had lost his appetite; he spent three hours each time from his taking his seat, until he rose from table, entering into various discourses as the occasion might require, and often being wont, in his impetuosity, to say many things of secrecy and importance.]

It would appear that this strict Theatine was at once an epicure, and all but a drunkard. Had the daily habits of any of the leading Protestants, or Reformed, been authentically described as similar to those of Paul IV., how should the world have rung with declamations against them. Tr.

[1] Navagero. "Mai parlava di S. M^a della natione Spagnola, che non gli chiamasse eretici, scismatici e maladetti da Dio, seme di Giudei e di Mori, feccia del mondo, deplorando la miseria d'Italia, che fosse astretta a servire gente così abjetto e così vile."—[He never spoke of his Majesty and the Spanish nation without calling them heretics, schismatics, and under God's malediction, a seed of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the world, deploring the misery of Italy, that it should be constrained to submit to a nation so abject and so vile.] The despatches of the French ambassadors are full of these sallies of passion. For example those of Lansac and of Avançon in Ribier, II. 610—618.

[2] Very significant is the representation given of the original incredulity of the Caraffas, in Navagero. "Domandando io al pontefice et al C^l Caraffa, se havevano avviso alcuno delle tregue (of Vaucelles), si guardorno l'un l'altro ridendo, quasi volessero dire, si come mi disse anche apertamente il Pontefice, che questa speranza di tregue era assai debole in lui, e nondimeno venne l'avviso il giorno seguente, il quale si come consolò tutta Roma così diede tanto travaglio e tanta molestia al papa

Charles Caraffa to France, who succeeded, even, in drawing the various parties that were disputing about the government there, the Montmorencies and the Guises, the wife of the king and his paramour, into his interests, and in occasioning a new outbreak of hostilities.[1] In Italy, he obtained in the duke of Ferrara, a bold and active ally. They contemplated a complete revolution of Italy. Florentine and Neapolitan refugees filled the curia; the time for their restoration seemed to have arrived. The papal fiscal commenced a lawsuit against the emperor Charles and king Philip, in which he sued that these princes should be excommunicated, and their subjects loosed from their oaths of allegiance. It has always been maintained in Florence that there is extant evidence of a determination having been also formed at this time, for the destruction of the house of Medici.[2] Every thing bore a warlike aspect; the whole development of that century, down to this moment, became once more placed in jeopardy.

But, therewithal, what a totally different turn did this pontificate take from what had been looked for! The efforts made towards effecting a reformation, were doomed to give place to military struggles, and these produced results of quite an opposite character.

The very man who as a cardinal, had most zealously, and at some personal risk, condemned nepotism, was seen to have become a slave to that abuse. His nephew, Charles Caraffa, who had all along delighted in a wild and scandalous life as a soldier,[3] and of whom Paul IV. himself had said, that his arm was steeped to the elbows in blood, he raised to be a cardinal. Charles had found out how to propitiate the old man; he had contrived to be seen occasionally kneeling before a crucifix and praying with all apparent contrition.[4] But the main reason

et al cardinale che non lo poterono dissimulare. Diceva il papa che queste tregue sarebbero la ruina del mondo."—[On my asking the pontiff and C. Caraffa, if they had had any advices of the truce (of Vaucelles), they looked at one another with a smile, as if they would have said, as indeed the pope said to me also openly, that this expectation of a truce was very weak in him, and nevertheless the news of it arrived on the day following, which, as it was indeed a consolation to all Rome, so did it give such concern and annoyance to the pope and the cardinal as they could not dissemble. The pope said that that truce would be the ruin of the world.]

[1] Rabutin Mémoires; Coll. Univers. tom. 38, 358. Particularly Villars Mémoires. Ib. tom. 35, 277.

[2] Gussoni Relatione di Toscana.

[3] Babon in Ribier, II. 745. Villars, p. 255.

[4] Bromato.

was the cordiality with which they cherished the same hatred. Charles Caraffa, who had been in the emperor's military service in Germany, complained that his only return had been unqualified disfavour. His having been deprived of a prisoner who, he expected, would have paid him a heavy ransom, and his having been prevented from entering on possession of a priorship of the Malthese to which he had already been appointed, filled him with hatred and revenge. This passion, in the pope's eyes, stood in the place of all the virtues. There was no end to his praising him. He said he was certain that the Roman see never had a more capable servant. He entrusted him with the general management not only of secular but also of ecclesiastical affairs, and was nowise displeased that he should be regarded as the prime mover, in every act of favour that a man might receive.

It was long before the pope designed to cast a single look of favour on his two other nephews; and not until they too professed the anti-Spanish sentiments of their uncle, did he manifest any willingness to be of use to them.[1] Never had any one expected that he would act as he did. He declared that the Colonnas, constant rebels against both God and the church, had often had their castles wrested from them, but they had never been retained; now, however, he would hand them over to vassals who should know how to defend them. He gave them to his nephews, calling the one Duke of Palliano, and the other Marquis of Montebello. The cardinals held their peace and looked to the ground, when he opened to them this his intention. The Caraffas aspired to the vastest designs. The daughters were to be married, if not into the family of the king of France, into that of the duke of Ferrara. The sons hoped at least to acquire Siena. Some one having jested at the jewelled cap of a child belonging to that family, "we may now venture to speak of crowns," said the mother of the nephews.[2]

Everything, in fact, depended on the result of the war which

[1] "Extractus processus Cardinalis Caraffæ. Similiter dux Palliani deponit, quod donec se declaravit contra imperiales, papa eum nunquam vidit grato vultu et bono oculo."—[Extract from the process of Cardinal Caraffa. In like manner the duke of Palliano deposes, that until he declared himself against the imperialists, the pope never looked on him with a gracious countenance and a good eye.]

[2] Bromato IX. 16, II. 286. The words were "non esser quel tempo da parlar di berette, ma di corone."—[This is no time to speak of caps but of crowns.]

now broke out, but which, from the very first, certainly took no favourable turn.

Upon what had been done by the fiscal, the duke of Alva advanced from the Neapolitan territory and invaded that of Rome. He was accompanied by the papal vassals; their confederacies awoke. Nettuno expelled the church's garrison and recalled the Colonnas. Alba besieged Frosinone, Anagni, Tivoli on the hill, Ostia on the sea. He invested Rome on both sides.

The pope at first placed his dependence on his Romans. He had reviewed them in person. They came from Campofiore, and passed on by the castle of St. Angelo, which saluted them with its cannon, till they reached the square in front of St. Peter's, where the pope with his two nephews waited for them at a window. They mustered three hundred and forty ranks armed with muskets, and two hundred and fifty with pikes, each nine men deep, presenting a fine appearance, commanded exclusively by the nobility. As the commanding officers and the flagbearers successively came up, he gave them his blessing.[1] All this looked very well, but these were not the men that could defend the city. After the Spaniards had advanced thus far, a false report, the appearance of a small body of horse, sufficed to produce such a panic, that not a man stood to his colours. The pope had to look elsewhere for assistance. At last Peter Strozzi brought him the troops that were serving before Siena, in fact he took Tivoli and Ostia, and removed to a distance the danger that pressed nearest.

But what an extraordinary war was this!

It looks at times as if the ideas that put things in motion, the secret motives that actuate men, visibly opposed each other.

Alva might at the first have taken Rome without difficulty; but his uncle cardinal Giacomo reminded him of the bad end to which all the participators in the capture of that city by Bourbon had come. As a good Roman catholic, Alva carried on the war with the utmost reserve; contending with the pope, indeed, yet without ceasing to reverence him, meaning only to wrest the sword from his hands, yet by no means coveting the honour of a place among the conquerors of Rome. His troops complained

[1] "Diario di Cola Calleine Romano del rione di Trastevere dall' anno 1521 sino all'anno 1562." MS.—[Journal of Cola Calleine, Roman citizen of the Trastevere ward, from 1521 to 1562. MS.]

that they were led into the field to encounter a smoke, a vapour, which annoyed them without their being able to seize it, or to extinguish it at its source.

And who were they, on the other hand, who defended the pope against such good Catholics? The most effective among them were Germans, all Protestants. They scoffed at the images of the saints in the roads and churches; they ridiculed the mass, broke the fasts, and committed a hundred things for which the pope would at another time have punished one and all of them with death.[1] I find even that Charles Caraffa once entered into a mutual understanding with the great Protestant leader, Albert, markgrave of Brandenburg.

The points of contrast between the opposing parties could not have come out more strongly. In the one, the strict Roman catholic tendency wherewith the commander in chief at least was penetrated;—how far behind did it leave the times of the constable Bourbon! In the other, we see the secular leanings of the popedom, which, however Paul IV. might condemn them, had notwithstanding obtained the mastery even in him. It happened accordingly, that the faithful of his own fold attacked him, while he was defended by those who had deserted it; but the former, even in attacking him, preserved their submissiveness to his authority, while the latter, even in guarding him from danger, manifested their hostility and contempt for his very existence as pope.

But then first did the struggle properly begin, when the French auxiliary force, consisting of 10,000 foot, and a less numerous yet magnificent cavalry, appeared at length over the Alps. The French would rather have tried their strength in a direct attack on Milan, which they thought less prepared for defence, but were hurried along by the impulse they had received from the Caraffas to proceed against Naples.[2] These had no

[1] Navagero: "Fu riputata la più esercitata gente la Tedesca (3500 fanti," yet other manuscripts state the number differently) "e più atta alla guerra, ma era in tutto Luterana. La Guascona era tanto insolente, tanto contro l'onor delle donne et in torre la robba,—gli offesi maledicevano publicamente chi era causa di questi disordini."—[The German nation was considered as the best trained (consisting of 3500 infantry, stated differently in other MSS.) and most apt for war. The Gascons were so insolent, so given to licentiousness and plunder, that those who suffered from them openly, cursed them as the cause of these disorders.]

[2] Rycaut, in his continuation of Platina's lives of the popes, says that Paul IV. contemplated the addition of the kingdom of Naples to the states of the church. Tr.

doubt of finding countless adherents in their native country; they reckoned on the power possessed by the refugees, and the rising of their party, if not throughout the whole kingdom, yet in the first instance in the Abruzzi, all round Aquila and Montorio, where their noble ancestors, both by the father's and the mother's side, had ever preserved a powerful influence.

In one way or other the course of things could not but go forward.

The opposition of the papal government to the preponderance of Spain, had been too often roused, not to break out once more in an open manner.

The pope and his nephews had resolved to adopt the most extreme measures. Caraffa not only applied to the Protestants for assistance, he even made a proposal to Solyman I. to abstain from prosecuting his Hungarian campaigns, in order that he might direct his whole force against the two Sicilies.[1] He invoked the aid of the infidels even against the Catholic king.

In April 1557, the papal troops crossed the Neapolitan frontier. Maunday Thursday was marked by the capture and horrible sack of Compli, a town full of the property both of its own citizens and of others, who had fled thither for refuge. Thereupon Guise also passed the Tronto, and laid siege to Civitella.

Still, however, he found the kingdom fully prepared. Alva knew well that there would be no revolutionary movement, as long as he was the most powerful man in the country. In a parliament of the barons he had obtained a very considerable donative; Queen Bona of Poland, who was of ancient Aragonese descent, and had shortly before come with much wealth into her dukedom of Bavi, influenced by a hearty detestation of the French, assisted him with half a million of scudi; he collected the ecclesiastical revenues that used to be sent to Rome, and even laid claim to the gold and silver of the churches, and the bells of Benevento.[2] Accordingly he had found means to strengthen to

[1] See his confessions in Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV. tom. II. p. 369. Bromato, moreover, gives good information respecting the war. He takes it, as he acknowledges, often word for word, from a copious MS. of Nores's, which has this war for its object, and is often to be met with in Italian libraries.

[2] Giannone Istoria di Napoli lib. XXXIII. c. 1. Not only Gosselini, but also Mambrino Rosco delle historie del mondo lib. VII., who narrates this war copiously

the utmost all the Neapolitan, and as many Roman frontier places as he still held, and to bring into the field a fine army, composed in the old fashion, of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians; he had even formed companies of Neapolitans under the command of the nobility. Civitella was gallantly defended by the count of Santafiore; he had animated the inhabitants to take an active part in the defence, and they had even repelled an attempt to take the place by storm.

While the kingdom held together in this manner, and showed every appearance of devotedness to Philip II., there broke out, on the other hand, the keenest animosities among its assailants, between the French and the Italians, Guise and Montebello. Guise complained that the pope did not keep to the agreement they had concluded, and had failed to send assistance to the promised amount. When the duke of Alva appeared with his army in the Abruzzi, in the middle of May, Guise thought it best to raise the siege and to repass the Tronto. The war again fell back on the Roman territory.

Thus it was a war in which there was aggression and retrogression, towns were besieged and then abandoned, and on one sole occasion was there a serious battle.

Mark Antony Colonna threatened Palliano, which had been taken from him by the pope; Julius Orsino hastened to relieve it with provisions and troops. Three thousand Swiss had arrived in Rome, under the command of an officer from Unterwalden. The pope received them with great satisfaction; adorning their officers with chains of gold, and with the title of knights; he declared that they were a legion of angels whom God had sent to his assistance. These, together with some Italian troops, horse and foot, were led by Julius Orsino. M. A. Colonna threw himself in his way. Once more a battle ensued in the spirit of the Italian wars of 1494—1531. Papal and imperial forces, a Colonna and an Orsino, stood opposed to each other; the German foot placed themselves as they had often done in former times, under their last famous chiefs Gaspar von Feltz and Hans Walther, opposite the Swiss. Once more did the old combatants encounter in a quarrel, which little concerned either

and from good sources, and others, ascribe to Ferdinand Gonzaga a great part of the able measures that were taken by Alva.

of them; but not the less, on that account, were they more than ordinarily courageous.[1] At last Hans Walther threw himself, huge and strong as a giant, say the Spaniards, into the midst of a Swiss company; with a pistol in one hand and his naked battle-sword in the other, he rushed directly at the standard-bearer, whom he slew at once by a shot in the side, and a vigorous stroke on the head; the whole company now rushed upon him, but already were his soldiers at his back to defend him. The Swiss were completely broken and beaten. Their colours, on which there was inscribed in large characters, "Defenders of the faith and of the holy see," sank into the dust; their commander brought two only of his eleven chief officers back with him to Rome.

While this war on a smaller scale was carrying on in Italy, the great armies lay opposed to each other on the Netherlands frontier. The battle of St. Quentin followed. There the Spaniards gained the most decisive victory. In France the only wonder was that they did not directly rush upon Paris, which they might have taken.[2]

"I hope," wrote Henry II. on this event to Guise, "that the pope will do as much for me in my need, as I have done for him in his.[3] So little now could Paul IV. count on French assistance, that the French looked much more for assistance from him. Guise declared that no chains should be able to detain him any longer in Italy.[4] He hastened back with his troops to his hard-pressed prince.

Hereupon, there being no longer any thing to oppose them, the Spaniards and Colonnese advanced anew against Rome. Once more did the Romans see themselves threatened with having their city taken and plundered. Their condition was so much the more desperate, in that they dreaded their defenders hardly less than their foes. For many successive nights they had lights at all the windows, and the streets illuminated, a measure which is said to have frightened off a troop of Spanish soldiers that had made an excursion to the gates; but they

[1] The individual circumstances of this small affair I derived from Cabrera Don Felipe Segundo lib. III. p. 139.

[2] Monluc, Mémoires, p. 116.

[3] Le Roy à Mons. de Guise, bei Ribier, II. p. 750.

[4] Lettera del duca di Palliano al C^l Caraffa. Informatt. polit. XXII.

chiefly sought by this means to stand prepared against the violence of the papal troops. Every body murmured; people wished a thousand times the pope were dead; it was insisted that the Spanish army should be allowed to enter the city by means of a formal capitulation.

Such were the extremities to which Paul IV. allowed matters to come. Then only would he submit to the idea of peace when his enterprise had completely misgiven, when his allies were beaten, when his territories were in a great measure occupied by his enemies, and his capital a second time threatened.

The Spaniards concluded the war in the same spirit with which they had conducted it. They restored all the castles and towns that they had taken from the church; and a compensation was even promised to the Caraffas for Palliano which they had lost. Alva came to Rome. With the deepest awe he kissed the foot of his conquered foe, the sworn enemy of his country and his king. He said that he never had dreaded the face of any man so much as he did that of the pope.[1]

But advantageous as this peace seemed to be for the papal government, it had a decidedly repressive effect on the endeavours which the popedom had been making until then. All attempts to shake off the preponderance of Spain were now at an end; these were never renewed again in the old spirit. The domination of the Spaniards had proved itself not to be shaken in Milan and Naples. Their allies were stronger than ever. Duke Cosmo, whom it had been proposed to expel from Florence, had acquired Siena besides, and was now in possession of a considerable independent power; through the restoration of Placentia the Farneses were gained over to Philip II. Mark Anthony Colonna had earned a high reputation, and given fresh lustre to the ancient rank of his family. There remained nothing for the pope but to be content with this state of things.

Even Paul IV. had to submit, and it may well be supposed how hard it was for him to do so. Philip II. having once been called his friend; "yes, my friend," he continued, "who kept me in a state of siege, who sought my very life!" Before others he compared him to the lost son in the gospel, but in the circle

[1] A secret convention was held between Alva and cardinal Caraffa on the subject of Palliano, secret not only as respected the public, but even the pope himself. Bromato, II. 385.

of his confidential friends he spoke in praise of such popes only as had aimed at making the kings of France emperors.[1] He cherished the old feeling; but he was trammeled by circumstances; he could no longer hope, much less undertake any thing except in secret; nay, he durst not even complain.

It is, however, at all times vain to think of setting one's self to oppose the consequences of a completed event. Even in Paul IV. after some time, a re-action gradually took place which proved of the utmost consequence, both for his administration and for the movements of this papal institution in general.

His nepotism was not based in the selfishness and domestic affection of earlier popes; he favoured his nephews because they supported his opposition to Spain; he considered them as his natural auxiliaries in that conflict. Now that there was an end put to it, his nephews too ceased to be of use to him. Fortunate results are expected to accompany every distinguished position, especially one not altogether legitimate. Cardinal Caraffa, chiefly in the interest of his family, undertook an embassy to king Philip, about securing the compensation we have mentioned as promised for Palliano. After his return from this mission, without certainly having accomplished much, the pope was observed to become colder and colder towards him. Soon it became no longer possible for the cardinal to lord it over his uncle's immediate circle, and, as he had hitherto done, to allow none to approach him but the most devoted friends. Unfavourable reports too reached the ears of the pope, and possibly revived the untoward impressions of earlier times. The cardinal was once unwell, the pope paid him an unexpected visit, and found some people of the worst reputation with him. "Old men," said he, "are distrustful; I have become aware of things in that quarter, which open a wide field to my thoughts." We see that there was only wanted an occasion for raising a storm within him, and this was presented by an event otherwise of no importance. In the course of new year's night 1559, a tumult had taken place in

[1] L'evesque d'Angoulesme au roy, 11 June 1558. Ribier, II. 745. The pope had said: "que vous, Sire, n'estiez pas pour dégénérer de vos prédécesseurs, qui avoient toujours ésté conservateurs et défenseurs de ce saint siège, comme au contraire que le roy Philippe tenoit de race de le vouloir ruiner et confondre entièrement."—[that you, Sire, were not to degenerate from your predecessors, who had always been conservators and defenders of that holy see, as on the contrary king Philip held of the race that wished to ruin and confound it entirely.]

the streets, in which a young cardinal, cardinal Monte, and the same formerly noticed as the favourite of Julius III. had drawn his sword. The pope having heard of it the next morning took it much to heart that his nephew said not a word to him about it; he waited for some days, but at last gave full vent to his displeasure. The court, impatient besides of a change, greedily caught this sign of disfavour. The Florentine ambassador, who had received a thousand mortifications from the Caraffas, now forced his way to the pope, and laid the bitterest complaints before him. The marchioness della Valle, a relation who had never been allowed free access, contrived to place a short note in the pope's breviary, calling his attention to several misdeeds of his nephews, and adding that should His Holiness require farther information, he had only to subscribe his name. Paul did so, and the explanations were not sparingly given. In this condition, filled already with resentment and dissatisfaction, the pope went to the meeting of the Inquisition on the 9th of January. He spoke about that nocturnal tumult; he broke out severely against cardinal Monte, threatened to punish him, and ever and anon thundered out "Reform, Reform." Cardinals who on other occasions had been so indisposed to speak, now took courage. "Holy father," said cardinal Pacheco, "we must begin this reform with ourselves." The pope was struck dumb. These words went to his heart. The convictions fermenting and gradually forming there, brought them home to his conscience. Leaving the case of Monte unconcluded, he retired to his own private apartment, consumed with vexation, and thinking only of his nephews. After giving immediate orders that nothing in future should be done at the instance of cardinal Caraffa, he made his papers to be sent for. Cardinal Vitellozzo Vitello, who had the reputation of being privy to all the secrets of the Caraffas, had to swear that he would discover all that he knew of them; Camillo Orsino was ordered in from his country seat for the same purpose; the stricter party, after having long beheld the doings of the nephews with displeasure, now raised itself; the old Theatiner, Don Jeremiah, who was looked upon as a saint, would be for hours in the pope's apartments; the pope was apprized of things of which he never had had the least idea, and which filled him with astonishment and horror. He became dreadfully agi-

tated; he could neither eat nor sleep; for ten whole days he lay fevered and sick, an ever-memorable instance of a pope who, by inward force of mind alone, threw off partiality for his relations. His resolution was formed at last. On the 27th of January he called a meeting of the consistory; there he spoke with passionate emotion of the ill lives of his nephews; he called God, and the world, and men, to witness that he had been quite unaware of it,—that he had been all along deceived. He dismissed them from their offices, and banished them and their families to different places at a distance. The mother of his nephews, a woman of seventy, bowed down with infirmities, and personally not to blame, threw herself at his feet as he was going into his palace, but he passed on, giving her nothing but sharp words. The youthful marchioness of Montebello even came from Naples; she found her palace shut up; no one would receive her into an inn; during a rainy night she went from one to another, until at last the landlord of a distant hostelry, who had received no orders to the contrary, once more gave her shelter. In vain did cardinal Caraffa offer to put himself in prison, and to render an account of his doings. The Swiss guard had orders to repel not him only, but all too who had ever been in his service. The pope made but one exception. Montorio's son, whom he loved and had made a cardinal when only eighteen, he kept near his person and repeated his hours with him.[1] But this young man never durst mention those who had been banished, much less venture upon any petition in their favour. He durst not even hold any communication with his father. The calamities that

[1] As the cardinal was third son to the Duke of Montorio, this was, no doubt, his nephew, the son of the next duke. Professor Ranke makes no mention of another near relative of Paul IV., the well-known Galeacius Caraccioli, eldest son of the Marquis of Vico, and nephew to the pope. The life of this Galeacius has been written by Beza, and a notice of him will be found in Dr. M'Crie's Reformation in Italy. Although Paul seems to have relaxed the stern severity of the arch-inquisitor in regard to his Protestant nephew, by permitting him to be dealt with in the way of remonstrance and bribery, when another would have been arrested and put to death, still, the compulsory retirement of the latter, after literally "leaving brethren and sisters and father and mother, and wife and children and lands, for Christ's sake and the gospel's," to Geneva, where he spent the evening of his days as a ruling elder in the Italian Reformed Church, presented a striking contrast to the brilliant fortunes of his cousins, the Caraffas, during their enjoyment of the papal favour. But when the pope found these ungrateful, and when that favour was lost, the Genevan exile must have felt peculiarly thankful for the deliverance he had had from such temptations and reverses, and one can hardly suppose but that the pope himself must have been affected by the contrast at all points between his many Roman Catholic and one Reformed relative. Tr.

had befallen his house, only affected him on this account the more deeply, and what he was not allowed to express in words, was painted in his looks and person.[1]

And are we to believe that all this took place without any reaction on the feelings of the pope?

It seemed as if nothing had happened to him. Just after he had pronounced the sentence in the consistory with energetic eloquence, while most of the cardinals were paralyzed with amazement and fright, he seemed on his side to be quite insensible to what had passed, and proceeded without further ado to other business. The foreign ambassadors were amazed while contemplating his behaviour. "In such sudden and thorough changes," it was said of him, "in the midst of entirely new ministers and servants, he remained steadfast, stubborn, indefatigable. He felt no sympathy. He seemed not to have retained any farther recollection of his relations." He now surrendered himself to quite a different passion.

Assuredly this change of conduct was of the most lasting consequence. Hatred of the Spaniards, the idea of living to be the liberator of Italy, had hurried Paul IV., too, into secular struggles, into the gifting of his nephews with ecclesiastical estates, into the elevation of a soldier to the administration even of ecclesiastical affairs, into deadly feuds and bloodshed. Events compelled him to relinquish this idea, to suppress that feeling of hatred; therewithal his eyes gradually opened to the culpable conduct of his relations. The vehement sense of what was right, which bid him rid himself of these, cost him a severe inward struggle. From that moment he returned to his old reforming views. He began to exercise his authority as people had at the very first supposed that he would exercise it, and with the same passionate earnestness with which he had hitherto indulged his animosities and carried on war, he now laboured to reform the state and, most of all, the church.

Secular affairs of every kind were now committed to other hands. Those who had hitherto been podestas (mayors) and

[1] Satisfactory information on this subject will be found in Pallavicini, but especially in Bromato. In our Berlin Informationi there is farther to be found, vol. VIII., a "Diario d'alcune attioni più notabili nel pontificato di Paolo IV. l'anno 1558, sino alla sua morte."—[a Journal of some of the most notable transactions in the pontificate of Paul IV. from the year 1558, to his death.]

governors lost their places; their dismissal in some instances taking place in a very extraordinary manner. In Perugia the newly-appointed governor made his appearance at night; without waiting till morning he ordered the ancients to be assembled, and producing his credentials, commanded them to imprison without delay the governor whom he was to succeed, and who was present with them. Paul IV. was now the first pope, from time immemorial, who reigned without nephews. They were replaced by Cardinal Carpi and Camillo Orsino, who had already been so powerful under Paul III. With a change in the persons who conducted the government, there was one also in its spirit and character. No inconsiderable savings were effected, and taxes proportionally remitted; a box was set up in which all might put a statement of their grievances, and of which the pope alone possessed the key; the governor gave in a daily report; business was transacted carefully, considerately, and without any of the old abuses.

As amid the commotions that had occupied him hitherto, the pope had never quite lost sight of the reformation of the church, he now devoted himself to it with a fuller zeal and with a more disengaged heart. He introduced a stricter discipline into the church; forbade all begging, even to the collection of alms by the clergy for masses; he removed scandalous images; a medal was struck in honour of him representing Christ with the scourge purifying the temple. He expelled from town and state monks who had absconded from their monasteries. He obliged the court duly to observe the fasts, and to celebrate Easter by communicating at the supper. Nay, the very cardinals had to preach occasionally! He himself preached. He endeavoured to put away many lucrative abuses. He would no longer hear of marriage dispensations and revenue derived from them. A number of offices, which had hitherto been always bought, even the very clerkships of the chamber,[1] he desired should henceforth be bestowed solely according to personal merits. How much more did he look to personal worth, and a clerical spirit,

[1] Caracciolo: Vita di Paolo IV. MS. particularly mentions them. The pope said: "che simili officii d'amministratione e di giustitia conveniva che si dassero a persone che li facessero, e non venderli a chi avesse occasion di volerne cavare il suo danaro."—[that such offices of administration and justice must be bestowed on those who should discharge them, and not be sold to persons who might come to wish to have their money from them.

in bestowing ecclesiastical offices. All private arrangements, common as they might have been, according to which, while one person performed the duties, another enjoyed the best part of the revenues, he would no longer tolerate. He likewise cherished the prospect of restoring to the bishops many of the rights that had been taken from them, and he considered the greed with which every thing had been drawn to Rome, as most culpable.[1]

Nor was it only in the way of abolition, and negatively, that he went to work; he endeavoured to surround religious worship with greater pomp; to him we must ascribe the ornaments of the Sixtine chapel, and the solemn representation of the holy sepulchre.[2] There is an ideal of modern catholic worship, full of dignity, devotion, and splendour, which floated even in his imagination.[3]

Not a day, as he boasted, did he suffer to pass without pub-

[1] Bromato, II. 483.

[2] Mocenigo: Relatione di 1560. "Nelli officii divini poi e nelle ceremonie procedeva questo pontefice con tanta gravità e devotione che veramente pareva degnissimo vicario di Gesu Christo. Nelle cose poi della religione si prendeva tanto pensiero et usava tanta diligentia che maggior non si poteva desiderare."—[Then in the divine offices and in the ceremonies, this pope proceeded with so much gravity and devotion that he truly appeared to be a most worthy vicar of Jesus Christ. In religious matters at that time so much thought was taken, and diligence employed, that it was impossible to desire any thing farther.]

[3] What the author here calls a solemn representation of the Holy Sepulchre, no doubt refers to what are called Calvary chapels in some popish churches, in which an image of the body of our Lord is sometimes extended on a cross above the sepulchre, sometimes, as in Easter week, transferred to the grave elaborately constructed below, at least such seemed to be the case at the Calvary chapel in the church of St. Roch on Good Friday some years ago. An immense crowd passed through the chapel to see the *spectacle*, entering by one side and coming out by the other. As for the "dignity, devotion and splendour" of the papal worship, one is apt to be carried away with it at the moment, but it requires but a little reflection to make it abhorrent to all the best feelings of a protestant. I remember being one day quite overpowered with the solemn music in the same church of St. Roch, and felt inclined to join in what seemed so divine a service. But on observing what were the words, I found that the priests and congregation were chanting on their knees divine honours to the Virgin Mary, or rather to the idol who, under that name, has succeeded to the idolatrous worship paid to Diana in the South and to Freya, I suppose, in the north of Europe. Of course the discovery produced a revulsion of ineffable disgust, only increased by the thought that the church which sanctioned this abominable pandering to the invincible idolatry of the heart of man in its natural state possessed the Scriptures but preferred tradition, and professed to worship God through the *One Mediator*, but preferred the mediation of the gods many and lords many invoked as saints. Such were the feelings too that affected the worthy missionaries who first sailed to Otaheite, where the antagonism of popery to pure Christianity has of late been so signally displayed, on entering a cathedral at Rio Janeiro, "which was hung with black and blazing with lamps. The prayers were chanted and chorusses sung, accompanied by a band of music. The sight afflicted us; to behold such external pomp of worship, and to discover no trace of the pure undefiled religion of Jesus." See Missionary Voyage in the Ship Duff. London, 1799, p. 36. Tr.

lishing an order, having a reference to the restoration of the church to its original purity. In many of his decrees we may recognise fundamental outlines of those arrangements, sanctioned soon afterwards by the council of Trent.[1]

In pursuing this course, he displayed, as might be expected, all that unbending character which was natural to him.

Above all other institutions, the grand object of his favour was the inquisition, which he himself had restored. He would often allow those days to pass which were appointed for the meetings of the *segnatura* and of the consistory, but never the Thursday on which the congregation of the inquisition met in his presence. He would needs know that it was most strictly observed. He subjected fresh offences to its jurisdiction; he gave it the horrible privilege of applying torture to the questioning of accomplices; with him there was no respect of persons; he dragged the principal barons before that tribunal: cardinals, such as Morone and Foscherari, who had themselves been wont to examine and report on the tenor of books of importance, such, for example, as the spiritual exercises of Ignatius, he caused to be thrown into prison, owing to some doubts having arisen in his mind with respect to their own orthodoxy. He instituted the Feast of St. Dominick in honour of that great inquisitor.

Thus did that direction of the popedom which tended to spiritual severity, and to the restoration of what had fallen to decay, obtain the preponderance.

Paul IV. seemed almost to have forgotten that he had ever cherished any other; he became lost to all recollection of past times. He lived and moved in his reforms and his inquisition; he gave laws, threw people into prison, excommunicated and held autos-da-fe. At length, on being seized with an illness, and just such as might have brought even a younger man to his grave, he convened the cardinals once more, recommended his soul to their prayers and the holy see, and the inquisition to their diligent attention; once more he wanted to collect his

[1] Mocenigo. "Papa Paolo IV. andava continuamente facendo qualche nova determinatione o riforma, e sempre diceva preparare altro, acciò che restasse manco occasione e menor necessità di far concilio."—[Pope Paul IV. went on continually making some new resolution and reform, and always spoke of preparing for others, in order that there might remain small occasion and less necessity for having the council.]

thoughts and to sit up. The effort was beyond his strength; he sank down and expired (18th August, 1559).

In this respect at least are these distinguished and passionate men more fortunate than the weaker race of mortals. Their peculiarities of mind and temper dazzle and delude them, but steel them at the same time against reverses, and make them in themselves invincible.

But the people did not forget so quickly as the pope had done, what they had suffered under him. They could never forgive the war which he had brought upon Rome. His removal of those nephews, who were thoroughly detested, did not satisfy the multitude. After his death some of the mob met at the Capitol and resolved to destroy his monument, because he had deserved ill as respected both that city and the world. Others plundered the Inquisition building, set it on fire, and maltreated the officers of the court. An attempt was likewise made to set fire to the Dominican monastery near the Minerva. The Colonnas, Orsinis, Cesarinis, Massunis, all of whom had received mortal offence from Paul IV., took part in these tumults. The statue that had been erected to the pope was torn from its pedestal, broken to pieces, and the head with the triple crown was dragged through the streets.[1]

How fortunate might not the popedom have been considered, had it experienced no other re-action against the enterprises of Paul IV.

REMARKS ON THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM DURING THIS REIGN.

We have seen how that earlier dissension between the popedom and the imperial Spanish power contributed, probably more

[1] Moncenigo. "Viddi il popolo correr in furia verso la casa di Ripetta deputata per le cose dell'inquisitione, metter a sacco tutta la robba ch'era dentro, si di vittualie come d'altra robba, che la maggior parte era del Rev^mo C^l Alessandrino sommo inquisitore, trattar male con bastonate e ferite tutti i ministri dell'inquisitione, levar le scritture gettandole a refuso per la strada e finalmente poner foco in quella casa. I frati di S. Domenico erano in tant'odio a quel popolo che in ogni modo volevan abbruciar il monastero della Minerva."—[I saw the people run furiously towards the house of Ripetta, set apart for the affairs of the Inquisition, plunder all the effects that could be found in it, including victuals as well as other goods, the most part of which belonged to the Most Rev. Cardinal Alessandrino chief inquisitor, maltreat with blows and cuts all the persons employed in the inquisition, take away the writings by throwing them about the streets like rubbish, and finally set fire to the house itself. The friars of St. Dominick were so detested by that people, that they wished in any way to burn the monastery della Minerva.] He then mentions that the nobility had been most to blame in this. Moreover similar tumults had taken place in Perugia.

than any other external event, to the establishment of Protestantism in Germany. Nevertheless people ran into a second, which now developed itself in more comprehensive operations, and filled a larger circle.

We may consider as its first important step, the recall of the papal troops from the imperial army, and the transferring of the council from Trent to Bologna. From that very moment its importance became evident. Nothing threw so material an obstacle in the way of the repression of the Protestants as did the doings and the omissions of Paul III. at that crisis.

The results of this pope's measures on the general history of the world, first appeared after his death. The alliance with France in which he had involved his nephews, led to a general war.

It proved a war in which not only did the German Protestants obtain an ever-memorable triumph, through which they were permanently secured in the face of council, emperor, and pope; but in which, also, the new views, directly favoured as they were by the influence of the German soldiers who fought on both sides, and by the confusion produced by the hostilities allowing no vigilant oversight of men's opinions, made vigorous progress in France and the Netherlands.

Paul IV. ascended the Roman see. He might have plainly perceived this state of matters, and should have desired above all things the restoration of peace. Yet, blinded by passion, he threw himself into the strife, and by so doing it so happened that he who was the most vehement of zealots, promoted, probably more than any of his predecessors, the diffusion of that Protestantism which he hated, abominated, and persecuted.

Let us now call to mind his influence on England.

The first triumph of the new opinions in that country was long incomplete. Nothing was needed but a return to its old course on the part of the national government, nothing but a Roman catholic queen was required, in order to induce the parliament to vote for the church being subjected anew to the pope. But it must be confessed that the latter had now to proceed with moderation, and not make war directly against the innovations which had been effected in the previous condition of things. This was clearly perceived by Julius III.[1] No sooner had the

[1] Lettere di Mr. Henrico, Nov. 1553, in a MS. entituled "Lettere e negotiati

first papal nuncio remarked how much influence was exercised by those who had an interest in the confiscated church property, than Julius came to the magnanimous resolution of not at all pressing its restoration. The legate in fact dared not set his foot in England, until he could give satisfactory assurances on that point. They formed the basis of his whole power of accomplishing any thing.[1] But now he also met with the utmost success. It was Reginald Poole, whom we know to have been, of all men then living, the one who made it most his peculiar task to restore Roman catholicism in England; a man raised above all suspicion of being actuated by corrupt views; able, temperate, and as a high-born native, held in equal respect by the queen, nobility, and people. The enterprise succeeded beyond all expectation. The ascension of Paul IV. to the papal throne, was distinguished by the arrival of English ambassadors, who assured him of the obedience of that country.

This obedience Paul IV. did not require to win, he only needed to preserve it. Let us observe what measures he employed in this state of things.

He declared the restoration of ecclesiastical property to be an indispensable duty, the postponement of which would be followed with everlasting damnation; he had the presumption likewise to permit the collection of the Peter's penny again to be made.[2] But besides all this, what could have been less fitted to complete the bringing back of the kingdom, than his making war so furiously against Philip II. a prince who was likewise king of England? At the battle of St. Quentin, an event of so much consequence to Italy too, Englishmen fought on the side of Spain. Finally, he persecuted Cardinal Poole, whom he now could not for a moment endure, deprived him of his dignity as legate, though none had ever exercised that office with greater advantage to the holy see, and appointed in his room a monk not fitted for the place, and bending under the weight of years, but viol-

di Polo."—[Letters and negotiations of Poole,] which further contains much that is of importance for this history. About the negotiation (consult) Pallavicini, XIII. 9, 411.

[1] He scrupled not to acknowledge those who had been up to that time in possession of them. *Litteræ dispensatoriæ* C^{lis} Poli. Concilia M. Britanniæ, IV. 112.

[2] At that time these ideas engrossed his whole existence. He published his bull *Rescissio alienationum* (Bullarium IV. 4, 319,) in which he annulled all alienations of old church property in general.

ent in his opinions.[1] Had it been Paul IV.'s serious purpose to throw obstacles in the way of restoration, he could not have conducted himself otherwise.

No wonder that upon the unexpected and early death, both of the queen and of the legate, the opposite tendencies powerfully manifested themselves anew. These were immensely promoted by the persecutions which Poole had always condemned, but which were approved of by his headstrong opponents.

Nevertheless then, too, the pope had one more opportunity of reconsidering the question, and it demanded all the more serious consideration in that it unquestionably bore upon Scotland. There, too, religious parties were engaged in a violent struggle with each other; and according as things settled down in England, were sure to determine the future course of events in Scotland also.[2]

Of how much consequence was it now, that Elizabeth showed herself by no means that first Protestant in her views,[3] and sent public notice to the pope of her accession to the throne. Her marriage with Philip II. was at least a subject of negotiation, and at that time seemed very likely to take place. It might naturally be thought that nothing could have seemed more desirable to a pope.

But Paul IV. knew no moderation. He gave Elizabeth's ambassadors a repulsive and contemptuous answer. She must, first of all, said he, submit her claims to his judgment.

Let it not be supposed that he was prompted to this solely by the consequence that he attached to the papal see. He had other motives to influence him. The French wished, from political jealousy, to throw obstacles in the way of that match. They contrived to make use of the pious, and of the Theatines, to have it represented to the old pope that Elizabeth was still a Protestant at heart, and that such a marriage would secure no good

[1] Also Goodwin, Annales Angliæ, &c. p. 456.

[2] Here Professor Ranke speaks too absolutely. No doubt the re-establishment of popery in England must have been a serious, but not necessarily a *fatal* blow to the Reformation in Scotland. While the English papal government would have been greatly weakened, the Scotch Reformed would have been no less strengthened by the continued existence of Protestantism in England, and by the arrival of numerous Protestant refugees in Scotland. Tr.

[3] Further, Nares, Memoirs of Burghley, II. p. 43, considers her religious principles "at first liable to some doubts."

results.[1] The Guise family had great interests at stake in this matter. In case of Elizabeth being rejected by the papal see, their sister's daughter, Mary Stuart, dauphiness of France, and queen of Scotland, possessed the next claims to England, and in her name the Guises ventured to hope that they might yet reign over all the three kingdoms. That princess in fact assumed the arms of England, and already dated her edicts from the year of her reign over England and Ireland; military preparations began to be made in the Scottish harbours.[2]

Even had Elizabeth had no personal leaning in favour of Protestantism, she would have been compelled by circumstances to throw herself into it, and this she did in the most decided manner. She succeeded in obtaining a parliament with a Protestant majority,[3] by means of which all those changes which constitute the essential character of the English church, were accomplished in the course of a few months.

Scotland, too, then became necessarily affected by this turn of affairs. Here the advances of the Roman catholic French party were opposed by one that was national and Protestant. Elizabeth lost no time in forming an alliance with the latter. Can it be believed that in this she was confirmed by the very Spanish ambassador![4] The treaty of Berwick which she concluded with the Scottish opposition, gave the latter the preponderance. Before Mary Stuart could land in her kingdom, she had not only to renounce her title to England, but to give her sanction also to the decisions of a parliament which had met under the influence of Protestant leanings,—decisions, one of which abolished the mass upon pain of death.

Thus we must ascribe it in a great measure to a re-action against the French claims favoured by the pope, that the triumph of Protestantism was for ever secured in Great Britain.

Not in any wise, as if the inward impulses of those who had adopted Protestant views, had depended on those political movements; these impulses sprang from a much deeper source; but,

[1] Information in the possession of Thuanus (De Thou).

[2] In Forbes' Transactions there is to be found at p. 402, a "Responsio ad petitiones D. Glasion et episc. Aquilani," by Cecil, who gives the utmost prominence to all these motives.

[3] Neale, History of the Puritans, I. 126. "The court took such measures about elections as seldom fail of success."

[4] Camden, Rerum Anglicarum Annales, p. 37.

generally speaking, the motives that led to the first outbreak of the contest, and its progress and ultimate determination, closely concurred with political developments.

Even upon Germany one of Paul IV.'s measures had, once more, much influence. His allowing the old spirit of antipathy to the house of Austria so far to influence him, as to make him oppose the transference of the imperial crown, compelled Ferdinand I. to look more than ever to the maintenance of those friendly terms on which he stood with his Protestant allies. From that time forward Germany fell under the guidance of a union of moderate princes belonging to both sides, and under its influence the ecclesiastical establishments in Lower Germany were first transferred to Protestant administrations.

It seemed, in short, as if the popedom was never to be damaged without having in one way or another itself contributed, by its political efforts, to that result.

But at this conjuncture, let us for once cast our eyes over the world, from the heights of Rome, and mark how immense were the losses that had been sustained by the Roman catholic confession. We behold Scandinavia and Britain in revolt; Germany almost entirely Protestant; Poland and Hungary in fierce fermentation; Geneva become as important a centre for the West and for nations of Roman origin, as Wittemberg was for the East and the tribes of Germany; and even already, alike in the Netherlands and in France, we behold a party risen up under the banners of Protestantism.

One hope there yet remained for the Roman catholic faith. The movements of dissent had been repressed and extinguished in Spain and Italy, and a restorative strictness had begun to manifest itself in ecclesiastical opinion. Prejudicial as the political administration of Paul IV. had been in other respects, yet this tendency at least had obtained the predominance, both at the court and in the palace. The question was, would it continue to maintain itself there, would it then prove powerful enough once more to pervade, and to unite, the Roman catholic world?

PIUS IV.

It is related that once on a time, when the cardinals were dining together, Alexander Farnese gave a boy who was skilled

as an improvisatore at the harp, a wreath which he was to present to that one of the party who should one day be pope. The boy, whose name was Silvio Antoniano, and who afterwards became a distinguished man, and even a cardinal, went up instantly to John Angelo Medici, and chanting his praises as he went, presented him with the wreath. This member of the Medici family succeeded Paul under the name of Pius IV.[1]

He was of mean origin. His father Bernardino had originally come to Milan, and had earned a small competency by farming the public revenues.[2] His sons nevertheless had to shift for themselves somewhat poorly; the one, Giangiacomo, having devoted himself to a military life, entered first into the service of a nobleman; the other, who was the John Angelo we have now to do with, became a student, but in very straitened circumstances. Their success in life had the following origin. Giangiacomo, naturally fool-hardy and enterprising, had allowed himself to be made use of by those who at that time bore rule in Milan, to put out of the way an opponent of theirs, a certain viscount, called Monsignorin. But hardly had the murder been perpetrated, when those who had contrived it wanted to rid themselves of the tool they had employed, and sent the young man to the castle of Mus, on the lake of Como, with a letter to the warder, directing him to put the bearer to death. Giangiacomo entertained suspicions, opened the letter, and perceiving its contents, instantly resolved what to do. He sought out some trusty followers, obtained an entrance by means of the letter, and succeeded in obtaining possession of the castle. There he lived afterwards as an independent prince, and from that strong post kept Milanese, Swiss, and Venetians, in constant movement. Finally he assumed the white cross and entered the imperial service. He was raised to the marquisate of Marignano; served as chief officer of artillery in the war against the Lutherans, and led the imperial army before Siena.[3] Equally able and enter-

[1] Nicius Erythræus relates this anecdote in the article Antoniano: Pinacotheca p. 37. It is repeated also by Mazzuchelli. The election took place 26th Dec. 1559.

[2] Hieronymo Soranzo, Relatione di Roma. "Bernardino padre della B. S. fu stimata persona di somma bontà e di gran industria, ancora che fusse nato in povero e basso stato: nondimeno venuto habitar a Milano si diede a pigliar datii in affitto."—[Bernardino, father of his holy Beatitude, was considered a person of the highest worth, and of great industry, albeit that he was born in a poor and low condition; however, having come to live in Milan, he set himself to take the *datii* in hire.]

[3] Ripamonte, Historiæ urbis Mediolani. Natalis Comes Hist.

prising, fortunate in all that he undertook, a stranger to pity, how many of the peasantry who wanted to take provisions into Siena, did he not kill with his iron staff; there was not a tree, far and wide, on which he had not ordered one or other of them to be hanged; it was reckoned that he had caused five thousand to be put to death. He took Siena and founded a distinguished family.

His rise was now accompanied with that of his brother, John Angelo, who took the degree of Doctor, and gained himself some reputation as a jurist; then purchased an office for himself in Rome, and was already enjoying the confidence of Paul III. when the marquis married an Orsina, sister of the wife of Peter Lewis Farnese.[1] On this he became cardinal. After that we find him charged with the administration of papal cities, with the direction of political negotiations, and more than once with the commissariat of the papal army. He proved himself active, clever, and good-natured. But Paul IV. could not endure him, and on one occasion spoke against him with great vehemence in the consistory. Medici thought it best to leave Rome. At one time at the baths at Pisa, at another in Milan, where he built a great deal, he contrived to lighten his banishment by literary labours, and by a splendid beneficence which gained him the title of a father of the poor. It is not improbable that the direct contrast he presented to Paul IV. now contributed most to his election.

This contrast was more striking than ever.

Here we see Paul IV. a Neapolitan of high rank, of the anti-Austrian faction, bigoted, a monk and an inquisitor; there Pius IV. a Milanese upstart, closely connected with the house

[1] Soranzo. "Nato 1499, si dottorò 1525, vivendo in studio così strettamente che in Pasqua suo medico, che stava con lui a dozena, l'accommodò un gran tempo del suo servitore e di qualche altra cosa necessaria. Del 1527 comprò un protonotariato. Servendo il C^l Farnese (Ripamonte speaks of the good understanding he maintained with Paul III. himself) colla più assidua diligenza, s'andò mettendo inanzi: ebbe diversi impieghi, dove acquistò nome di persona integra e giusta e di natura officiosa."—[Born 1499, graduated as doctor in 1525, living as a student in such straitened circumstances, that at Easter his physician, who boarded with him, accommodated him with his servant and some other necessaries. About the year 1527, he obtained a prothonotaryship. In the service of C^l Farnese (Ripamonte speaks of the good understanding he maintained with Paul III. himself) with the utmost assiduity and diligence he proceeded with the despatch of business; he had various employments, where he earned the name of a man of integrity, a just man and naturally obliging.] The marriage of the marquis followed "con promessa di far lui cardinale."—[with the promise of making him a cardinal.]

of Austria through his brother and some German relatives, a jurist, fond of life, and a man of worldly views. Paul IV. made himself difficult of access; even in the smallest matters he liked to make a display of dignity and majesty; Pius was all good-nature and condescension. He was daily seen on the street, mounted or on foot, almost unattended, and conversing affably with every body. We can form an idea of his character from the Venetian despatches.[1] The ambassadors meet with him while he sits writing and working in a cool apartment; he rises and paces to and fro with them; or when he is about to go to Belvedere, he takes a seat without laying aside his staff, and without more ado, hears what they have to say, and then sets off in company with them. But while he treated them with this familiar intimacy, he wished at the same time that business should be transacted ably and considerately. The clever expedients which the Venetians at times proposed to him, gave him satisfaction; he commended them with a smile; and Austrian as he was in his sentiments, he was disgusted with the unbending and haughty manners of the Spanish ambassador Vargas. He did not like to be overwhelmed with the details of business; they easily fatigued him; but if one kept to general views, and points of importance, he would find him ever good-humoured and tractable. He would then pour forth his feelings in a thousand cordial assurances, saying how he hated bad people from the very heart, and what a natural love of justice he had; that he desired to injure no man in the enjoyment of his freedom, but to be kind and friendly to all; but that his chief thoughts were about doing his utmost for the church, and he hoped to God that he might yet effect some good. He may be pictured to the life; a portly old man, yet active enough to go to his country seat before sunrise, with a bright countenance and lively eyes; fond of talk, good cheer, and pleasantry. On recovering once from what had been thought a dangerous illness, he mounted on horseback, rode off to the house he had occupied when a cardinal, proceeded up the steps, one after another, with a firm tread, exclaiming as he went; "No, no! we won't die yet."

But let us ask now, was such a pope, one so fond of life and

[1] Ragguagli dell'ambasciatore Veneto da Roma 1561.—[Advices from the Venetian ambassador at Rome 1561.] From Mark Anthony Amulio (Mula). Informatt. polit. XXXVII.

so worldly, fitted for the task of administering the affairs of the Romish church in the difficult position in which it now stood? Was there no ground to fear that he would again desert that course which had just been entered on during the last days of his predecessor? His natural disposition, I deny not, may have inclined him to do so; nevertheless it fell out otherwise.

Personally he had no liking for the Inquisition; he censured the monkish severity of its procedure; he seldom or never attended the congregation; but he would not venture to attack it; he declared that he knew nothing about it; he made no pretence to be a theologian; he allowed it to have the entire power which it had received under Paul IV.[1]

Of the nephews of that pope he determined to make a terrible example. The excesses of which the duke of Palliano was guilty even after his fall—he put his own wife to death from jealousy—made it easy for the enemies of the Caraffas to enjoy the revenge for which they thirsted. A penal process was commenced against them; they were accused of revolting crimes, robberies, murders, perjuries, and, over and above all this, of a most arbitrary administration of the government, and of perpetually deceiving that poor old man, Paul IV. We have their defence; it is drawn up by no means without a show of justification.[2] But their accusers had the preponderance. The pope, after spending a day from an early hour till the evening, in hearing the minutes of court read over to him in the consistory, pronounced sentence of death on them; that is to say, on the cardinal, the duke of Palliano and two of their nearest relations, the counts Aliffe and Leonardo di Cardine. Montebello and

[1] Soranzo. "Se bene si conobbe, non esser di sua satisfatione il modo che tengono gl'inquisitori di procedere per l'ordinario con tanto rigore contra gl'inquisiti, e che si lascia intendere che più li piaceria che usassero termini da cortese gentiluomo che da frate severo, non di meno non ardisce o non vuole mai opponersi ai giudicii loro."—[If he knew himself well, he was not satisfied with the mode which the inquisitors observed in proceeding ordinarily with so much rigour against the suspected, and that he let it to be understood that he would be much better pleased did they use such terms as became a courteous gentleman, not an austere monk; not the less he either did not dare, or did not wish ever to oppose their judgments.]

[2] Notices in detail of these occurrences are to be found in Bromato, taken chiefly from Nores. We further find in the Informatt. the letters of Mula, for example 19 July, 1560, the "Extractus processus cardinalis Caraffæ,"—[Extract of the process against Cardinal Caraffa,] and "Fl successo de la muerte de los Caraffas con la declaracion y el modo que murieron."—[The occurrence of the death of the Caraffas and the declaration and the manner in which they died.] La morte del Cl Caraffa (in the Lib. at Venice; VI. No. 39) is the MS. that Bromato had before him, besides that of Nores.

some others had fled. The cardinal had looked for banishment perhaps, but had never expected death. On the sentence being intimated to him, one morning while still in bed, on all doubt being removed, he threw the bed clothes over him for a few moments, then, on rising, clapped his hands and uttered a cry of distress, heard in Italy from men in desperate circumstances, "bene, pazienza: well, patience!" He was not allowed his usual confessor; to the one appointed for him he had, as may be supposed, much to say, and his confession lasted rather long: "Monsignore," said the officer of police, "you must be done; we have other business on hand."

Such was the fate of these nephews. They were the last that sought to obtain independent principalities, and that raised great commotions in the world in pursuing political objects. We meet with such from the days of Sixtus IV.: Jerome Riario, Cæsar Borgia, Lorenzo Medici, Peter Lewis Farnese; the Caraffas are the last. Other nephew families were formed in subsequent times, but quite in another manner. No further instances occur of that which had prevailed down to this period.

How could Pius IV. of all men, after so violent an execution of the law, dream of such a thing as granting any such power to his relatives, as that had been which he punished so inexorably in the Caraffas? Besides, naturally of an active and stirring temper, he wished to reign himself. He decided affairs of importance according to his own judgment, and was rather blamed for applying too little for assistance from others. To this may be added that the one among his relations whom he might have been tempted to promote, namely, Frederick Borromeo, died in early life. The other, Charles Borromeo, was no man to look for worldly aggrandizement; he had never accepted any. Charles Borromeo viewed the position he occupied with respect to the pope, and the connection into which it threw him with the most important concerns, no more as a right which entitled him to indulge himself in anything, but as a duty to which he had to devote himself with the utmost carefulness. This he did with equal discretion and constancy. He was indefatigable in giving audiences; he attended assiduously to the administration of the state, and he made himself of consequence to it by founding a college of eight doctors, out of which there was afterwards formed

the consulta. Then he assisted the pope. He is the same that was afterwards pronounced a saint. Even at this time he displayed a noble and irreproachable character. "In so far as people know," says Jerome Soranza in speaking of him, "he is without a stain; he lives so religiously and presents so good an example, as to leave nothing further to be desired by the best. It is greatly to his praise that in the bloom of life, the nephew of a pope, and in full possession of his favour, at a court, too, where he had every sort of gratification within his reach, he led so exemplary a life." It was his recreation to have learned men with him in the evening. They would begin to talk about profane literature, but from Epictetus and the Stoics, whom Borromeo, who was young as yet, did not disdain, the conversation, in those hours of ease, would soon pass to ecclesiastical subjects.[1] If any fault were found in him, it was not that he was wanting in good intentions, or in diligence, but some deficiency in point of talent; or his servants would complain that they had to forego the most valuable testimonies of favour, such as had been obtained from former nephews.

Thus did the peculiar qualities of the nephew compensate for what the stricter party might have missed in the uncle. At all events people went on in the course that they had commenced; spiritual and secular affairs were conducted zealously, and with an eye to the church's advantage; reforms were continued. The pope openly admonished the bishops to reside in their sees; and some were seen forthwith to kiss his feet and take their leave. There is a compulsory power in common ideas that have once gained the ascendancy. The serious tendencies of ecclesiastical opinion had gained this ascendancy in Rome, and would admit of no further deviation from them, even in the pope.

But now, if the worldly spirit of this pope was not unfavourable to the restoration of a strict spiritual system, we may venture to add, on the other hand, that it was sure to contribute even immensely towards the composing of the dissensions that had arisen in the Roman catholic world.

Paul IV. had imagined that it belonged to the vocation of a pope, to subjugate emperors and kings; and on this account he

[1] These were the Noctes Vaticanæ (Nights in the Vatican) mentioned by Glussianus: Vita Caroli Borromei, I. IV. 22.

rushed into so many wars and feuds. Pius IV. perceived these failings the more clearly, from his having had a predecessor to whom he felt himself opposed on other points. "We owe the loss of England," he would exclaim, "which we might have retained to this day, to the lack of support given to Cardinal Poole; thus have we lost Scotland also; the war enabled the German doctrines to find their way into France." He, on the other hand, wished for peace. He had no desire for war even with the Protestants. When an ambassador from Savoy came to confer with him about assistance in an attack on Geneva, he repeatedly interrupted him; "What times were these then to make such a proposal to him? he wanted nothing so much as peace."[1] He wished to be on good terms with every body. He was by no means chary of his ecclesiastical favours, and when he had to refuse anything, he did it with tact and discretion. He was convinced, and openly said so, that the power of the pope could no longer be maintained without the authority of princes.

The last period of Paul IV.'s life was marked by the fact that the whole Roman catholic world called anew for the assembling of a general council. It is certain that Pius IV. could not have evaded this demand without the greatest difficulty. No longer could he point to war, as his predecessors had done, as a pretext for refusing it, peace being at length re-established throughout Europe. Even his own interests urged it on him, for the French had threatened to assemble a national council which might easily lead to a schism. But in truth I find that besides this, he himself was cordially inclined to it. Let us hear how he speaks out his mind on the subject. "We wish to have a council," says he, "we wish it certainly, we wish it general. Had we no wish for it, we might put the world off for many years by alleging difficulties, but these we would much rather remove out of the way. It shall reform what there is to be reformed; even in our own person, and our own concerns. If we have any other object in view but to serve God, so may God

[1] Mula: 14 Feb. 1561. Pius had to inform him: "che havemo animo di stare in pace, e che non sapemo niente di questi pensieri del duca di Savoia; e ci maravigliamo che vada cercando queste cose: non è tempo da fare l'impresa di Ginevra nè da far generali. Scrivete che siamo constanti in questa opinione di star in pace." —[that we have a mind to remain at peace, and that we have nothing of these thoughts of the duke of Savoy; and here we marvel that he goes seeking these things: this is not the time to make the attempt on Geneva or any general attempt. Write that we are constant in this opinion of remaining at peace.]

chastise us." It often seemed to him that he was not sufficiently encouraged to proceed with so important a project, by support from the princes. The Venetian ambassador had a meeting with him one morning when confined to bed and lamed by an attack of gout; he found him engrossed with these reflections. "Our object is good," said he, "but we are alone." "I could not but compassionate him," says the ambassador, "on seeing him in bed and hearing him say, We are alone for so heavy a burthen." Meanwhile he put things in train. On the 18th of January, 1562, as many bishops and deputies were collected in Trent, as admitted of a third opening of the council, which had been broken up twice. The pope had the greatest share in this step. "Assuredly," says Girolamo Soranzo, though not in other respects of his party, "His Holiness has in this shown all the zeal that could be expected from so great a supreme pastor; he has omitted nothing that could assist so holy and so good a work."

THE LATER SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

How wholly altered was the state of the world since the first calling of this council. Now had the pope no more to dread a mighty emperor's taking advantage of it, in order to make himself lord of the popedom. Ferdinand I. had no sort of power in Italy. Neither was there room for anxiety on account of any serious error in essential points of doctrine.[1] Although not yet fully developed, the theology that had been established during the first sittings, had already become predominant over a great part of the Roman catholic world. Any proper re-union with the Protestants was no longer seriously to be thought of. In Germany they had assumed a powerful but no longer an aggressive position; in the north their ecclesiastical tendencies had been incorporated with the civil government itself; and even in England the same course of things had just come into operation. The pope's declaring that the new council was to be a continuation of the preceding, and his success at last in silencing the

[1] Such was Ferdinand I.'s view of the matter. Litteræ ad legatos 12 Aug. 1562, in Le Plat, Monum. ad hist. conc. Tridentini, V. p. 452. "Quid enim attinet, disquirere de his dogmatibus, de quibus apud omnes non solum principes verum etiam privatos homines catholicos nullo nunc penitus existit disceptatio?"—[Letter to the legates, 12 Aug. 1562, in Le Plat's Documents relating to the Hist. of the council of Trent, V. p. 452. For what purpose does it serve to enter on the discussion of those dogmas about which there is now absolutely no dispute, not only among princes, but even among private persons being (Roman) catholics?]

voices of those who opposed this, destroyed of itself all hope of reconciliation. How could the free Protestants give their adhesion to a council, by whose previous decrees the most important articles of their creed had already been anathematized?[1] This being the case, the proceedings of the council had their effects confined beforehand within the infinitely circumscribed circle of the Roman catholic nations. Its object was necessarily limited in the main to these three points,—to compose the dissensions that had arisen between those nations and the supreme ecclesiastical authority; to lay down the doctrines of the church on some as yet unsettled points; but, above all, to complete the internal reformation that had commenced, and to prescribe rules of discipline which should be carried into universal effect.

But even this was found extremely difficult; the most animated disputes very soon broke out among the assembled fathers.

The Spaniards mooted the question whether the residence of bishops in their dioceses, was of divine law, or merely a matter of human regulation. This might seem an idle controversy, since all were agreed that they were obliged to residence. But the Spaniards maintained in general that episcopal government was not an emanation from that of the pope, as people in Rome would have it, but that, in its origin, it rested immediately on divine arrangement. Here they struck the very nerve of the whole ecclesiastical system. The independence of the inferior ecclesiastical authorities, which were so sedulously kept under by the popes, would necessarily have been restored by means of the development of this principle.

While this controversy continued to be waged with great keenness, the imperial ambassadors made their appearance. The articles they presented are extremely remarkable. "The pope too," says one of them, "must humble himself after Christ's example, and allow a reform to take place as respects his person, his states, and his curia. The council must reform the appointment of cardinals as well as the conclave." Ferdinand used to

[1] The main ground of the letter of refusal sent by the Protestants. "Causæ cur electores principes aliique Augustanæ confessioni adjuncti status recusent adire concilium."—[The causes why the electoral princes and other orders adhering to the confession of Augsburg refuse to go to the council.] Le Plat, IV. p. 57. They likewise remark in the first proclamation the suspicious words: "omni suspensione sublata." They call to recollection the condemnation which their principles had previously met with, and state at great length "quæ mala sub ea confirmatione lateant."—[the evils that lay concealed under that confirmation.]

say: "Since the cardinals are not good, how shall they choose a good pope?" For the reform which he contemplated, he wished to see the plan of the council of Constance, which had never been carried into effect, laid down as the basis. The decrees should be prepared by committees deputed by the several nations. But, over and above this, he required the allowing of the cup (to the laity) and of marriage among priests, dispensation from fasting for some of his subjects, the erection of schools for the poor, the purgation of breviaries, legends and postilles,[1] more intelligible catechisms, church psalmody in German, a reformation of monastic establishments, and, in order to that, "their great wealth should therewithal be prevented from being so profligately spent."[2] These were indeed most important overtures, aiming as they did at a thorough revolution in the very essence of the church. The emperor, in repeated letters, urged their being discussed.

Finally there appeared the cardinal of Lorraine also, with the French prelates. He attached himself, on the whole, to the German overtures, and especially required the securing of the cup to the laity, the administration of the sacraments in the mother tongue, instruction and preaching at the mass, leave to sing in full congregation the psalms in French, all being things from which people there promised themselves the greatest results. "We have the certain assurance," says the king, "that the securing of the cup to the laity, will calm many now disquieted consciences, will unite to the (Roman) catholic church whole provinces which have now departed from it, and will be one of the best means of composing the troubles of our kingdom."[3] But, moreover, the French ambassador made an attempt again to bring forward the decrees of Basel; these openly maintained that a council is above the pope.

[1] Notes and explanations. Tr.

[2] Pallavicini almost quite passes over these demands, XVII. I. 6. They did not suit him. In fact they have never been known in their proper form. They lie before us in three excerpts. The first is to be found in P. Sarpi, book VI. p. 325, and quite to the same effect, only in Latin, in Rainaldi and Soldast. The second is in Bartholomæus de Martyribus, and is somewhat more extended. Schelhorn took the third from the papers of Staphylus. They do not very well accord with each other. The original, I should think, might be found in Vienna: it must ever be thought a most remarkable public document. I have adhered to Schelhorn's extract. Le Plat has it also, together with the answer.

[3] "Mémoire baillé à Mr. le C^l de Lorraine, quand il est parti pour aller au concil."—[Memoir delivered to the C^l of Lorraine when he set off for the council.] Le Plat, IV. 562.

Now, it is true, the Spaniards did not concur in the demands of the Germans and French; the giving of the cup to the laity, and the marriage of priests, they with the utmost warmth pronounced damnable, and, at the council at least, no concession in this respect could be obtained; all that was effected was that a dispensation might be applied for to the pope; but there were points on which these three nations united in opposing the pretensions of the Curia. They thought it not to be endured that the legates alone should have the right to introduce overtures. But that, in addition to this, these legates should with respect to every decree that was to be passed, first interpose the opinion of the pope, appeared to them to be a slur upon the dignity of the council. In this way, thought the emperor, there are properly two councils; the one at Trent, the other, and the true one, at Rome.

Had the voting, in this state of opinions, been by nations, what singularly remarkable decrees might have been expected! But as that was not the case, the three nations, even taken collectively, remained all along in the minority. They were far out-numbered by the Italians, and they, again, according to their usual custom, defended, without much consideration, the views of the Curia, on which they were in a great measure dependent. Hence great mutual exasperation. It became a standing jest with the French, that the Holy Ghost came to Trent in a portmanteau. The Italians spoke of Spanish leprosy and French diseases, with which the orthodox were infected one after another. When the bishop of Cadiz declared that there had been famous bishops, that there had been fathers of the church, whom no pope had ever appointed, the Italians loudly exclaimed against him; they demanded his removal; they even spoke of anathema and heresy. The Spanish retorted the charge of heresy.[1] At times sundry crowds would collect on the streets under the cry of Spain, Italy, and bloodshed was seen instead of peace.

Was it matter of surprise that ten months should be spent without a session being effected, and that the first legate dis-

[1] Pallavicini XV. V. 5. Paleotto Acta: "Alii prælati ingeminabant clamantes Exeat, exeat; et alii Anathema sit; ad quos Granatensis conversus respondit, Anathema vos estis."—[Some prelates groaned, calling, "Out with him, out with him:" and others said, "Let him be anathema;" to whom the bishop of Granada turning round replied, "Ye are anathema."] See Mendham, Memoirs of the Council of Trent. p. 251.

suaded the pope from coming to Bologna; for what would men say if even then the council should not come to any regular close, but have to be broken up?[1] Nevertheless a dissolution, a suspension, or even no more than a translation which had often been thought of, would have been extremely hazardous. At Rome, nothing but harm was expected. People thought that a council was by far too strong a medicine for the debilitated body of the church; that it would completely ruin both it and Italy. "Some days before my departure, at the commencement of the year 1563," says Girolamo Soranzo, "Cardinal Carpi, dean of the college, and a truly intelligent man, told me that in his last sickness he had prayed to God, to vouchsafe to him the favour of death, and to prevent him from witnessing the fall and burial of Rome. All the other cardinals that were looked up to, unceasingly lamented their untoward fate; they clearly perceived that there was no escape for them, if the holy hand of God did not specially intervene in their behalf."[2] Pius IV. dreaded lest he should come to be overwhelmed with all the calamities with which other popes had ever thought themselves threatened by a council.

It is a lofty idea that in troublous times, and when errors are rampant in the church, the grand remedy must be sought in a meeting of her chief pastors. "Without arrogance or envy, in holy humility and catholic peace," saith St. Augustine, "let such hold counsel together. After more extensive inquiry and information, let them open up what was closed and bring to light

[1] "Lettera del C^lo di Mantua, legato al concilio di Trento, scritta al papa Pio IV. li 15 Genn. 1563. Quando si havesse da dissolversi questo concilio, per causa d'altri e non nostra, mi piaceria più che V^ra Beatitudine fusse restata a Roma."—[Letter from the cardinal of Mantua, legate to the council of Trent, written to pope Pius IV. the 15th of January, 1563. If this council have to be dissolved on account of others, not on our account, I should be better pleased had your Beatitude remained at Rome.]

[2] "Li Cardinali di maggior autorità deploravano con tutti a tutte l'ore la loro miseria, la quale stimano tanto maggiore che vedono e conoscono assai chiaro, non esservi rimedio alcuno se non quello che piacesse dare al Sr Dio con la sua santissima mano! Certo non si può se non temere, adds Sorano himself, Ser^mo Principe, che la povera Italia, afflitta per altre cause, habbi ancor a sentire afflitione per questo particolarmente: lo vedono e lo conoscono tutti i savj."—[The cardinals of more authority deplored with all men at all times their misery, which they judged to be so much the greater, that they saw and knew clearly enough that there was no remedy for them, but such as the Lord God might be pleased to give with his most holy hand! Certainly they cannot but fear, adds Sorano himself, Most Serene Prince, that poor Italy, afflicted by other causes, may have still to suffer affliction by this particularly: all wise men see and know it.]

what was hidden." But even in the earliest ages, this fine idea was far from being practically realized. In order to that, there was required a purity of purpose, and an independence of foreign influences, which do not seem to have been granted to man. But how much less likely was it to be attained, now that the church was connected with the state in such innumerable and mutually conflicting relations. That the council, notwithstanding this, should continue to be regarded with the utmost respect, and come to be so often and so pressingly called for, must mainly be ascribed to the felt necessity of laying a restraint on the power of the popes. Now, however, what these had always said, seemed to prove true; that the meeting of a general council of the church in times of great confusion, was fitted rather to aggravate the evil than to remove it. All the Italians shared in the alarms of the curia. "Either," said they, "the council will be continued, or it will be dissolved. In the former event, and especially should the pope in the mean time be removed by death, the ultramontanists will regulate the conclave according to their views, to the prejudice of Italy; they would fain so limit the pope's prerogatives that nothing more should be left him than his being simple bishop of Rome; under the title of a reform, they will ruin the offices (connected with the church) and the whole curia. On the other hand, should the council be dissolved without any good result, even the faithful will be much scandalized, and the doubting, who are now in a very dangerous position, will be utterly lost."

If we consider the state of things, it must appear impossible to have excited any change of the predominant tone in the council itself. The legates who were directed by the pope, and the Italians who were dependent on him, were confronted by the prelates of the other nations who again, on their side, held by the ambassadors of the princes whose subjects they were. No reconciliation, no compromise of differences, could be thought of. Already, in February 1563, matters seemed still to be in a desperate condition; there was nothing but vehement contention; each party held obstinately by its opinions.

But if once we fix our eyes on the state of things, precisely as it stood, we shall discover a possibility of finding an escape from this labyrinth. In Trent the opposing opinions only met and

conflicted with each other; they originated in Rome and with the different monarchs. If the dissensions were to be removed, it was necessary that they should be traced to their sources. If Pius IV. had already said on another occasion, that the popedom could no more sustain itself without a union with the monarchs of Christendom, now was the moment for carrying this maxim into effect. He had thoughts at one time of giving admission to the demands of the courts, and of complying with these, without the intervention of the council. But this would have been but a half measure. The problem was how to come to a common understanding with the other powers in bringing the council to a close; no other resource presented itself. Pius IV. resolved to make the attempt, and in this he was aided by Morone, who as a politician was the ablest of all his cardinals.

It depended, first of all, on the emperor Ferdinand, to whom the French, as we have said, had attached themselves, and to whom as being his uncle, Philip II. too, paid no small respect.

Morone, shortly before named president of the council, but forthwith convinced that nothing could be effected in Trent, repaired in April, 1563, without being accompanied by a single other prelate, to Inspruck, to meet the emperor. He found him depressed in spirits, dissatisfied, and in bad health; convinced that there was no sincere desire felt at Rome for ameliorations, and determined first of all to achieve its freedom for the council.[1]

An extraordinary, in our times it would be said, a diplomatic, fitness was required in the legate, in order to his merely first putting the irritated prince in good humour.[2]

Ferdinand was out of temper in consequence of his reformation scheme having been slighted, and never so much as once really submitted to deliberation. The legate contrived to convince him, that, on not altogether objectionable grounds, it had

[1] Bearing upon this also is the "Relatione in scr. fatta dal Comendone ai S^ri legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dall'imperatore 19 Feb. 1563. Pare que persino trovar modo e forma di haver più parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giuntamente con li Francesi."—[Account in writing by Comendone to the lords legates of the council, on the matters represented by the emperor 19th Feb. 1563. It appears that they think to find a mode and form of having a larger share and more authority in the present council by referring all their petitions in it conjunctly with the French.]

[2] The most important piece that I have met with on the subject of the Tridentine negotiations is Morone's report on his legation: it is short but substantial. Neither Sarpi nor Pallavicini has noticed it. "Relatione Sommaria del C^l Morone sopra la legatione sua." Bibl. Altieri in Rom. VII. F. 3.

been thought hazardous to submit it to formal deliberation, but not the less on that account had they taken up, and even already come to a conclusion, on the most important part of its tenor. The emperor further complained that the council was controlled by directions from Rome, and that the legates were governed by the instructions they received; on which Morone observed in reply, what could not be denied, that the ambassadors from the sovereigns also, had instructions from their respective courts, and were continually provided with new directions how to act.

In point of fact, Morone, who moreover had ere now long enjoyed the confidence of the house of Austria, came off successfully from treating these delicate points. He quieted the unfavourable personal impressions that the emperor had received, and now simply applied himself to the discovery of some compromise for the settlement of those controverted points that had arisen out of the grievous distractions at Trent. He had no thoughts of giving way in essentials, or of allowing the authority of the pope to be weakened. "All depended," he himself says, "on hitting upon such determinations as should lead the emperor to believe that he had received satisfaction, yet without allowing the authority of the pope, or that of the legates, to be too much encroached upon."[1]

The first of these points was the exclusive initiative of the legates, of which it had always been maintained that it ran counter to the liberties of a council. Morone remarked that it was not for the interest of sovereigns that all prelates should have the initiative secured to them; and he must have found little difficulty in convincing the emperor of this. It was easy to see that bishops, if once possessed of this right, would very soon bring forward propositions of a kind that would contravene pretensions and privileges hitherto accorded to the state. The confusion that would follow from such a concession, was evident. Nevertheless there was every desire so far to meet the wishes of the sovereigns; and the expedient that was hit upon calls for notice. Morone engaged to bring every thing forward for discussion that the ambassadors should lay before him to that effect; if he did not do so, he should then concede to them the right of propound-

[1] "Fu necessario trovare temperamento tale che paresse all'imperatore di essere in alcuno modo satisfatto et insieme non si pregiudicasse all'autorità del papa nè de' legati, ma restasse il concilio nel suo possesso."—[See the text.]

ing the matter themselves. This compromise showed the spirit that had gradually begun to prevail in the council. The legates conceded a case in which they were to renounce the exclusive initiative, but not so much in favour of the fathers composing the council, as in favour of the ambassadors.[1] Hence it followed that none but princes were allowed to participate in the rights which the pope in other respects preserved for himself.

A second point was the demand that the committees that prepared the decrees, should be allowed to meet for discussion, according to the various nations which they represented. Morone remarked that this had always been so already, but that in compliance with the wishes of the emperor there should now be stricter regulations to that effect.

Next came the third point in dispute; reform. Ferdinand conceded at last that the expression, a reformation of the head, and the old Sorbonian question also, whether a council stood above the pope or not, should be avoided; but in return Morone engaged that there should be a thorough reform in all other matters. The draft that was made to this effect, bore even upon the conclave.

This main affair having been despatched, they soon came to agree about matters of inferior moment. The emperor departed from many of his demands, and charged his ambassadors above all things sincerely to maintain a good understanding with the papal legates. After having succeeded in putting things in a proper course, Morone retraced his steps across the Alps. "When people in Trent," he himself says, "heard of the emperor's good resolution, and perceived the coalition of his ambassadors with those of the pope, the council began to alter its manners, and to become much more manageable." Towards this result some other circumstances co-operated.

The Spaniards and the French had quarrelled about the right

[1] "Summarium eorum quæ dicuntur acta inter Cæsaream Majestatem et illustrissimum Cardinalem Moronum,"—[Summary of the matters said to have been transacted between the imperial Majesty and the most illustrious Cardinal Morone,] in the Acts of Torellus, also in Salig's Geschichte des tridentinischen Conciliums III. 292, thus expresses this: "Maj. S. sibi reservavit vel per medium dictorum legatorum, vel si ipsi in hoc gravarentur, per se ipsum vel per ministros suos proponi curare."—[His Majesty hath reserved to himself, to see to matters being proposed, either through the medium of the said legates, or if they should think themselves aggrieved in this, by himself or his ministers.] I own that I should not have readily concluded from this, that there was any negotiation as Morone informs us, although it forms part of it.

of precedence in the representatives of their kings, and had ever since been much less in each other's company.

Special negotiations had likewise been entered upon with each of them apart.

For Philip II. there was involved, in the nature of the case, the most pressing necessity for a good understanding. His power in Spain was mostly founded on ecclesiastical interests, and it behoved him above all things to look well to his retaining these in his own hands. Well was the Romish court aware of this, and the Madrid nuncio often said that a peaceable conclusion to the council was as much to be wished for by the king as by the pope. Already had the Spanish prelates remonstrated at Trent against the taxes levied on ecclesiastical property, which formed an important part of the public revenues of Spain; the king had heard of this movement with anxiety, and implored the pope to forbid such offensive discussions.[1] How could he, after that, ever think of granting to his prelates the right of propositions to be discussed by a council? He was far more solicitous to keep them within limits. Pius complained of the vehement opposition that had unceasingly been shown to him by the Spaniards, in answer to which the king promised to take effectual measures for removing this refractory spirit on their part. Enough, pope and king became aware that their interests coincided. Yet other negotiations must have found a place in the general treaty. The pope threw himself entirely into the arms of the king, and the king gave his solemn assurance to the pope that he might count on his supporting him with the whole force of his kingdom, on every pressing emergency.

The French meanwhile were making their approaches on the other side. The Guises, who exercised so much influence both on the government at home and here too in the council, gave at all times a decidedly Roman catholic direction to their policy in both quarters. People were indebted to nothing but Cardinal Guise's pliability for a session being again effected at last, after a delay of ten months and eight prorogations. But over and above this, a union of the strictest kind was brought into discussion. Guise proposed that there should be a convention of the most powerful Roman catholic princes, the pope, the emperor, and the

[1] Paolo Tiepolo, Dispaccio di Spagna, 4 Dec. 1562.

kings of France and Spain.[1] In order that he might communicate more closely he went to Rome, and there the pope could not find words enough to praise "the christian zeal of Guise for the service of God and the public peace, not only in the concerns of the council, but in other matters also affecting the general weal."[2] The proposed conference was thought very desirable by the pope, who sent ambassadors accordingly to the emperor and the king.

After this it was no longer at Trent, but at the several courts, and by means of political negotiations, that the then existing dissensions were composed, and the more important obstacles to a felicitous closing of the council taken out of the way. Morone, who contributed most to that result, found methods in the meantime of personally gaining over the prelates, gratifying them with the full measure of acknowledgment, praise, and favour that they longed for.[3] He fully showed for once what an able and skilful person, who comprehends the state of things, and proposes to himself an end that is commensurate with what they require, can accomplish, even under circumstances the most difficult; and if the Roman catholic church be indebted to any man for the happy issue to which the council was brought, that obligation it owes to him.

The way was now made smooth. As he himself says, the members could now enter upon the consideration of the difficulties which the case involved.

The old controversy was still mooted about the necessity of residence and the divine right of bishops. The Spaniards long showed that they were determined to abide by their dogmas on these points; so late as July 1563, they declared these to be no

[1] Instruttione data a Mons. Carlo Visconti mandato da papa Pio IV. al re catt. per le cose del concilio di Trento (ultimo Ottobre 1563). Bibl. Barb. 3007.

[2] Il beneficio universale. Lett. di Pio IV. 20 Ott. 1563.

[3] "I prelati," says Morone himself, "accarezzati e stimati, e lodati e gratiati, si fecero più trattabili."—[The prelates, says Morone himself, being caressed, and flattered with expressions of esteem, and praised, and loaded with kindness, made themselves more tractable.] Martin Perez de Ayala, who kept up his opposition to the last, was quite angry at the general declension. "Todo lo havia ya vencido el cardenal de Moron con sus artes ansi al C^l de Porena como al arzobispo de Granada como otros siete o ocho que al principio estubieron bien en las cosas del bien comun."—[The Cardinal Morone ultimately overcame everything by his arts; by this means he gained over the Cardinal Porena, the archbishop of Granada, and seven or eight others, who at the beginning stood well for the things that were to be for the general good.

He calls Morone "hombre doblado,"—[a double man,] and supposes that he wanted to flatter him too. (From his biography in the *Vida de Villanueva.*)

less infallible than the ten commandments; the archbishop of Granada wanted to see all books forbidden that maintained the reverse;[1] nevertheless, when the decree came to be reduced to writing, they were content to allow their sentiments to remain unexpressed, a minute however being taken by which they were to be allowed to continue to defend their views. Lainez directly gave his meed of praise to this double meaning in the decree.[2]

A like method was adopted in the case of the other controversy about the initiative, the *proponentibus legatis*. The pope declared that each should be allowed to ask and to say, whatever it was competent for him to ask and to say, according to the old councils, yet he guarded himself carefully from using the word "propose."[3] An expedient was fallen upon which contented the Spaniards without involving the smallest concession on the part of the pope.

After the removal of the drawback occasioned by the political tendencies of the age, endeavours were made not so much to determine, as to set aside, by means of a skilful mediation, the questions that had given occasion for bitter and angry feelings.

Having agreed thus far, it was found so much the easier to proceed with the less doubtful points. Never did the council go on with greater despatch. The important dogmas respecting ordination to the priesthood, the sacrament of marriage, the indulgence, purgatory, the worship of the saints, and by far the most important reforming arrangements which it collectively drew up, occupied the three last sessions, in the latter half of the year 1563. On the one side as well as on the other, the congregations were formed of various nations. The project of reform was made the subject of deliberation in five special assemblies; one French, which met in the house of Cardinal Guise;

[1] "Scrittura nelle lettere e memorie del nuncio Visconti, II. 174."—[Writing in the letters and memoirs of the nuntio Visconti, II. 174.]

[2] "Ejus verba in utramque partem pie satis posse exponi."—[That its words may be set forth with sufficient piety in regard to both (doctrines.) See Paleotto in Mendham's Memoirs of the council of Trent, p. 262. The maxim was proposed: "episcopos esse a Christo institutos,"—[that bishops have been instituted by Christ.] It was finally resolved: "esse hierarchiam divina ordinatione institutam, quæ constat ex episcopis, presbyteris et ministris,"—[that the hierarchy was instituted by divine ordination, and consists of bishops, presbyters, and ministers.] It was in vain that some proposed *ordinatione peculiari*, others *institutione*. The bishop Mendoza of Salamanca ascribes the favourable result to the able *(cuerdo)* conduct of Cardinal Morone. Villanueva, II. p. 427.

[3] Pallavicini, 23, 6, 5.

another Spanish, in that of the archbishop of Granada, and three Italian.[1]

Not much difficulty was found in coming to a common understanding on most of the questions; only two special difficulties presented themselves—the questions respecting the exemption of the chapters and plurality of benefices, in which again private interests played an important part.

The former of these chiefly affected Spain. There the chapters had already lost some of the extraordinary privileges which they formerly enjoyed; and while they wished to have this loss restored, the king entertained the idea of imposing much greater limitations upon them; for, as he had the appointment to the bishoprics, he was himself interested in the extension of episcopal power. The pope, on the contrary, was in favour of the chapters, inasmuch as their absolute subjection to the bishops would have not a little curtailed his influence over the Spanish church. Once more those two powerful influences came into direct conflict. In fact the question was, which was to have the majority. The king was uncommonly strong in the council; his ambassador had contrived to remove a deputy who had been sent up by the chapters for the purpose of attending to their interests; and he had so many spiritual favours to bestow, that every one hesitated to ruin his prospects in that quarter. The result of the voting by voices was unfavourable for the chapters, and now let the reader mark the expedient fallen upon by the papal legates for obviating this. They resolved that the votes should in this instance be ordered to be given in writing; but it was only the votes by voice, given in the presence of so many of the king's followers, that were influenced by a regard to Spain, not the written votes which were delivered into the hands of the legates. In this manner they actually obtained a considerable majority in favour of the papal view and of the chapters. Thus reinforced, they proceeded, under Guise's mediation, to open new negotiations with the Spanish prelates, who at last contented themselves with a much slighter extension of their rights than they had contemplated.[2]

[1] The best notices on this subject are to be found where one would not think of looking for them, in Baini Vita di Palestrina, I. 199, from authentic papers. The subject is touched upon likewise in the Diarium of Servantio, which Mendham has made use of (p. 304).

[2] Sarpi, VIII. 816, is still not clear in what he says on this subject. The authen-

Of still greater consequence for the curia, was the second article, concerning the plurality of benefices. A reform in the order of cardinals had long been spoken of, and many thought they could perceive in the degeneracy of that order, the source of all that was wrong. They often engrossed, without scruple, a multiplicity of benefices; in this, then, it was proposed that they should be circumscribed by the severest laws. It will readily be seen how sensitive the curia was sure to be to every innovation of the kind; it already dreaded and shunned even a serious deliberation on the subject. The expedient fallen upon by Morone, was in this case also highly characteristic. He slumped[1] the reform of the cardinals with the articles respecting the bishops. "Few," he says himself, "clearly apprehend the importance of the matter, and in this way all dangerous rocks were avoided."

While the pope in this manner succeeded in preserving for his court the form it had hitherto maintained, he showed his readiness at the same time to pass from the reform that had been contemplated with respect to monarchs, yielding herein to the representations of the emperor.[2]

All now went on fundamentally as at a friendly conference. While questions of subordinate interest were preparing, in the hands of divines, for general decrees, the courts negotiated about such as were of more importance. Couriers were constantly hurrying to and fro. One concession was compensated with another.

What chiefly concerned the pope now, was to have the coun-

tic explanation of Morone is very much what was to be desired. "L'articolo delle cause e dell'essenzioni de' canonici fu vinto secondo la domanda degli oltramontani: poi facendosi contra l'uso che li padri tutti dessero voti in iscritto, furono mutate molte sententie e fu vinto il contrario. Si venne al fin alla concordia che si vede nei decreti, e fu mezzano Lorena, che gia era tornato da Roma, tutto additto al servitio di S. Beatitudine et alla fine del concilio."—[The article of the rights and essential character of the chapters was lost, according to the demand of the ultramontanists: then causing, contrary to custom, that all the fathers should give their votes in writing; many opinions were changed, and the contrary was lost. At last all came to the concord that is seen in the decrees, and the person who mediated between the parties was Lorraine, (i. e. Cardinal Guise) who had just returned from Rome, entirely devoted to the service of his Beatitude, and to the object of bringing the council to a close.]

[1] Threw together. Tr.

[2] There was an intimate connection between the fact of no strict reform being effected in the curia, the cardinals, and the conclave, and the abandonment of the reform of the princes. See extracts from the correspondence of the legates in Pallavicini, 23, 7, 4.

cil speedily closed. To this the Spaniards for a time still refused to consent, not being yet satisfied with the reforms that had been effected: the Spanish ambassador even made a show of protesting. But on the pope declaring his willingness to call a new synod, in the event of any pressing emergency;[1] as it was thought above all things hazardous to risk a vacancy in the papal see while the council was open; finally, as every one was tired, and all longed to return home, they also yielded at last.

The spirit of opposition was effectually overcome. Even in the last periods of its existence the council showed the utmost subserviency. It condescended so far as to ask the pope to give his sanction to its decrees; it expressly declared that all reformation-decrees, whatever their expressions might seem to imply, were drawn up on the previous understanding that the respect due to the papal see should remain unaffected thereby.[2] In this how far were the men who met at Trent, from renewing the claims made at Constance and Basel, to a superiority over the papal authority! Further, in the resolutions carried by acclamation with which the sittings were closed, drawn up by Cardinal Guise, the universal episcopate of the pope was specially acknowledged.

Accordingly, all ended at last in a prosperous issue. That council which had been so vehemently called for and so long avoided; after being twice dissolved, shaken by so many of this world's storms, and when convened for the third time, anew beset with peril, was now closed amid the general concord of the Roman catholic world. This was seen in the emotion and joy wherewith the prelates were affected at their last meeting, which was on the 4th of December, 1563. Those even who had on other occasions been mutual opponents, now congratulated each other; even tears were seen starting from the eyes of these old men.

But after having obtained this result, by means of so much suppleness and political shrewdness as we have remarked, the question occurs, whether the council must not necessarily have lost again thereby in point of influence.

If we cannot regard the Tridentine council as the most im-

[1] Pallavicini, 24, 8, 5.

[2] Sessio XXV. c. 21.

portant that has ever met, at all events it is the most important that has met in modern times.

Its importance is comprised in two grand principles.

By the one, which we have before touched upon, during the Smalkaldic war, dogmatic theology, after divers fluctuations, separated itself for ever from Protestant views. The doctrine of justification, as then established, gave rise to the entire system of Roman catholic dogmatics, as maintained down to the present day.

By the latter, which we considered last, after Morone's conferences with the emperor, in the summer and autumn of the year 1563, the hierarchy became founded anew, theoretically by the decrees respecting ordination to the priesthood, practically by the resolutions on the subject of reform.

These reforms are, and will ever continue to be, of the utmost importance.

The faithful were again subjected to an intolerant church discipline, and, in urgent cases, to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded, and in these care was taken to bring up young ecclesiastics in strict discipline and piety. Parochial benefices were placed under new regulations; the administration of the sacraments and preaching were brought into rigid order; the co-operation of the conventual clergy was regulated by certain fixed laws. The bishops had inculcated on them the duties of their office, and particularly the superintendence of the clergy, according to the various grades of their consecration. It was of the utmost consequence that the bishops, by a special confession of faith, which they subscribed and swore to, solemnly bound themselves to the observance of the Tridentine decrees, and to yield subjection towards the pope.

Only, the restriction of the pope's power, an object which the assembly of the church certainly had at first in view, was not attained by it. Far from that, his power came forth from the struggle even more extensive and more secure than ever. As the pope held the exclusive right of interpreting the Tridentine decisions, it ever remains with him to prescribe the rules of faith and manners. All the threads of the restored discipline converged together in Rome.

The Roman catholic church acknowledged its limitation; it

no longer paid any sort of regard to the Greeks and the East; Protestantism it spurned from it with countless anathemas. In the Roman catholicism of earlier times there was comprised an element of Protestantism; that was now cast out for ever. But while limitations were thus submitted to, measures were taken to concentrate the church's resources, and to gather up all its energies.

Such progress, as we have remarked, could only have been made by means of a community of sentiment and action with the leading Roman catholic powers. In this union with the monarchies, there lies one of the most important conditions for the whole subsequent development. It presents an analogy with the tendency in Protestantism, to combine monarchical with episcopal rights. It first gradually acquired a shape among the Roman catholics. There was a conviction, indeed, that herein likewise there lay the possibility of new dissensions; but there was no immediate reason to apprehend such a result. Already in one province after another, the decrees of the council were readily received. Were it for nothing else, Pius IV. is an important person in the history of the world, for having accomplished this; he was the first pope that knowingly surrendered the tendency of the hierarchy to place itself in opposition to monarchical government.

With the result he now certainly believed that the work for which he had to live was accomplished. It is remarkable that with the termination of the council the tension of his soul became relaxed. People thought they could observe that he neglected religion, ate and drank all too eagerly, and took an excessive delight in the splendour of his court, in sumptuous festivities, and in costly buildings. The more zealous perceived a difference betwixt him and his predecessor, which they loudly lamented.[1]

[1] Paolo Tiepolo. "Doppo che questo (il concilio) hebbe fine, liberato da una grande sollecitudine fattosi fermo e gagliardo nell'autorità sua, incominciò più liberamente ad operare conforme alla sua inclinatione e pensieri: onde facilmente si conobbe in lui animo più tosto da principe che attendesse solamente al fatto suo, che di pontefice che avesse rispetto al beneficio e salute degli altri."—[After it (the council) had come to a close, being now freed from a cause of much anxiety, and having made himself firm and strong in his authority, he began to act more freely according to his natural inclination and thoughts; whence there was easily to be perceived in him a mind more like that of a prince who looks only to his own affairs, than of a pontiff who has respect to the good and salvation of others.] The same remark is found in Panvinius.

From this change in the pope, however, no particular re-action was now any more to be looked for. A tendency had developed itself in Roman catholicism, which could no longer be repressed or restrained.

When the mind is once excited, it becomes impossible to prescribe to it what paths it should follow. Every, even the most trifling deviation from its standard, on the part of those who should represent it, will call forth the most striking symptoms.

The spirit that developed itself in the strict Roman catholic party, instantly became dangerous even to this pope himself.

There was now living in Rome a certain Benedict Accolti, a bigoted Roman catholic who was always talking about a secret that had been entrusted to him by God; he was to reveal it, and in proof of the truth of his assertions, was to pass in the presence of the assembled multitude at the Piazza Ravona, unharmed through a blazing pile.

His secret consisted in fancying that he knew beforehand, that a union was shortly to take place between the Greek and Roman church; that these united churches would again subject Turks and all apostates to their sway; that the pope would be a holy man, would attain to universal monarchy, and introduce the only perfect righteousness on earth. With these fancies he was possessed even to fanaticism.

He found, however, that Pius IV., whose worldly walk and conversation were infinitely removed from his ideal perfection, was not fitted for so grand an undertaking. Benedict Accolti conceived that he had a call from God to deliver Christendom from this useless chief.

Having formed the project of putting the pope to death, he found an associate, to whom he gave assurances of rewards from God and the future holy monarch. One day they set out to accomplish their purpose. Soon they saw the pope approach in the midst of a procession, an easy mark, unconscious of danger, without suspicion and without defence.

Accolti, instead of rushing upon him, began to shake all over and changed colour. The train about a pope had something in it that could not fail powerfully to impress so fanatical a Roman catholic. The pope passed on unhurt.

Meanwhile others had marked Accolti. The companion

whom he had gained over, and whose name was Anthony Canossa, was a person of no firm decision of purpose; at one time he persuaded himself that he would do the deed some other time, at another he felt himself tempted to make it known. They did not keep it altogether secret, and at length they were arrested and condemned to death.[1]

We see what spirits bestir themselves when society is agitated. Much as Pius IV. had done for the reconstruction of the church, there were men whom this was far from satisfying, and who still cherished very different projects. Pius IV. died on the 9th of December, 1565.

PIUS V.

THE adherents of the strict tone of sentiment however had, immediately after this, an unexpected and great success. A pope was chosen whom they could perfectly count upon as one of themselves. This was Pius V.

I will not here repeat the more or less doubtful reports which the book upon the Conclaves and some historians of that time have related respecting this election. We have a letter of Charles Borromeo's, which gives us sufficient light on the subject. "I was resolved," he there says, and it is certain that he had the greatest influence on the election, "to see to nothing so much as the interests of religion and the faith. As the piety, blameless life, and holy temper of the Cardinal of Alexandria, afterwards Pius V. were known to me, I conceived that the Christian republic would be administered by him for the best, and devoted my utmost endeavours in his favour."[2] No other object could besides be expected to influence a man of so thoroughly spiritual a temper of mind as Charles Borromeo. Philip II., who was gained over by his ambassador to support the said cardinal, expressly thanked Borromeo for the part he took in this election.[3] It was just such a man that was supposed to be

[1] I have borrowed these notices, which I have found nowhere else, from a MS. in the Corsini Library at Rome, No. 674, under the title, Antonio Canossa. "Questo è il sommario della mia depositione per la qual causa io moro, quale si degnerà V. S. mandare alli miei s^ri padre e madre."—[This is the summary of my deposition in the cause on account of which I die, which your Holiness will vouchsafe to transmit to my father and mother.]

[2] C^lis Borromeus Henrico C^li Infanti Portugalliæ Romæ d. 26 Feb. 1566. Giussiani Vita C. Borromei p. 62. Compare Ripamonti Historia urbis Mediolani lib XII. p. 814.

[3] I find this in a Dispaccio di Soranzo amb^re in Spagna. "Non essendo conos-

needed. The adherents of Paul IV., who had hitherto kept always quiet, congratulated themselves. Some of their letters are still extant. "To Rome, to Rome," writes one of them, "come confidently and without delay, yet with all becoming modesty. God has again raised up for us Paul IV.

Michael Ghislieri—who now became Pius V.—of mean descent, was born in 1504 at Bosco, not far from Alexandria, and entered a Dominican monastery when only fourteen. There he devoted himself, soul and body, to the monkish poverty and piety which his order required. Out of his alms he did not keep so much for himself as was required for having a mantle made for him. To secure himself against the ill effects of the summer heats, he found nothing so effectual as taking little food, and although confessor to a governor of Milan, he never travelled except on foot, with his sack on his back. When he taught it was always with precision and heartily. If he had the concerns of a monastery to administer as prior, he was strict and frugal; more than one he freed from debt. His character was formed during those years in which, even in Italy, the hitherto prevailing doctrines conflicted with the Protestant movements. He sided with the strict party professing the old opinions; out of thirty controverted points which he defended in 1543, at Parma, the greater number turned on the authority of the Roman pope, and were opposed to the new opinions. Ere long he was charged with the functions of an inquisitor, and these he had to discharge in places where he was exposed to peculiar danger; in Como and Bergamo,[1]

ciute le qualità di S. S^a da questo Ser^mo re, mentre era in cardinalato, il detto commendator (Luigi Requesens Comm. maggior) sempre lo laudò molto, predicando questo soggetto esser degno del pontificato, con il che S. M. si mosse a dargli ordine che con ogni suo potere li desse favore.—[The qualities of his Holiness not having been known to this most Serene king, while he was in his cardinalship, the said Commendator (Lewis Requesens the greater Comm.) always praised him much, boasting that this subject was worthy of the pontificate, so that His Majesty might persuade himself to give them directions to favour him to the utmost of their power.] With this the story related by Oltrocchi in his annotations to Giussiano, p. 219, falls to the ground. The election took place on the 8th of January, 1566.

[1] Paolo Tiepolo: Relazione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV. et V. "In Bergamo li fu levato per forza dalle prigioni del monastero di S. Domenico, dove allora si solevano mettere i rei, un principale heretico, nominato Giorgio Mondaga (a name still applied to Italian Protestants), con gran pericolo suo e de' frati. Nella medesima città poi travagliò assai per formare il processo contra il vescovo allora di Bergamo."—[In Bergamo he removed by force from the prison of the monastery of St. Dominick, where accused persons used then to be placed, a leading heretic, called George Mondaga (a name still applied to Italian Protestants), at great per-

where commerce with the Swiss and Germans could not be avoided; in the Valtellon, which formed part of the Grisons. In this he displayed the stubborn and resolute spirit of a zealot. He was occasionally greeted as he entered Como with a shower of stones, and often, to save his life, had to hide himself in some peasant's hut, like an outlaw seeking to escape from justice. Yet he maintained his presence of mind in the midst of danger. When the count della Trinita threatened to toss him into a well, he replied that God's will would be done. He was entangled, however, in the strife of spiritual and political powers then agitating Italy. As the tendency to which he attached himself triumphed in that struggle, he rose with the ascendancy which it gained. He became commissary of the Inquisition at Rome; soon Paul IV. spoke of Friar Michael "as an eminent servant of God and much to be honoured;" he made him bishop of Nepi, for he wanted to put a chain to his foot, that he might no more have it in his power to return to the quiet life of a monastery,[1] and in 1557 he made him a cardinal. In this new dignity Ghislieri continued as before, severe in his manner of life, poor and unpretending. He told his household that they must consider themselves as living in a monastery. He now devoted himself wholly to his religious exercises and to the Inquisition.

In a man of this temper, Borromeo, Philip II., in short, the whole strict party, thought they saw the salvation of the church. The citizens of Rome possibly were not quite so well pleased. Pius V. being informed of this, remarked, "the more will they lament for me when I am dead."

Even when pope, he retained all the severity of his monastic life; he observed the church's fasts to their full extent most assiduously; he would not allow himself clothes of fine materials,[2]

sonal risk to himself and the friars. In that same city he laboured much to bring a process against the then bishop of Bergamo.]

The above note certainly gives the Protestant reader an extraordinary idea of "the piety, blameless life, and holy temper," ascribed by Charles Borromeo to Michael Ghislieri. He seems to have been no more a Christian than Saul of Tarsus was previous to his conversion, and no doubt resembled that zealous persecutor of the Lord Jesus in his poor members, by a pharisaical strictness in what was held to be sanctity of life in a corrupt church. Tr.

[1] This too is to be found in *Catena, Vita di Pio V.*, from which we have taken most of the notices here. Pius V. told it himself to the Venetian ambassador, as the latter, Mich. Suriano to Paul Tiepolo, 2 October 1568, relates.

[2] Catena. Tiepolo: "Nè mai ha lasciato la camisia di rassa che come frate incominciò di portare. Fa le orationi divotissimamente et alcune volte colle lacrime."

he often read, and daily heard mass. Still he took care that his spiritual exercises should not hinder his attending to public business; he rose very early, and allowed himself no siesta. Should any one doubt how far this spiritual earnestness had any deep foundation, he may find a proof in the fact that Pius thought the popedom not propitious to his piety; that it contributed nothing to the salvation of his soul, or to his obtaining the glory of paradise;[1] he deemed that he should find the burden intolerable without prayer. The joys of a fervid devotion, the only joys of which he was capable, a devotion which often[2] moved him to tears, and from which he arose with the conviction that his prayers had been heard,[3] remained with him to the end of his life. The people were in ecstasy when they saw him in the processions, barefoot and uncovered, his countenance glowing with the pure expression of an undissembled piety, with a long snow-white beard; they thought that never had there been so pious a pope; they told one another how his very look had converted Protestants. Pius, too, was kind and affable; his intercourse with his old servants was of the most confidential kind. How beautifully he received that same count della Trinita, who happened to be sent as an ambassador to him. "See now," said he on recognising him, "thus doth God help the innocent:" this was all the notice he ever took of it to him. He had an established character for benevolence, and kept a list of necessitous persons in Rome whom he caused to be regularly supported according to their rank.

Meek, resigned, childlike, are natures of this sort; but if once they be roused into passion and offended, they run into vehement indignation and inexorable wrath. What they think right

—[He never left off wearing the coarse shirt which he first commenced wearing as a a monk. He said his prayers most devoutly, and sometimes with tears.]

1 The reader must be careful to distinguish the sense of the word "spiritual," as used here, from that attached to it in the holy Scriptures. From his first persecutions of Christ's faithful followers in the valleys of the Alps, to his last commands to the Romanists of France utterly to destroy the Reformed of that kingdom, Pius V. must ever be regarded as one of the most fearful representatives and agents of antichrist. The proof Professor Ranke alleges of his spirituality, is nothing to the purpose. No doubt he found that the secular business on which the popedom involved him, necessarily interrupted the ascetic exercises in which he trusted for his salvation, but a Turkish or Hindoo fanatic might have made the same complaint in like circumstances. Tr.

2 The authority quoted gives only *alcune volte*, "sometimes," whence we may presume that the whole picture is overcharged. Tr.

3 Where the authority for this? Tr.

they regard as a duty, a duty of the highest kind, the non-fulfilment of which excites and inflames them.

Pius V. felt conscious that he at all times pursued the straight path; and his having been conducted thereby to the popedom, filled him with a self-confidence that raised him quite above any regard for consequences.

He was extremely obstinate in maintaining his opinions. There was no getting him to retract these, even for the strongest reasons. He was easily irritated by opposition to his views; his face would redden, and he used the very strongest expressions.[1] As he understood little about the world's affairs and those of the state, and rather allowed himself to be affected one way or other by irrelevant circumstances, it was extremely difficult to transact business with him.

In personal respects, it is true, he did not always allow his mind to be determined by the first impression; but if he once conceived any one to be good or bad, nothing after that could ever disturb the conclusion he had formed.[2] In all cases, however, he believed rather that people grew worse than better; he suspected most men.

It was remarked that he never mitigated the sentence passed on a criminal; generally speaking, he would rather it were more severe.

It was not enough for him that the Inquisition should punish new transgressions; he gave orders for inquiry into old offences, of ten or twenty years' standing.

[1] "Informatione di Pio V. (Bibl. Ambrosiana, at Milan, F. D. 181.) La Sª S. naturalmente è giovale e piacevole, se ben per accidente pare di altra dispositione, e di qui viene che volontieri onestamente ragiona con Mr. Cirillo suo maestro di casa, il quale con le sue piacevolezze essendo huomo destro et accorto diletta S. Beatitudine e sempre profitta a se stesso et altri."—[His Holiness is naturally of a jovial and merry temper, although perchance he appears of a different disposition, and hence he willingly enters into familiar talk with his house steward Mr. Cirillo, who being a dexterous and shrewd man, delights his Beatitude with his pleasant manners, and always attends to his own advantage and that of others.]

We may regard it as another proof of the infidelity of Professor Ranke's portrait of Pius V. that while he speaks of the arch-inquisitor as incapable of feeling any joys but those of devotion, this contemporary represents him as of a jovial and merry temper! The historian has evidently been led away by his ambition to make a saint of a persecutor, and to represent a calm, meek, humble and holy heart, rejoicing only in the conviction that God hears its prayers, as consistent with a ferocious and blood-thirsty fanaticism. But in this bold attempt even his own authorities confute him. Tr.

[2] Informatione di Pio V. "E più difficultoso di lasciar la cattiva impressione che la buona, e massimamente di quelle persone che non ha in pratica."—[It was more difficult for him to give up the bad impression than the good, especially in the case of persons with whom he was not familiar.]

If there was a district remarkable for the small number of the convictions, he held it therefore as not pure; such mildness he imputed to remissness in the proper authorities.

Let us hear with what severity he pressed the maintenance of church discipline. "We forbid," so it runs in one of his bulls, "every physician who shall be called to attend a bedrid patient, to attend him longer than three days, if he have not within that time received a certificate that the sick person has made a new confession of his sins."[1] Another appoints the punishments for the profanation of sabbath and for blasphemy. Pecuniary fines are to be imposed on those of higher rank. "But a common man, who cannot pay the fine, shall, for the first offence, stand for a whole day before the church door, with his hands bound behind his back; for the second offence, he shall be whipt through the streets; for the third, his tongue shall be pierced and he himself sent to the galleys."

Such is the general style of his ordinances; how often must he have exposed himself to the remark that he had to do, not with angels, but with men.[2]

He was not deterred from this by that respect for the secular powers which was now so pressing; not only did he cause the bull *In cœna Domini*, which had long been complained of by princes, to be published anew, but he rendered it more strict, by the addition of some special clauses; in these he seems altogether to refuse to governments the right of imposing new taxes.

Such violent encroachments, it is manifest, must have been followed by re-actions. Not only that the demands, which a man of so stern a character believed he might venture to make upon the world, never could be gratified, but there were symptoms of

[1] Supra gregem dominicum. Bull. IV. II. p. 281.

In all this we perceive remarkable proofs of the general fact, that asceticism and persecution are natural companions of each other. When self-righteousness leads a man to punish himself, as a means of taking revenge on his own heart for not allowing him to attain to the fancied holiness which pride and ambition make him covet, he cannot bear that others should enjoy what he denies to himself. How different the Christian under the fatherly chastisements of his God and Saviour! The fruit of the Spirit then abounds in him, even love, joy, peace, *long-suffering, gentleness*, &c. Tr.

[2] In the Informationi politiche XII. there is to be found, for example, an "Epistola a N. S. Pio V. nella quale si esorta S.S. tolerare gli Ebrei et le corteggiane," —[an Epistle to our Lord Pius V. in which His Holiness is exhorted to tolerate Jews and courtesans,] from a person called Bertano, who concurs therein. The officers prayed the pope at least to tolerate the latter. The pope replied that he would rather abandon Rome than wink at what was wrong.

deliberate resistance, and innumerable misunderstandings arose. With all his devoutness, Philip, on one occasion, gave the pope to know, that he must not put to the proof what a prince, when driven to extremities, might do.

This the pope, on his side, felt deeply. He often found himself unhappy in his high office; said that he was weary of life; acting without respect for others he made himself enemies; since his coming to the popedom he had experienced nothing but annoyances and persecutions.

But however this might be, and although it was as far from bringing complete contentment and satisfaction to Pius V. as other men, yet certain it is, that his conduct and character exercised an immense influence on his contemporaries, and on the whole development of his church. After so much had been done to excite and promote a more spiritual tendency, after so many resolutions had been taken with the view of making that tendency more generally predominant, a pope like this was required in order to its being not only made known, but also practically introduced everywhere. To this, by his zeal as well as by his example, he immensely contributed.

People now saw the oft-promised reformation of the court, though not in the forms that had been projected, yet substantially introduced. The disbursements of the papal household were greatly diminished; Pius V. required little for himself, and often had been heard to say, "Whoever would govern others, must begin with himself." He provided not illiberally for his servants who, as he believed, had remained true to him all his life, not from any expectation of reward, but from pure affection; still he kept his relations under greater restraint than any pope had ever done before. He made a moderate provision for the nephew, Bonelli, whom he created a cardinal, only because he had been told that this was required in order to his being on a familiar footing with princes. When that nephew, on one occasion, got his father to come to Rome, he obliged the latter that very night, nay that very hour, to leave the city again. He would never raise his other relations above the middle rank, and woe to him that ever allowed himself to be caught committing an offence, were it no more than a lie;[1] never would he forgive

[1] British readers will exclaim, "What worse than a lie?" Unhappily for the continent, there even a lie is not thought so very gross an offence. Tr.

him, but drove him ruthlessly away. How far was he then from pursuing that course of favouritism to nephews, which for ages had constituted so important a part of the papal history! By one of his most emphatic bulls, Pius V. prohibited for the future every investiture with any possession whatsoever of the Romish church, under whatever title or pretext; he declared that those who should merely advise such a thing, should be excommunicated beforehand; and he made all his cardinals subscribe this ordinance of his.[1] He went zealously to work in the removal of abuses; it was observed that he granted few dispensations, and still fewer compositions; the indulgence which had been given by his predecessors, he often limited. He gave instructions to his auditor-general to proceed immediately against all archbishops and bishops who should not reside in their dioceses, and to make out a statement for him, so as to enable him to take measures for the deposition of all the disobedient.[2] He commands all parish priests, under heavy penalties, to keep to their parish churches, and to see to the celebration of divine worship; he recalls the dispensations that they might have obtained in regard to this.[3] Not less zealously did he endeavour to restore the order of the monasteries. On the one hand he secured to them their exemption from taxes and other burthens; for example, from billeting; he desired that there should be nothing to disturb them in their repose; but he at the same time forbade the monks, without examination by the bishops and permission from them, to hear confessions, and every newly-appointed bishop was to have it in his power to repeat such examination.[4] He enjoined the strictest living within their convent, for nuns as well as monks. This was not always commended. It was complained that he compelled people to observe severer rules than they had bound themselves by; some fell in consequence into a kind of despair; others took to flight.[5]

[1] "Prohibitio alienandi et infeudandi civitates et loca S. R. E. Admonet nos: 1567, 29 Mart."—[Prohibition against alienating and granting feudal dispositions of the states and places belonging to the Holy Roman church. Admonishes us: 1567, 29 March.] Admonet nos is the title from the first words. Tr

[2] Cum alias: 1566, 10 Junii. Bull. IV. II. 303.

[3] Cupientes: 1568, 8 Julii. Ib. IV. III. 24.

[4] Romani: 1571, 6 Aug. Ib. IV. III. 177.

[5] Tiepolo: "Spesse volte nel dar rimedio a qualche disordien incorre in un'altro maggiore, procedendo massimamente per via degli estremi."—[Many a time in try-

All these things he carried best into effect in Rome and in the states of the church. He bound the civil as well as the ecclesiastical functionaries to see to the observance of his spiritual regulations.[1] He himself meanwhile saw to the administration of justice being firm and impartial.[2] Not only did he particularly admonish persons in the exercise of the magistracy to this; on the last Wednesday of every month he held a public session with the cardinals, where any one might prefer his complaints against the courts of justice. Otherwise, too, he was indefatigable in giving audiences. He took his seat at an early hour, and every one was allowed to come forward. This zeal was followed in fact by a complete reform in the state of things at Rome. "At Rome," says Paul Tiepolo, "matters are now conducted otherwise than they have been wont to be hitherto. People have grown a great deal better, or at least they have the appearance of being so."

Something similar to this took place more or less throughout all Italy. In all quarters the publication of the decrees of the council went hand in hand with a stricter inculcation of church discipline; the pope had an obedience paid to him, such as for a long time none of his predecessors had enjoyed.

Duke Cosmo of Florence felt no scruple in delivering up to him persons accused by the Inquisition. Carnesecchi, one of those literary men who had participated in the first movements of Protestantism in Italy, had hitherto always passed safely through difficulties; but now neither his personal reputation nor the reputation of his family, nor the alliance in which he stood with the reigning house itself, could any longer screen him from

ing to remedy some disorder he ran into a greater, proceeding for the most part by the way of extreme measures.]

[1] Bull. IV. III. 284.

[2] "Informatione delle qualità di Pio V. e delle cose che da quelle dependono."—[Notice of the character of Pius V. and of the things that depended on it.] (Berlin Library.) "Nel conferire le gratie non si cura delle circonstanze, secondo che alle volte sarebbe necessario per qualsivoglia rispetto considerabile, nè a requisition d'alcuno la giustitia si ha punto alterata, ancora che sia senza dar scandalo e con esempio d'altri pontefici potesse fare."—[In conferring a favour, he cares not about the circumstances beyond its being called for in every case by some one or other important consideration; nor is the course of justice altered in the least at the request of any one, even although it might be done without scandal, and in conformity with the precedents left by other popes.] Soriano finds that he never granted a favour without adding an exhortation; "il che mi parse proprio il stilo de' confessori, che fanno una gran riprensione al penitente, quando sono per assolverlo."—[the which to me appears the proper style of confessors, who administer a severe reproof when about to absolve a person.]

persecution; he was delivered up in bonds to the Romish Inquisition, and doomed to be burnt at the stake.[1] Cosmo was absolutely devoted to the pope. He supported him in all his undertakings, and yielded instant compliance with his spiritual demands. The pope, in return, felt himself induced to give him the title of grand duke of Tuscany, and to crown him as such. The right of the papal see to take any such step was exceedingly doubtful; the prince's morals gave just ground of offence; but the devotion he showed to the holy see, and the strict ecclesiastical regulations which he introduced into his territories, formed in the pope's eyes a merit above all merits.

Those old opponents of the Medici, the Farneses, emulated them in this course; Octavius Farnese, too, gloried in giving effect to the pope's commands at the first wink.

The footing on which Pius stood with the Venetians, was not quite so satisfactory. They were neither so hostile towards the Turks, nor so tolerant towards the convents, nor yet so complaisant to the Inquisition, as he could have wished. Still, he took good care not to involve himself in a quarrel with them. He deemed "that the republic was based upon the faith, had ever maintained its catholicity; it alone had escaped the inundation of the barbarians; on it reposed the honour of Italy;" he declared that he loved it. The Venetians, too, were more compliant to him than to any other pope. What at another time they never would have done, they delivered to him poor Guido Zanetti of Fano, who on account of his religious opinions had been subjected to prosecution and had fled to Padua. They adopted apparently a proper order of things for the clergy of their city, who for a long time past had troubled themselves little about ecclesiastical regulations. But besides this, upon the continent, the church of Verona was regulated for them in the most striking manner by J. Matteo Giberti. People have sought to point to his example as showing how a true bishop ought to live:[2] his regulations have served as a model throughout the whole Roman catholic world; the council of Trent adopted several of

[1] 1567. Cantini: Vita di Cosimo, p. 458.

[2] "Petri Francisci Zini boni pastoris exemplum ac specimen singulare ex Jo. Matthæo Giberto episcopo expressum atque propositum."—[Peter Francis Zini's singular example and specimen of a good Pastor described and proposed in the person of John Matthew Giberto.] Written in 1556, chiefly for England. Opera Giberti, p. 252.

them. Charles Borromeo had his likeness taken, in order that he might be constantly reminded of the example he had given him.

Still greater was the influence exercised by Charles Borromeo himself. From the manifold dignities and offices he possessed, among others he was grand penitentiary, and as the chief of the cardinals of his uncle's choice, he might have occupied a splendid position in Rome; but he resigned all, he cast away all, in order to devote himself to the ecclesiastical duties of his archbishopric of Milan. This he did with uncommon intensity, nay, passionately. He was constantly travelling through his diocese in all directions; there was not a part of it which he had not visited twice or thrice; he repaired to the highest mountains and to the most retired valleys. He was generally preceded by a *visitator* whose report he had by him, and now looked into every thing with his own eyes, appointed what punishments should be inflicted, and confirmed the improvements.[1] He induced his clergy to adopt a similar conduct; six provincial councils were held under his presidency. But over and above this, he was indefatigable in attending to his own ecclesiastical functions. He preached and read mass; he would spend the whole day in administering the sacrament of the supper; he ordained priests, invested nuns with the veil, and consecrated altars. The consecration of an altar required a ceremony of eight hours; it was calculated that, one after another, he had consecrated three hundred. Many of his regulations, it must be confessed, are very superficial, relating chiefly to the restoration of buildings, uniformity of ritual, the exposition and worship of the host. The principal matter was the strict discipline in which he kept the clergy, and in which their flocks again were subjected to them. He well knew what means to employ in order to gain admission for his ordinances. In the Swiss territories he visited the places that had been held in veneration from the most ancient times, distributed largesses among the people, and invited the leading persons among them to his table. On the other hand he knew how to meet with effect the most refractory. The peasantry in Valcamonica waited for him on one occasion to receive his bless-

[1] Glussianus de vita et rebus gestis S. Caroli Borromæi Mediol. p. 112, is very particular in the "ritus visitationis" and all these things.

ing. But as they had not paid their tithes, he passed on without lifting his hand or looking at any one. The people were horrified, and agreed to yield the old allegiance.[1] At times, however, he met with more obstinate and bitter opposition. His wishing to reform the order of the Humiliate excited so much discontent among the members, who had entered it with the sole object of enjoying its wealth in a course of dissolute living, that they even attempted to take their archbishop's life.[2] While at prayer in his chapel he was shot at. But never was anything more fortunate for him than this attempt. The people regarded his escape as a miracle, and from that moment first began truly to revere him. His zeal being no less pure and uninfluenced by worldly objects than it was persevering, having displayed even in the hour of danger, when the plague was raging, an indefatigable solicitude for the lives and souls of those committed to his charge, allowing nothing to be seen in his conduct but resignation and piety, his influence increased day by day, and Milan assumed quite another aspect. "How shall I praise thee, most beautiful city," exclaims Gabriel Paleotto, towards the close of Borromeo's administration, "thy holiness and religion excite my wonder; in thee I see a second Jerusalem."

Such animated apostrophes, notwithstanding all the worldliness of the Milanese nobility, cannot have been altogether without ground to justify them. The duke of Savoy solemnly congratulated the archbishop on the success of his endeavours. The latter sought likewise to give permanent stability to his ordinances. The maintenance of uniformity of ritual was committed to a congregation; a special order of persons under vows, called the Oblati, composed of clerks regular, devoted itself to the service of the archbishop and his church; the Barnabites received new rules, and from that time, first here and afterwards wherever they were introduced, they have allowed themselves to be set apart to the assistance of the bishops in their cures.[3] These

[1] Ripamonte: "Historia urbis Mediolani, in Grævius II. I. p. 864." Moreover Ripamonte has devoted the whole second part of his history, lib. XI.—XVII., to Charles Borromeo.

[2] They had in all ninety-four houses, each of which could have maintained a hundred men, yet the members were so far from numerous, that there were only two to a house. The order was abolished, and its wealth was then applied to Borromeo's institutions, and also to the Jesuits.

[3] Ripamonte, 857. He calls the first founders Beccaria, Ferraria, and Morigia Giussano, p. 442, has the common names.

arrangements were a repetition of the Romish on a smaller scale. A Helvetic college also, for the restoration of Roman catholicism in Switzerland, was established at Milan, like the *collegium Germanicum* at Rome for Germany. Respect for the Romish pope could only have thereby obtained a firmer hold of men's minds. Borromeo, who never received a papal brief but with his head uncovered, communicated the same devout submission to his church.

Meanwhile Pius V. had obtained an unwonted influence in Naples also. On the very first day of his pontificate he called to him Tomaso Orfino da Foligno, and charged him to undertake a reforming visitation of the Romish churches. After this was over, he appointed him bishop of Strongoli, and despatched him with the like object to Naples. Amid a huge concourse of that devout people, Orfino carried his visitation into effect, both in the capital and throughout a great part of the kingdom.

It is true that in Naples, as well as Milan, the pope had not unfrequently to engage in contests with the royal officials. The king made complaints against the bull *In cœna Domini:* the pope would not hear of the *exequatur regium;* for the former the ecclesiastical officials did too much; for the latter the royal officials did too little; there were incessant bickerings between the viceroys and the archbishops. At the court of Madrid, as has been said, there was often heartfelt dissatisfaction, and the king's confessor openly complained. Matters meanwhile did not proceed to an open rupture. Each of the potentates invariably cast the chief blame on the subordinate authorities and councillors of the other. They themselves personally remained on terms of mutual confidence. On the occasion of Philip II. being once unwell, Pius V. raised his hands to heaven and prayed that God would remove his illness; the old man prayed that God would take some years from his own life and add them to the king's, as being of more importance than his.

Spain, too, was entirely governed in other respects in the spirit of the ecclesiastical restoration. The king was for a moment doubtful whether or not to own at once the Tridentine decrees, and he at least would willingly have limited the papal power in the right of making concessions that should run counter to the same; but the spiritual character of his monarchy stood opposed

to any attempt of the kind; he saw that he must avoid even the appearance of any serious difference with the Roman see, if he wished to be assured of the obedience that was paid to himself. The decrees of the council were published in all quarters, and its ordinances universally introduced. Here, too, the strict dogmatic party obtained the ascendancy. Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, the first ecclesiastic in the kingdom, formerly a member of the council of Trent, and who, next to Poole, had contributed most to the re-establishment of Roman catholicism in England under Queen Mary, notwithstanding so many titles to respect, could not nevertheless escape the grasp of the Inquisition. "I have never," said he, "aimed at ought but the suppression of heresy. In this respect God hath assisted me. I myself have converted several who had erred from the faith; I have caused the bodies of some leading heretics to be dug up and burnt, (Roman) catholics and protestants have united in calling me the foremost defender of the faith." But this unequivocal display of Roman catholic zeal proved of no avail to him against the Inquisition. His writings were found to contain sixteen articles in which he seemed to approach the doctrines of the protestants, particularly with respect to justification. After he had been long imprisoned in Spain and tormented with the process, he was taken to Rome; it seemed a great favour to rescue him from his personal enemies. Yet he could not, even there, escape a sentence of condemnation at last.[1]

But if this happened to one occupying so exalted a position, and in so doubtful a case, one may imagine how little disposed the Inquisition could be to tolerate manifest departures from orthodoxy in subordinate persons, as they certainly were to be found here and there in Spain. The whole of that rigour which had been hitherto displayed in persecuting the remains of the Jewish and Mahomedan opinions, was now turned against the protestants; one auto-da-fe followed another, until the last germ of them was destroyed. From the year 1570, downwards, we find hardly any but foreigners brought before the Inquisition on account of protestantism.[2]

[1] Llorente devotes three long chapters of his History of the Inquisition to this event. Histoire de l'Inquisition, III. 183—315.

[2] M'Crie, History of the progress and suppression of the reformation in Spain, p. 336.

The Spanish government showed no favour to the Jesuits. They were found for the most part to be Jew-Christians, not of pure Spanish blood; and it was alleged that they cherished the idea of one day revenging themselves for all the hard treatment they had suffered. In Portugal, on the other hand, the members of that order succeeded but all too soon in obtaining boundless power; they governed the kingdom in the name of king Sebastian. As they at the same time enjoyed the highest credit at Rome, and under Pius V., they were guided in the exercise of their authority in the former country by the views of the curia.

And thus Pius V. more perfectly held the two peninsulas under his sway, than had been done by any one of his predecessors for a long time previous; the Tridentine ordinances made their way in all quarters; all the bishops swore to the *professio fidei* (confession of faith) which contained a summary of the dogmatic decisions of the councils; Pope Pius V. advertised the Romish catechism, interspersed throughout which there are further developments of these dogmas; he abolished all breviaries that were not expressly furnished by the Romish see, or that had not been introduced at least two centuries before, and announced a new one, drawn up after the model of the oldest of the Roman cathedrals, from which he wished to have it introduced universally elsewhere.[1] Nor did he omit to publish for common use a new missal, "according to the model and ritual of the holy fathers;"[2] the ecclesiastical seminaries became fully attended; the monasteries and convents were effectually reformed; the Inquisition watched with merciless severity over the unity and inviolability of the faith.

Had there been nothing else to create an intimate union among all these countries and states, this alone would have sufficed to that effect. What immensely contributed to this was that France, a prey to intestine war, either abandoned its old hostility towards Spain, or at least prosecuted it less warmly. Nor was this the only re-action resulting from the troubles

[1] "Remotis iis quæ aliena et incerta essent,"—[those being removed which were strange and doubtful.] "Quoniam nobis: 9 Julii 1568."

[2] "Collatis omnibus cum vetustissimis nostræ Vaticanæ bibliothecæ aliisque undique conquisitis emendatis atque incorruptis codicibus."—[Having collated all the most ancient in our Vatican library, and other corrected and incorrupt copies collected from all quarters.]

in France. From the occurrences of any given time, there ever emerge certain general political convictions which come at length to rule the world. The Roman catholic princes thought there was ground to believe that a state rushed to its own ruin when it permitted changes in religion.[1] As Pius IV. once said that the church could not accomplish its objects without the aid of crowned heads, so were monarchs now convinced that for them, too, an alliance with the church was indispensably necessary. This Pius V. was always preaching to them. In fact, he even lived to see that southern part of Christendom gather round him for the purpose of uniting in a common enterprise.

The Osman power continued to make vigorous advances; it had the ascendancy in the Mediterranean; it showed by its attempts upon Malta, and afterwards upon Cyprus, how eagerly it was bent on the conquest of the islands that remained still unsubdued; from Hungary and Greece it threatened Italy. Pius V. succeeded at last in bringing the Roman catholic princes clearly to perceive for once the danger that threatened; the attack on Cyprus suggested to him the idea of forming them into a league, and such a measure accordingly he proposed to the Venetians on the one side and to the Spaniards on the other. "On my being permitted to open a negotiation on the subject, and communicating this to him," says the Venetian ambassador, "he raised his hands to heaven and thanked God; he promised to devote his whole energy and all his thoughts to this affair."[2] It cost him infinite trouble to remove the obstacles that were opposed to an union of the two maritime powers; to these he added the remaining powers of Italy; he himself,

[1] The author evidently disapproves of the armed resistance of the Protestants in France. But his reasons by no means warrant his conclusion, if he means that the Reformed ought quietly to have submitted to extirpation. Of what consequence in that case would it have been whether France and Spain were united or opposed? and, besides, the most cursory view of the troubles in France is sufficient to show that it was not the toleration of the Reformed that distracted that country, but the absence of toleration, so that the conviction he speaks of was the very opposite of what the facts of the case ought to have produced. Tr.

[2] Soriano. "Havuta la risolutione, andai subito alla audienza, benche era di notte et l'hora incommoda et S. Sª travagliata per li accidenti seguiti quel giorno per la coronatione del duca di Fiorenza ed il protesto dell'ambasciatore Cesareo (dagegen): e communicata la commissione che haveva, S. Sª si allegrò tutta."—[The resolution being taken, he went at once to the audience, although it was night and at an inconvenient hour, and his Holiness was fatigued by what had occurred that day relating to the marriage of the duke of Florence, and the protest of the imperial ambassador (against it): and upon communicating the commission which I held, his Holiness was quite delighted.]

although at first he had neither money, ships, nor arms, found means to throw in some papal galleys as a contribution to the fleet; he had some share in the selection of the commander in chief, Don John of Austria, whose ambition and devotion he knew alike how to inflame. And thus the result was the most successful engagement, at Lepanto, that the Christians had ever fought. So much engrossed was the pope with this undertaking, that on the day of the battle, in a kind of trance, he thought he saw the victory achieved. The fact of its being gained filled him with great self-confidence, and suggested to him the boldest designs. In a few years he hoped to have the Osmen completely humbled.

But it was not only upon such unquestionably glorious enterprises that he made his intervention to bear with effect. His religiosity was of so exclusive and bigoted a kind, as to inspire him with the bitterest hatred of all Christians who differed from him in matters of faith. What a contradiction for the religion of innocence and meekness, to persecute true piety! Pius V., reared at the Inquisition and grown old in his ideas, saw no contradiction in this. While he strove with indefatigable zeal to root out every vestige of dissenting agitation that yet survived in Roman catholic countries, he persecuted with a still more savage inveteracy protestants properly so called, whether such as had become free, or such as were still struggling to be so. Not only did he come himself to the assistance of the French Romanists with a small military force; he gave its commanding officer, Count Santafiore, the unheard-of injunction, "to take no Huguenots prisoners, but instantly to put to death all who should fall into his hands."[1 2] When the troubles broke out in the

[1] Catena: "Vita di Pio V. p. 85. Pio si dolse del conte che non havesse il comandamento di lui osservato d'ammazzar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mane."—[Pius complained of the count that he had not observed the command he had given him, to massacre at once whatever heretic might fall into his hands.]

[2] "Immediately after the battle of Moncontour, in the letter of congratulation which he wrote to the king of France, Pius V. had urged him to follow up his success, and stifle every sentiment of clemency as sinful and rebellious against the Almighty; after holding out once more the fate of Saul as a warning, his holiness adds, 'what else would it be in short, but to render vain the kindness of God in this victory over the heretics? the fruits which it ought to produce are the extermination of the infamous heretics, our common enemies, on account of the deserved hatred which they inspire, and the restoration of the ancient peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. Do not suffer any one to deceive you with vain sentiments of piety, and seek not the false glory of a pretended clemency, in pardoning injuries done to God himself, for nothing is more cruel than mercy towards wretches who

Netherlands, Philip II. wavered at first with respect to his treatment of those provinces; the pope advised him to decide the matter with arms. His reason was, that if a man negotiate without the terror inspired by arms, he must be content to receive laws; whereas, on the contrary, if he have arms in his hands, he imposes laws. He signified his approbation of Alva's sanguinary proceedings by sending him a consecrated hat and sword. It cannot be proved that he was privy to the preparations for St. Bartholomew's night; but he had done things that left no doubt that he would have approved of it no less than his successor did.

What a medley of simplicity, nobleness, personal strictness, devoted religiosity, and morose exclusiveness; of bitter hate and bloody persecution.

Such was the temper in which Pius V. lived and died.[1] When he felt the approach of death, he once more visited the seven churches, "in order," as he said, "that he might bid farewell to those sacred spots;" thrice he kissed the last steps of the Scala santa. He had once promised to devote to an enterprise against England, not only the church's property, including even chalices and crosiers, but to take the command of it in his own person. Some of the Roman catholics who had been driven out of England, happened once to present themselves to him on the street; he told them he could wish to shed his blood for them. His conversation ran chiefly on the league, for the success of which

have merited the worst punishments. If your majesty wishes to restore the ancient splendour, power, and dignity of France, you must strive above all things to make all persons who are subject to your dominion possess the catholic faith *alone;* that which from the first origin of Christianity has remained uncontaminated to this day.' The letter concludes with recommending the execution of all who have borne arms against the government; and that inquisitors should be established in every town throughout the kingdom. - - - Pius was unwearied in his exhortations, and letters arrived from him without intermission. The same strain pervades most of them; but as the probability of a peace increased, he resorted to more powerful arguments." Browning's Hist. of the Huguenots, vol. I. p. 286, 287.

When peace was restored between the contending parties in France, Pius V. wrote to the cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, expressing his great concern at the *misfortune* which had befallen France. "It is especially to be feared," says St. Pius, "that God may inflict a judgment on the king himself, and all those who have adhered to this negotiation."—As the subsequent letters of Pius V., Mr. Browning adds, "were of a very different character, we may fairly presume that he was privately informed of the plot already in preparation," that is, the St. Bartholomew massacre, a measure which Professor Ranke, in the second volume of this work, seems to think must have been suggested by Alva, but which we see no reason for not ascribing to Saint Pius himself, when he saw that all his endeavours to hound on the papists of France against the Reformed, in the way of open war, were useless. Tr.

[1] He died May 1, 1572.

he left behind him all things fully prepared; to that was destined the last money he gave away.[1] The ghosts of his enterprises flitted round him till his last moment. He had no doubt of their future success. He thought that God would, if needful, raise up from the very stones the man that was required.

Though his loss was more sensibly felt than even he himself believed, yet a unity had been formed, a power had been brought into existence, whose internal force must necessarily confirm the career that had been entered upon.

[1] "Informatione dell'infermità di Pio V. Havendo in sua stanza in una cassettina 13m. sc. per donare e fare elemosine di sua mano, due giorni avanti sua morte fece chiamare il depositario della camera e levarli, dicendo che sarieno boni per la lega."—[Having 13,000 scudi in a casket in his bedchamber for giving presents and alms with his own hand, two days before his death he commanded the cashier of the chamber to be called to take them away, saying that they would be good for the league.]

BOOK IV.

STATE AND COURT. THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.

WITH renovated and concentrated strength Roman catholicism now advanced against the protestant world.

If we would make a general comparison between them, we shall find Roman catholicism already possessed of no ordinary advantage, in having a common centre, and a chief who could direct its movements on all sides.

Not only was it competent for the pope to combine the powers of the other Roman catholic governments in common efforts; he had also a state of his own, of sufficient strength to enable him to contribute materially towards this.

The states of the church now assume a new importance in our regard.

They owed their origin to the endeavours of the popes to raise the families to which they belonged, to princely power, or to obtain for themselves an imposing authority among the potentates of the world, and chiefly among the states of Italy. Neither of these objects had they attained to the extent of their wishes; and now it had become for ever impossible to renew these attempts. A special law forbade the alienation of the church's possessions; and the Spaniards were too powerful in Italy to admit of the idea of rivalling them being entertained for a moment. On the other hand, the church states now contributed more than ever to prop the spiritual power. By means of the financial resources they presented, they came to have an important bearing on the general development of history. Before proceeding farther, then, it is necessary that we take a closer view

of their administration as it gradually displayed itself in the course of the sixteenth century.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

A FINELY situate, rich and magnificent territory had now become the portion of the popes.

The accounts of the sixteenth century cannot find sufficiently glowing terms to describe the fertility of the country. What beautiful plains present themselves round Bologna, stretching through the whole Romagna. From the Appenines downwards, all is loveliness and fertility. "We travelled," say the Venetian ambassadors in 1522, "from Macerata to Tolentino, through the most beautiful fields, both hill and valley full of corn; there was nothing else to be seen growing for thirty miles wide; not a foot of land was to be found uncultivated; it seemed to us impossible even to gather in such a quantity of corn, not to say, to consume it." The Romagna produced every year 40,000 stara more than it required for its own consumption; it was in great demand. After providing for the hilly districts of Urbino, Tuscany, and Bologna, 35,000 stara were at times shipped for exportation. Whilst Venice on the one coast was supplied from the Romagna and the Mark;[1] on the opposite shore the wants of Genoa generally, and even of Naples occasionally, were supplied from the territory of Viterbo and the Patrimony (of St. Peter). In one of his bulls, dated in 1566, Pius V. praises the divine goodness, through which it had happened that Rome, though in earlier times it could not subsist without foreign corn, now not only had it in abundance, but was often able, from its Campagna, to send it to neighbours and distant countries, by land and sea.[2] In 1589, the exportation of corn from the states of the church was reckoned to amount annually to the value of 500,000 scudi.[3]

[1] Badoer: Relatione 1591. The friendship of Romagna was grounded on the consideration, "quanto importa la vicinità di questa città per ben vendere per l'ordinario le loro biade, vini, frutti, guadi et altre cose, riportandone all'incontro boni danari."—[of the great importance of the vicinity of that city as a good market for the sale, at ordinary rates, of their corn, wine, fruits, fish, and other things, receiving good cash in return.]

[2] Jurisdictio consulum artis agriculturæ urbis, 9 Sept. 1566, Bull. Cocquel. IV. II. 314.

[3] Giovanni Gritti: Relatione 1589. "La Romagna e la Marca sola si mette che alcune volte abbia mandato fuori 60m. rubbia di grano e più di 30m. di menudi. Il paese di Roma e lo stato di là dell'Alpi quasi ogni anno somministra il viver al

Particular districts, too, were famed for their own peculiar productions; Perugia for its hemp, Faenza for flax, Viterbo for both of these,[1] Cesena for a wine which it exported, Rimini for oil, Bologna for wood, St. Lorenzo for its manna; the wine growths of Montefiascone were famous all over the world. In the Campagna, moreover, there was a breed of horses not much inferior to those of Naples; towards Nettuno and Terracina there was the finest hunting, particularly of the wild boar. There was no lack of seas abounding in fish; there were salt-works, alum works, and marble quarries. In short, people seemed to possess in abundance all that they could desire for the mere comforts of life.

Nor was intercourse with the rest of the world by any means excluded. Ancona had a very prosperous commerce. "It is a fine place," say those ambassadors of 1522, "full of merchants, particularly Greeks and Turks; we were assured that some of them transacted business last year to the extent of 500,000 ducats." In the year 1549, we find two hundred Greek families settled there, who had a church of their own, and were all engaged in commerce. The harbour was then full of Levantine caravels. Armenians, Turks, Florentines, Lucchese, Venetians, Jews from the East and from the West, met there. The articles exchanged consisted of silk, wool, leather, lead from Flanders, and cloths. Luxury advanced apace; the rents of houses rose; physicians and teachers were employed in greater numbers and at higher fees.[2]

The valour, however, of the inhabitants of the states of the church is spoken of in much more flowing terms than their stirring character and commercial industry. Sometimes it is even

paese di Genova et altri luoghi circonvicini: onde dell'uscita di grani e di biade dello stato ecclesiastico si tien per cosa certa che ogni anno entri in esso valsente di 500m. sc. almeno: nè all'incontro ha bisogno di cose di fuori se non di poco momento et in poca stima, che sono specierie e cose da vestirsi di nobili e persone principali."—[Romagna and the Mark alone represent that they have sometimes sent abroad 60,000 rubbia of wheat, and above 30,000 of other grain. The country about Rome, and the state beyond the Alps, we may say every year furnish the means of life to the lands about Genoa and circumjacent places; hence it is held certain that from the export of wheat and oats from the church's territory, there is yearly received by it to the value of 500,000 scudi at least; neither, on the contrary, does it require from abroad any articles but such as are of little consequence and value, such as spices and clothing materials for noblemen and persons of rank.

[1] Voyage de Montaigne, II. 488.

[2] Saracini: Notizie istoriche della città d'Ancona. Roma, 1675, p. 362.

described to us in all its manifold diversities. The men of Perugia were thought active and steady in service; those of the Romagna brave but rash; those of Spoleto full of military artifice; the Bolognese courageous, and only difficult to keep under discipline. The men of the Mark are described as prone to plundering; those of Faenza, admirably adapted to stand firm under attack and to pursue a retreating enemy. In the execution of difficult manœuvres the men of Forli distinguished themselves, and the inhabitants of Fermo in the use of the lance.[1] "The whole people," says one of our Venetians, "are adapted for war and naturally fierce. No sooner have they once abandoned their homes than they are fit for any kind of military service, both for open campaigns and for sieges; they easily sustain the hardships of the field."[2] Venice was invariably supplied with her best troops from the Mark and Romagna; on which account the republic found it of so much consequence to be on good terms with the duke of Urbino; we constantly find officers from those parts in her service. It was said even that military chiefs were to be had here for all the monarchs upon earth; on that head it was recollected that from thence the company of St. George went forth with which Alberich of Barbiano exterminated the hordes of foreign mercenaries, and renewed the fame of Italian arms; that the people were still of the same race and stock with those who so largely contributed of old to the founding of the Roman empire.[3] In later times they had done less to prove their title to such emphatic eulogies; yet the last military leader that availed himself of the services of this soldiery at a distance from their homes, had without hesitation accorded them the preference over the other Italians, and over a good part of his French troops.

[1] Landi: Quæstiones Forcianæ, Neapoli, 1536; a book replete with curious and authentic notices with respect to the state of Italy at that time.

[2] Soriano 1570. "Quanto a soldati, è commune opinione che nello stato della chiesa siano i migliori di tutto il resto d'Italia, anzi d'Europa."—[As for soldiers, it is commonly thought that in the state of the church they are better than in all the rest of Italy, say rather of Europe.]

[3] Lorenzo Priuli: Relatione 1586. "Lo stato pieno di viveri per darne anco a popoli vicini, pieno di huomini bellicosi:"—[The state full of provisions, so as to have enough to spare for the neighbouring populations, full of warlike men:] he mentions by name Genga, Carpagna, Malatesta. "Pareno tutti questi popoli nati et allevati nella militia. E molto presto si metteria insieme molto buona gente toccando il tamburo."—[All these populations seem born and bred to war. And in a very short time many fine men would assemble by tuck of drum.]

All these rich territories and brave populations were now subject to the pacific spiritual government of the pope; and we now proceed to delineate, in its leading traits, the nature of the state which developed itself in the midst of them.

It reposed, like that of Italy in general, on a more or less complete circumscription of that municipal independence which had gradually grown to maturity, pretty much everywhere, in the course of ages.

Ere the close of the fifteenth century, the priors of Viterbo received, on their stone seats, in front of the town house door, the oath of the podesta, who was sent to them by the pope or his deputy.[1]

When, in 1463, the city of Fano became immediately subject to the Roman see, it made its conditions beforehand, and stipulated for itself, not only that there should be no interference with its affairs for all time coming, but also obtained the right of electing its own podesta without requiring any further confirmation, together with twenty years' exemption from all new imposts, the profits of the salt-trade, and several other pri vileges.[2]

Not even so headstrong a ruler as Cæsar Borgia could avoid guaranteeing privileges to the cities composing his principality. That of Sinigaglia even obtained from him exemption from the payment of revenues that had to that time belonged to the prince.[3]

How much more had Julius II. to act thus, whose ambition it was to appear in the character of a liberator from tyranny. He himself reminded the Perugians of his having passed the blooming years of his youth within their walls. Having driven Baglione from Perugia, he contented himself with recalling the refugees, restoring his authority to that pacific magistrate, the prior, and gratifying the university professors with higher salaries; the ancient liberties he left untouched. Not long after, all that was received from that city, was only a few thousand ducats, by way of acknowledgment of the pope's government; and, further, I find under Clement VII. a calculation of the

[1] Feliciano Bussi: Istoria di Viterbo, p. 59.
[2] Amiani: Memorie istoriche della città di Fano. T. II. p. 4.
[3] Siena: Storia di Sinigaglia. App. n. VI.

number of troops which it could send into the field, as if it were an absolutely free municipality.[1]

The yoke of subjection lay as lightly on Bologna. It had at all times maintained, together with the forms of municipal independence, many of its essential attributes. It had the unfettered administration of its own revenues; it kept its own troops; the pope's legate received a salary from the city.

Julius II. conquered the cities of the Romagna in the course of the Venetian war. Not one of them did he get into his hands without consenting to conditions that circumscribed his power, or securing them in certain definite new privileges. In later timse they always referred back to the articles of capitulation they then concluded. The constitutional relation they maintained, they designated by the title of the church franchise.[2]

If we take a general view of the state which thus acquired a collective existence, we shall find a close resemblance between it and that of Venice. In both cases the government power had hitherto been in the hands of communes, which had, generally speaking, subjected to themselves, and continued to govern, other smaller communities. In the case of Venice these governing municipalities submitted to the dominion of the nobili of that city upon the most strictly defined conditions, and without being thereby deprived of their independence at all points. In the states of the church they fell under the commonwealth of the Curia. For there the court was formed of a commonwealth, as, in the other case, of the nobility. It is true that the dignity of the prelature, during the former half of this century, was not an indispensable pre-requisite even for the most important situations; there were secular vice-legates in Perugia; it seemed to be almost the rule in the Romagna that the administration should be directed by a secular president; laymen sometimes came to possess the greatest influence and unlimited authority, as in the instance of Jacopo Salviati under Clement VII.; but these too belonged once to the Curia; they were relations of a pope, and therefore members of that corporation; then the cities had no liking for lay governors; they themselves asked to have prelates; they seemed to think there was something more

[1] Suriano: Relatione di Fiorenza, 1533.

[2] Rainaldus mentions these but very briefly. As to Ravenna, see Hieronymi Rubei Historiarum Ravennatum lib. VIII. p. 660.

honourable in being placed under ecclesiastics of high rank. Compared with a German principality and its fully developed system of ranks, an Italian principality looks at first sight as if it had almost no constitutional rights at all. But in point of fact, here, too, there was a notable branching out of manifold privileges; the nobili of a city acted as a check on the supreme government; the cittadini (burghers) on the *nobili*, the subject municipalities on the chief ones, the peasantry on the city. It is a striking fact that there hardly ever was an instance of provincial jurisdiction in Italy. Provincial assemblies, to be sure, came to be held in the states of the church, and they were distinguished by the very significant title of parliaments; but in no way whatever could it have answered to the manners of the country, or to the Italian character, to organize such an institution; they never succeeded in obtaining a lasting influence.

Had but the municipal constitution, however, fully developed itself, as it might have done, and as it seemed in the way to do, it would thus have exhibited most forcibly, in the limitation of the state government on the one hand, in the positive rights and ample power of the communes on the other, and in a multiplicity of private privileges, the principle of stability, and a political constitution fixed down by special privileges and mutual limitation.

Great progress had been made towards this in the Venetian state; far less in that of the church.

This result is traceable to the original difference of the forms of government. In Venice, it was an hereditary self-governing corporation, that looked upon the rights of government as its property. The Romish Curia, on the other hand, was an extremely fluctuating body; upon every new conclave, new elements joined it; the countrymen of the different popes had a large share, at all times, in the management of affairs. There every appointment to an office was a matter falling within the administration of the corporation itself; here it depended on the favour of the supreme head. There those who administered the government were controlled by severe laws, and by a vigilant superintendence and syndication; here those who personally administered the government, were less controlled by fear of punishment than by hope of promotion, which, meanwhile, depended

much on favour and personal liking, and preserved a wider sphere of action.

The papal government, too, had from the very first stipulated for a less trammeled position.

In this respect a remarkable result presents itself if we would in any instance compare the Romish concessions with the Venetian. Among others this may easily be done in the case of Faenza which had first surrendered itself for a few years to the Venetians, before it fell into the hands of the pope, and which concluded capitulations with both.[1] On both occasions, for example, it required that no new impost should ever be introduced without the approval of the majority of the great council of Faenza; to this the Venetians assented without hesitation; the pope added this short clause, "if he were not pleased to do otherwise on important and reasonable grounds." I will not go through this capitulation in all its extent; we everywhere discover in it a similar state of things; it will suffice that I mention one other variation. The Venetians had agreed at once that all criminal sentences of the podesta and his curia should take their course; the pope conceded no less in general, but he made one exception. "In cases of leze-majesty, or similar crimes, which might cause public scandal, the authority of the governor was to intervene." It will be perceived that the papal government reserved throughout a much stronger action on the part of the sovereign power.[2]

It is not to be denied that abundant facilities for its introduction were all along furnished by the other side.

In the subjected towns, at that time, the middle ranks, the burgesses, and also the merchants and artisans, when their gains were sufficient to secure a livelihood, maintained a state of quiet submission to authority; but the patricians, the *nobili*, who notwithstanding formed the class which held in its hands the muni-

[1] Historie di Faenza, fatica di Giulio Cesare Tonduzzi, Faenza 1675, contain the capitulation concluded with the Venetians in 1501, p. 569, and that granted by Julius II. in 1510, p. 587.

[2] The means it employed are pointed out by Paul III. when he says (1547): "ceux qui viennent nouvellement au papat, viennent pauvres, obligés de promesses, et la dépense qu'ils font pour s'asseurer dans les terres de l'église monte plus que le profit des premieres années." Le Cardinal de Guise au Roy de France,—[those who have come recently to the popedom, have come poor, obliged to discharge promises, and the expense they are at in securing themselves in the lands of the church amounts to more than the profit of the first years. The Cardinal of Guise to the king of France,] in Ribier, II. 77.

cipal government, were seen in everlasting agitation. They had no trade to occupy them; they troubled themselves little about agriculture; they had not much at heart either accomplishments of a higher order, or skill in the management of military weapons; they were wholly engrossed with their feuds and animosities. The old partisanships of the Guelph and Gibelline classes still subsisted; and had been nourished by the last war, in which success had alternately attended each at the expense of the other. The families that belonged to the one or the other side, were all known. The Gibellines were the most powerful in Faenza, Ravenna, and Forli, and the Guelphs in Rimini; yet in each of these towns, the antagonist factions also maintained their place. In Cesena and Imola they were equally balanced. Even when peace prevailed abroad, an intestine war was carried on; every one made it a matter of the utmost personal consequence to keep down his opponents of the other party, and to cast them into the shade.[1] The chiefs had at hand adherents among the lowest classes, sturdy and resolute fellows, swaggering bullies, who themselves sought out persons known to them as standing in fear of their enemies, or who had injuries to revenge; such men were ready at all times to commit murder for money.

Now the consequence of these inveterate feuds was this, that as no party would allow another to administer the government, none having any confidence in the other, the cities themselves were the more remiss in the assertion of their privileges. On the arrival of the president, or the legate, in the province, no one asked whether he were inclined to respect the rights of the municipality; the only subject of curiosity was which party he was to side with. It is not to be told how the favoured rejoiced, and how the others were cast down. The legate had to observe the utmost prudence. The leading men readily attached themselves to him, sought to make themselves agreeable to him, affected the

[1] Relatione della Romagna (Bibl. Alt.) "Li nobili hanno seguito di molte persone, delle quali alcune volte si vagliono ne' consegli per conseguire qualche carica o per se o per altri, per potere vincere o per impedire all'altri qualche richiesta: ne' guidicii per provare et alcune volte per testificare nelle inimicitie per fare vendette, ingiurie: alcuni ancora a Ravenna, Imola e Faenza usavano di contrabandare grano."—[The nobili have a numerous following of persons whom they can occasionally employ in designs for obtaining some object for themselves or for others, for securing the success of a request for themselves, or preventing others from doing so: in courts of justice to prove their case, and sometimes to give evidence; in feuds to take revenge and inflict injuries: some moreover at Ravenna, Imola and Faenza are in the practice of smuggling grain.]

utmost zeal for the interests of the state, and approved of all the measures adopted for the promotion of these; but all this was often done with the sole view of making interest with him, insinuating themselves into his good graces, and then having it in their power more sensibly to injure and to persecute the party which they hated.[1]

The landward barons were in a condition somewhat different. Generally speaking, they were poor, but open-handed and ambitious of distinction, so that they even kept open house, and without exception launched into expenses beyond their means. They had dependents at all times in the cities, of whose services they often availed themselves in infringing the laws. But they made it their grand concern to maintain a good understanding with their tenants, who at all times possessed the greater part of the ground and soil, although they might have no other wealth. In the southern territories, much account was made of respectability of birth and the prerogatives of blood; but the distinction of ranks was far from being so marked as it was in the north; it did not exclude the most intimate personal confidence. These barons, too, lived more on a footing of fraternal subordination with their tenants; it was impossible to say whether the lower orders were most willing to offer obedience and service, or the barons to lend their assistance when required; there was something patriarchal in the connection.[2] This may be attributed, among other causes, to the baron seeking above all things to prevent his subvassals from having recourse to the state government. He wished to recognise as little as possible the pope as his feudal lord. The legate's claim of jurisdiction in the second, and sometimes even in the first instance, these vassals held to be not so much a right, as the consequence of an unfortunate political conjuncture which would soon pass away.

Here and there, too, there might still be found, particularly in the Romagna, a completely enfranchised peasantry:[3] there

[1] "Relatione di Mons^re Rev^mo Giov. P. Ghisilieri al P. Gregorio XIII. tornando egli dal presidentato di Romagna."—[Statement by Monsignore the most Rev. John P. Ghisilieri to P. Gregory XIII. on returning from the presidentship of Romagna.] From Tonduzzi (historie di Faenza p. 673) we see that Ghisilieri came into the province in 1578.

[2] "Relatione della Romagna; Essendosi aggiustati gli uni all'humore degli altri." —[Being mutually adjusted, the one to the humour of the other.]

[3] The peasants had often even shaken off the dominion of the cities. "Ghisi-

were large clans, tracing their lineage from a common stock; lords in their own villages: all of them armed and particularly expert in the use of the arquebuse; generally speaking, they were half-savage. They might be compared with the free Greek or Slavonic communities who preserved their independence under the Venetians, or who fought to recover what they had lost, under the Turks, such as we meet with in Candia, Morea, and Dalmatia. In the states of the church they too attached themselves to different factions. The Cavinas, Scardocci, and Solaroli were Gibellines; the Manbelli, Cerroni and Serras, Guelphs. The Serras had a hill in their territory which served as a sort of asylum for those who had incurred any of the penalties of the laws. The most powerful of them all were the Cerroni, who were to be found also beyond the Roman frontier, in the Florentine territory. They had branched off into two septs—Rinaldi and Ravagli—and these, notwithstanding their consanguinity, lived in perpetual feud. They maintained a kind of hereditary alliance not only with the principal clans of the cities, but also with the lawyers who supported one or other of the factions in their law-suits. Throughout the whole of Romagna, there were no families so powerful as to be beyond reach of injury from these peasants. The Venetians had at all times one or other of the chiefs among them, so as to be assured of their assistance in the exigencies of war.

As we have already remarked, had all these inhabitants of the states of the church been agreed among themselves, the Roman prelates would have found it no easy task to give effect to the civil authority. But their dissensions gave strength to the government. I find the following statement in a report presented to Pope Gregory XIII. by one of the presidents of the Romagna; "It is hard to govern if the people keep too much united; on the contrary, if there be dissension, despotism becomes easy."[1] But, besides, there grew up in these territories a party

lieri: "Scossi da quel giogo e recati quasi corpo diverso da quelle città (for example Forli, Cesena) si governano con certe loro leggi separate sotto il governo d'un protettore eletto da loro medesimi, li quali hanno amplissima autorità di far le resolutioni necessarie per li casi occorrenti alli contadini."—[Being rid of that yoke, and having received as it were a different body from those cities (e. g. Forli, Cesena) they are governed by certain distinct laws of their own, under the rule of a protector elected from among them, with the most ample authority to take all necessary resolutions for such cases as may occur among the country people.]

[1] Ghisilieri: "Siccome il popolo disunito facilmente si domina, così difficilmente

that sided with the government, consisting of peaceable people that were fond of quiet, belonging to that middle rank which had never been hurried away into the stream of the factions. In the city of Fano they entered into a mutual league called the holy union; "having been compelled thereto," as it runs in the record of its institution, "because the whole city was filled with robbery and murder, and not only were those insecure who had involved themselves in feuds, but those also who rather ate their bread in the sweat of their brow." They pledged themselves mutually by an oath taken in church, as brethren for life and death, sincerely to maintain the peace of the city, and to put down all who would disturb it.[1] The government patronised them, and authorised their bearing arms. We find them in all parts of the Romagna under the name of the pacifici, (peace-makers) and they grew by degrees into a kind of plebeian magistracy. The government had its adherents among the peasantry also. The Manbelli attached themselves to the court of the legate. They had bandits at their command, and guarded the frontiers; this gave them in return no small respect among their neighbours.[2] The mutual rivalry of neighbourhoods, the opposition of the rural districts to the cities, and several other evils in the state of society, further aided the government.

And so instead of that subordination to law, that quiet and stability, according with the idea into which such a constitution might have been developed, we find a lively movement of factions; the active intervention of the government, so long as these maintained their feuds; the counterpressure of the municipalities coming into operation as soon as they united;

si regge quando è troppo unito." The antithesis between *domina* and *regge*, which Professor Ranke preserves in the German words *beherrschen* and *regieri*, I have attempted to convey in the English words *govern* and *despotism*. Tr.

[1] It is like the Hermandad. Amiani, in his Memorie di Fano, II. 146, has its motto, founded on the text: "Beati pacifici, quia filii dei vocabuntur."—[Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.] Thence its name may have originated in other cities.

[2] According to the Relatione della Romagna, they were called also, from their place of residence, Schieto men: "huomini, says that account, che si fanno molto riguardare: sono Guelfi: la corte di Romagna si è valuta dell'opera loro molto utilmente, massime in havere in mano banditi et in ovviare alle fraudi che si fanno in estrarre bestiami dalle montagne."—[men, who made themselves much respected; they were Guelphs; the court of Romagna has very usefully availed itself of their services, chiefly in having bandits at command, and in preventing all the tricks that are practised in taking cattle from the mountains.]

violence on the side of the law; violence opposed to the law; every one looking to what extremes he might go.

Even under Leo X. the citizens of Florence, who had the government in a great measure in their own hands, gave effect to the rights of the Curia in a most oppressive manner. Embassies were seen going from the cities one after another, to Rome, to seek after redress of their grievances. Ravenna declared that it would rather deliver itself up to the Turks than endure the farther continuance of such a system of government.[1] The old lords would often take advantage of vacancies in the government offices to return, and then it was with difficulty that the popes could turn them out again. On the other hand the cities too dreaded being again alienated. Sometimes it was a cardinal, sometimes a relation of the pope's, sometimes a neighbouring prince, who for a sum of money paid to the Romish exchequer, sought to apply to his own use the rights of government in this, or the other city. On this account the cities kept agents and representatives at Rome, for the purpose of procuring intelligence respecting all plans of that sort, as soon as contemplated, and of interposing obstacles in case of their proceeding to be executed. In general they succeeded. But sometimes, too, a case would occur in which they opposed force to the papal authorities, and even to the papal troops. In glancing over almost every history of these territories, we find one or other example of a serious spirit of resistance. In Faenza, on one occasion during the summer of 1521, matters went the length of a regular engagement, a sort of battle on the streets, between Pope Leo's Switzers and the citizens. The Swiss succeeded in forming themselves into one body on the public market place, but as all the outlets presented by the streets that opened into it, were barricaded by the citizens, they had to be satisfied with having a free passage out cleared for them, and being allowed to withdraw unscathed. That day was observed in Faenza with religious solemnities for many a year afterwards.[2] Jesi, though

[1] "Marino Lorzi, Relatione di 1517. Le terre di Romagna è in gran combustione e desordine: li vien fatta poca justitia: e lui orator ha visto tal x man di oratori al cardinal di Medici, che negotia le facende lamentandosi di mali portamenti fanno quelli rettori loro."—[The territory of Romagna is in great combustion and disorder: little justice is done there; and he, the deputy, has seen, sometimes at ten in the morning, deputies at the cardinal Medici's, who in transacting business complained of the bad conduct of their governors.]

[2] Tonduzzi, Historie di Faenza, p. 609.

not exactly a city of importance, had nevertheless the courage, on the 25th of November, 1528, to arrest in his own palace the vice-governor, who had desired to have some marks of honour paid to him which could not be shown. Citizens and peasantry were united, and a hundred Albanians, then in the neighbourhood, were taken into pay. The vice-governor, with all the officers under him, took to flight. "My fatherland," says the chronicler of that city, in other respects a very pious man in the Roman catholic sense, "seeing itself thus restored to its original freedom, resolved solemnly to observe the anniversary of that day at the public expense."[1]

The only results that could follow, it is evident, was being overpowered anew, punished, and having all remains of freedom more circumscribed than ever. Indeed, in dealing with cities that still possessed an important remnant of their ancient liberty, the government took advantage of such opportunities, in order to deprive them even of that, and thus complete their subjection.

Ancona and Perugia in particular, present remarkable examples of the manner in which this took place.

Ancona paid the pope nothing more than a yearly acknowledgment. This seemed more and more inadequate, the more the city increased and prospered. At the court the revenues of Ancona were reckoned at 50,000 scudi, and it was thought intolerable that the nobility of that place should divide this sum among them. Now that the city eluded likewise the payment of new imposts, and had taken by force a castle which it claimed as its own property, matters came at length to an open quarrel. And here be it observed in what manner governments in those days would occasionally assert their rights. The papal functionaries caused the cattle to be driven off from the marches of Ancona, in order to secure the full amount of the taxes not otherwise paid; it was called reprisals.

Meanwhile Clement VII. did not think this enough. He only waited for a favourable opportunity of making himself real master of Ancona, and to get it into his hands even stooped to employ artifice.

While issuing his commands for the erection of a fortress in

1 "Baldassini, Memorie istoriche dell'antichissima città di Jesi"—[Historical Memoirs of the most ancient city of Jesi.] Jesi, 1744, p. 256.

Ancona, he represented that his sole reason for doing so, was because the Turkish power, after its successes in Egypt and Rhodes, had increased so much throughout the Mediterranean, that it would, beyond doubt, soon attack Italy; how dangerous then would it be for Ancona, where a number of Turkish merchant vessels lay always at any rate, to be left altogether without fortifications to defend it. He sent Antonio Sangallo to construct the fortress. The work went on with the utmost despatch; soon a small body of troops was posted at the place. Now had come the very moment that the pope had been waiting for. When things were at this stage, in Sept. 1532, the governor of the Mark, Monsignor Bernardino della Barba, a priest it is true, but one of a warlike temper, appeared one day in the territory of Ancona, at the head of a fine army, collected for him by the rivalry of the neighbours, seized on one of the gates, from that rushed forward to the market place, and caused his troops to be marched up to the front of the palace. Here there dwelt, not dreaming of danger, and bearing the insignia of the highest dignity, the ancients who had just before been elected by lot. Monsignore della Barba walked in with a military escort, and told them without much reserve, "that the pope wished to have the government of Ancona in his own hands, without restriction." In fact resistance was now hopeless. The younger nobili proceeded with the utmost haste, to call in some troops that were devoted to them, from the country round; but what could now be done, for the papal troops had already in every respect the advantage by occupying the fortifications? The elder nobili would not expose themselves to the risk of having the city plundered and laid waste. They submitted to what was unavoidable.

The ancients left the palace; shortly after the new papal legate appeared, Benedict delli Accolti, who had engaged to pay the apostolic exchequer 20,000 scudi a year, for the rights of government in Ancona.

The whole state of things became altered. All arms had to be delivered up; sixty-four respectable nobili were banished. The framework of society was constructed anew; men not of noble birth, and the inhabitants of the rural districts, had a share in the public offices secured to them; justice was no longer pronounced according to the old statutes.

Woe to those who should move a finger against these ordinances! Some of the leading men brought themselves under the suspicion of being engaged in a conspiracy; they were arrested forthwith, condemned and beheaded. The next day a carpet was spread out on the market place; the dead bodies were laid upon it, each having a lighted torch burning beside it: thus were they left the whole day.

It is true that after this, Paul III. granted some alleviations, but these by no means involved the removal of the bondage to which the city was subjected; he was far from restoring the ancient liberties.[1]

But he rather made use of this same Bernardino della Barba, in depriving some other of his cities of their liberties.

The pope had raised the price of salt by about one half. The city of Perugia thought that its privileges entitled it to oppose this impost. The pope pronounced the interdict; the citizens, having assembled in the church, elected for themselves a magistracy consisting of "twenty-five defenders;" they laid the keys of their gates before a crucifix in the market place. Both sides prepared for war.

The circumstance of so important a city having risen against the domination of the pope, excited a general agitation. It would have been followed by notable results had there been any war besides in Italy. But as all was quiet there, not a single state could afford the assistance they had reckoned on receiving.

Accordingly, although Perugia was not quite powerless, still it was far from possessing force enough to resist such an army as Peter Lewis Farnese had collected, consisting of 10,000 Italians and 300 Spaniards. The government, too, of the five and twenty was rather arbitrary and violent than prudent and protective. They had not even money in readiness for the payment of the troops that had been brought them by one of the Baglione. Their sole ally, Ascanius Colonna, who opposed the same impost, contented himself with driving the cattle from the territory of the church, but could not bring himself to render any more serious assistance.

Thus after a brief enjoyment of freedom, the city had again

[1] Saracini, Notizie istoriche della città d'Ancona.—[Saracini, Historical Notices of the city of Ancona.] II. XI. p. 335.

to submit, on 3d of June 1540. In long mourning cloaks and with halters about their necks, its deputies appeared in the portico of St. Peter's at the feet of the pope, to implore his mercy.

This, it is true, he granted them, but meanwhile he had utterly destroyed their liberties. Their privileges he had quite abolished.

The same Bernardino della Barba that had arranged matters at Ancona, came to do the same at Perugia. Arms were delivered up, the chains with which the streets had hitherto been closed, were removed, the houses of the five and twenty, who had absconded, were levelled with the ground, and a castle was erected on the spot where the Bagliones had had their residence. The citizens themselves having to assess themselves for the expense. A magistrate was appointed over them whose name showed at once the object for which he was designed. He was called the conservator of ecclesiastical obedience, and though a subsequent pope restored his title of prior, this was done without restoring any of the ancient privileges.[1]

Meanwhile Ascanius Colonna, too, was invaded by the same force and driven out of all his strongholds.

By so many fortunate hits the papal government was immensely aggrandised; neither the cities nor the barons ventured any longer to oppose it; it had subjected to itself the free municipalities one after another; it could coerce to its own purposes all the resources of the country.

Let us now consider how it carried out this.

FINANCES.

First of all then, it is of consequence that we have before us the system of the papal finances; a system which is of importance not only as respects these states of the church, but on account of the example it presented to all Europe.

While we remark that the business of exchanges during the middle ages, was mainly indebted, for the form it assumed, to the particular nature of the papal revenues, which falling due in all

[1] Mariotti, Memorie istoriche civili ed ecclesiastiche della città di Perugia e suo contado,—[Mariotti's Historical and Ecclesiastical Memoirs of the city of Perugia and its vicinity,] Perugia, 1806, relates this occurrence, I. p. 113—160, authentically and minutely. Subsequent references are made to it, for example in vol. III. p. 634.

parts of the world, were transmitted from all sides to the Curia, so it is no less worthy of observation, that the constitution and management of state debts which at this moment presses us on every side, and cramps and hampers all the operations of commerce, was first systematically developed in the states of the church.

With whatever justice people may have complained of the exactions which Rome allowed herself to make during the fifteenth century, it is evident, nevertheless, that but little of the proceeds came into the hands of the pope. Pius II. enjoyed the general obedience of Europe; yet from want of money he had once to limit himself and his circle to a single meal in the day. He had to borrow the 200,000 ducats required for his projected war with the Turks. Even the petty means which many a pope employed in order to obtain[1] from a prince, bishop, or grand-master, who had any affair at the court, some such present as a cup of gold with some ducats in it, or a piece of fur-work, only show that the establishment conducted there was singularly poor.

The money, though not in the extraordinary sums that people have assumed, yet in very considerable sums, went certainly to the court, but there it was melted away in a thousand hands. It became absorbed by the public offices, which now for a long time it had been the custom to sell. They were mostly based on fees and perquisites; ample room was left for the industry of those who held them, in multiplying exactions. The pope received the purchase money on the occurrence of vacancies.

In the event of the pope embarking in any expensive undertaking, he had to provide for it by extraordinary means. On this very account jubilees and indulgences were most desirable to him; for by such means he had a clear income secured to him by the good nature of the faithful. Then there was yet another means which readily presented itself. In order to obtain a sum of money of considerable amount, all that was required was to create new offices and then to sell them; a singular kind of bor-

[1] Voigt, Voices from Rome on the papal court in the fifteenth century, in the Historical Pocket-Book of Fr. von Raumer 1833, has many notices on this subject. Whoever has the book called, "Schlesten vor und seit dem Jahre 1740," will find in vol. II. p. 483, not a bad satire on this disorder of present-giving from the fifteenth century: "Passio domini papæ secundum marcam auri et argenti."—[The passion of our lord the pope according to the mark of gold or silver.]

rowing, the interest of which was dearly paid for by the church, in augmented dues. It had already been long in use. According to an authentic register procured from the Chigi family, there were about 650 purchasable offices in the year 1471, the annual revenues of which were calculated at nearly 100,000 scudi.[1] These offices were almost all those of procurators, registrars, abbreviators, correctors, notaries, scriveners, even runners and door-keepers, whose increasing numbers were continually enhancing the charges of a bull or a brief. For this very purpose they were created; the business done in them amounted to little or nothing.

It may readily be supposed that the following popes, who entangled themselves so deeply in the affairs of Europe, must have greedily laid hold of so convenient a method of filling their coffers. In this Sixtus IV. availed himself of the advice of his prothonatary Sinalfo. He erected whole colleges at once, and sold the places in these for a few hundred ducats apiece. Strange were the titles that appeared on this occasion, as, for example, a college of 100 Janissaries, who received their appointments on payment of 100,000 ducats, for which was made over to them the revenue derived from bulls and annates.[2] Notaryships, prothonotaryships, the places held by procurators practising at the chamber, all were sold by Sixtus IV.; in short he carried the system so far that he has been considered its founder. It was since his time at least that it began fairly to prosper. Innocent VIII., who in the course of his embarrassments went so far as to pledge the papal tiara twice, founded a college of twenty-six secretaries for 60,000 scudi, and other offices fully to the same extent. Alexander VI. appointed eighty writers of brieves, each of whom had to pay 750 scudi; to these Julius II. added one hundred writers of archives at the same price.

Meanwhile, the sources from which all these hundreds of offices drew the emoluments attached to them, were not inex-

[1] Gli ufficii più antichi. MS. Bibliotheca Chigi N. II. 50.—[The most ancient offices. MS. Chigi Library, No. II. 50.] There are 651 offices and 98,340 Sc. fin alla creatione di [down to the creation of] Sisto IV. So far from true is what Panvinius says, that Sixtus IV. was the first that sold them, p. 348.

[2] There were besides these Stradiots and Mamelukes, who however were afterwards abolished. "Adstipulatores, sine quibus nullæ possent confici tabulæ."—[Cautioners, without whom no tables could be completed.] Onuphrius Panvinius. According to the register ufficii antichi this creation would have produced only 40,000 ducats.

haustible. We have seen how almost all Christian states simultaneously endeavoured, and not unsuccessfully, to circumscribe the encroachments of the papal court. These endeavours were made at the very time that the popes were driven by their great undertakings into an extraordinary expenditure.

The acquisition of the state was fortunate for them, for therewith, notwithstanding the mildness of their treatment of it at first, they obtained many new revenues. It can be no matter of surprise that they administered these quite in the same way as they had done the ecclesiastical.

When Julius II. secured the salaries of the clerks we have mentioned by an assignation to the annates, he further added securities charged on the customs and exchequer. He established a college of 141 presidents of the corn-laws, endowed entirely from the exchequer. Next he applied the surplus revenue of his territory to the purpose of founding loans upon it. What seemed in this pope most remarkable to the other powers, was that he could raise as much money as he pleased. His policy in a good measure rested on this.

But the necessities of Leo X. far exceeded those of Julius II.; for besides being no less involved in war, he was much more prodigal in his expenditure and dependent on his relations. "That the pope should ever have a thousand ducats by him at one time," says Francis Vettori of him, "were as impossible as that a stone should of itself fly upwards." It was complained of him that he had squandered three popedoms, that of his predecessor, from whom he had inherited a considerable treasure, his own, and that of his successor, to whom he left an immoderate amount of debts. He was not content with selling the existing offices; his extensive appointment of cardinals brought him a considerable sum; and he advanced in the boldest manner along this course that had now been commenced of creating new offices, for the mere purpose of selling them. He alone established 1200 of them.[1] The essential feature in all these portionarii, scudieri,

[1] Sommario di la relation di M. Minio 1520: "Non ha contanti, perchè è liberal, non sa tenir danari: poi li Fiorentini, che si fanno e sono soi parenti, non li lassa mai aver un soldo: e diti Fiorentini è in gran odio in corte, perchè in ogni cosa è Fiorentini."—[Abstract of the narrative of M. Minio, 1520. He has no ready money, for he is liberal; he knows not how to keep hard cash when he has it; then the Florentines who are about him, and are his relations, never allow him to have a penny, and the said Florentines are much hated at court, for they have a share in every thing.]

cavalieri di S. Pietro, and others of various names, was that they paid down a certain sum, the interest of which they drew for life under that title. Their office was of no importance beyond its enhancing the enjoyment of the interest by some petty prerogatives. This was really nothing but raising money on life annuities. From these offices Leo drew about 900,000 scudi. The interests, which yet were far from insignificant, amounting to an eighth part of the capital,[1] were secured, it is true, in a great measure on a small impost on church dues; but in the main, they came from the treasuries of the provinces that had been conquered shortly before, that is, from the surplus of the municipal administrations, which went into the state exchequer, the produce of the alum-works, the sale of salt, and the customs at Rome. Leo raised the number of offices to 2150; their yearly income was reckoned at 320,000 scudi, forming a burthen that pressed alike on the church and on the state.

Now, however much to be blamed this prodigality was in itself, yet Leo may have been confirmed in it by its effects, for the moment, being rather advantageous than mischievous. To these monetary transactions, we must, in fact, partly attribute the uncommon prosperity of Rome at that time. There was not a spot in the world in which a man could lay out his money to better advantage. Through the multitude of new creations, vacancies and re-appointments, a movement was kept up at the Curia which presented to every man the possibility of easy success in life.

By means of such operations, too, the necessity was further obviated of burthening the state with new impositions. There is not a doubt that the ecclesiastical state of all the countries, and Rome of all the cities in Italy, at that time, paid the least taxes. Already before this, it had been represented to the Romans that every other city paid to its lord heavy loans and oppressive imposts, while their lord, the pope, much rather enriched them. A secretary of Clement VII. who soon after wrote an account of the conclave at which that pope was elected, expresses his surprise at the people of Rome not being more

[1] The 612 "Portionarii di ripa, aggiunti al collegio dei presidenti,"—[portionaries of the riverside, added to the college of presidents,] paid 286,200 and received 38,816 ducats per annum: the 400 Cavalieri di S. Pietro (knights of St. Peter) paid 400,000 and received in return 50,610 ducats a year.

devoted to the holy see, from their having so little to suffer in the way of taxation. "From Terracina to Piacenza," he exclaims, "the church possesses a large and fine part of Italy; its dominion extends far and wide, yet all these blooming lands and wealthy cities, which under any other government would have to maintain large armies with the taxes levied on them, pay the Roman pope hardly so much as covers the expenses of the civil government.[1]"

But from the very nature of things, this could not last longer than there was an excess of income above the expenditure, in the government treasury. Already had Leo X. found it impossible to fund all his debts. Alvise Gaddi advanced him 32,000, Bernardi Bini 200,000 ducats; Salviati, Rudolphi, in short all his ministers and connections, exerted themselves to the utmost, to procure him money; looking to his liberality, and comparatively youthful years, they hoped for repayment and splendid gratitude; by his sudden death they were, all of them, ruined.

On the whole, he left an exhaustion behind him which it fell to the lot of his successor to experience.

The general hatred which poor Adrian brought upon himself, arose in part from his adopting the plan of imposing a direct tax to relieve him from the great poverty in which he found himself. It was to amount to half a ducat for each hearth;[2] and the impression it made was all the worse that people had been so little accustomed to such demands.

But Clement VII., too, could not dispense with the imposition of at least new indirect taxes. Cardinal Armelin became the object of popular murmurs, from being supposed the inventor of these; the raising of the dues levied on all articles of food on passing the gates, caused particular discontent; but this people

[1] Vianesius Albergatus, Commentarii rerum sui temporis (which is nothing but a description of the conclave): "Opulentissimi populi et ditissimæ urbes, quæ si alterius ditionis essent, suis vectigalibus vel magnos exercitus alere possent, Romano pontifici vix tantum tributum pendunt quantum in prætorum magistratuumque expensam sufficere queat."—[See the text.] In the "Relation" of Sorzi, 1517, the revenues of Perugia, Spoleto, the Mark and Romagna, according to a sketch by Francis Armelin, are estimated at 120,000 ducats. The half of this came into the papal exchequer. "Di quel somma la mità è per terra, per pagar i legati et altri officii, e altra mità ha il papa."—[Of which sum the half is for the land, to pay the legates and other offices, and the pope has the other half.] Unfortunately there are not a few errors in the copy of the "Relation," in Sanuto.

[2] Hieronymo Negro a Marc Antonio Micheli, 7 April 1523. Lettere di Principi, I. 114.

had just to bear.[1] Things were in such a state that it was necessary to have recourse to supplies of a totally different kind.

Loans had been made hitherto under the form of purchasable offices; Clement VII. first approached the pure loan, at a critical moment, just as he was preparing to encounter Charles V. in the year 1526.

In the case of the offices, the capital was lost at the demise of the person who held one, in so far as his family failed to have it restored to them by the papal exchequer. Clement now raised a capital of 200,000 ducats, which did not indeed bear so high a rate of interest, but yet it was a very considerable rate, ten per cent, and moreover it went to heirs. This was a Monte non vacabile, the Monte della Fede. The interests were secured on the customs.

The Monte had its security further enhanced, by the creditors having a share in the administration of the customs granted to them. But in this again, there is evidence that the old form was not altogether departed from. The Montists formed a college. A few contractors paid the total amount to the exchequer, and then disposed of it in individual sums to the members of this college.

Shall it, indeed, be said that the state creditors, in so far as they had a right to the common income, to the produce of the labour of all, acquired thereby an indirect share in the civil government? So at least it appears to have been understood at that time in Rome, and without the form of such a participation, capitalists would not agree to lend their money.

But this, as will come to be evident, was to commence financial operations of the most extensive description.

Paul III. continued them only to a moderate extent. He contented himself with lowering the interest on the Clementine Monte; and as he succeeded in obtaining new assignations in security, he raised the capital by nearly a half. Still he established no new Monte. The creation of six hundred new offices

[1] Foscari, Relatione 1526. "E qualche murmuration in Roma etiam per causa del cardinal Armellin, qual truova nuove invention per trovar danari in Roma, e fa metter nove angarie, e fino chi porta tordi a Roma et altre cose di manzar paga tanto: la qual angaria importa da duc. 2500."—[There is some murmuring at Rome caused even by Cardinal Armellin, for having discovered a new method of finding money in Rome, and has made new taxes to be laid on, and at last has brought thrushes at Rome and other provisions to such a price; which impost brings 2500 ducats.]

may have indemnified him for this moderation. The measure by which he distinguished himself in the financial history of the states of the church, lay in something different.

We have seen what a commotion arose on the enhancement of the price of salt which he had ventured on. He relinquished even that. But in its place, and with the express promise that he would abandon it, he introduced the direct impost called the Sussidio. This was the same impost that was exacted at that time in so many countries in the south of Europe, and which we meet with again in Spain as the servicio, in Naples as the donative, in Milan as the mensuale, and under other titles elsewhere. In the states of the church it was originally introduced for three years, and fixed at 300,000 scudi. The contribution to be sent up by each of the provinces was determined in Rome itself; the provincial parliaments assembled for the purpose of apportioning it out among the different towns. These again further distributed it over town and country. Every one thus became subject to payment of his share. The bull expressly ordained that all secular subjects of the Roman church, even though exempted, and though privileged, not excluding marquesses, barons, vassals, and public functionaries, were to pay ratably to this contribution.[1]

But it was not paid without keen reclamations, particularly on its being observed that it came to be continually prorogued from three years to three years, and accordingly was never taken off again. Neither was it ever fully brought into the exchequer,[2] and Bologna, which was rated at 30,000 scudi, was clever enough to purchase for itself a perpetual exemption by paying down a sum of money on the spot. Parma and Piacenza were alienated and paid no longer; while Fano presents us with a specimen of how matters went on in other towns. Under the pretext that it had been rated too high, this city long refused payment. Thereupon Paul III. found himself induced even to remit payment for the terms that had elapsed, but under the condition that it should expend an equal amount on the restoration of its

[1] Bullar. In the year 1537 he declared to the French ambassador: "la débilité du revenu de l' église (meaning thereby the state), dont elle n'avoit point maintenant 40m écus de rente par an de quoi elle puisse faire éstat."—[The feebleness of the revenues of the church (meaning the state), of which it had not then 40,000 crowns of available yearly income.] See Ribier, I. 69.

[2] Bull: Decens esse censemus: 5 Sept. 1543. Bull. Cocq. IV. I. 225.

walls. Subsequently to this, too, a third part of the sum at which the city was rated, continued to be allowed on that behalf. Not the less on that account, did those who came afterwards complain of the excessive rate at which they were assessed; the rural communes also continually grumbled at the proportion of the tax that had been imposed on them by the city; they made attempts to withdraw from under the government of the town council, and while the latter asserted its independent authority, they would gladly have submitted to the duke of Urbino. It would carry us too far to discuss these petty interests any further. Enough, if we recognise how it was that not much above the half of the sussidio was realized.[1] In the year 1560, the whole impost was assessed at 165,000 scudi.

Notwithstanding its being so, yet this pope raised the revenues of the states of the church in a remarkable degree. Under Julius II. they were reckoned at 350,000 scudi; under Leo at 420,000, under Clement VII. in 1526, at 500,000. Immediately after the death of Paul III. they are given in an authentic statement which the Venetian ambassador, Dandolo, procured from the exchequer, as amounting to 706,473 scudi.

Those who followed, nevertheless, did not find themselves much the better for this rise. Julius III. complains in one of his instructions that his predecessor had alienated the whole of the revenues, no doubt with the exception of the sussidio, which could not be alienated, in as much as, nominally at least, it was never imposed but for three years only, and, over and above, had left behind him 500,000 scudi of floating debt.[2]

As Julius III., in spite of this, rushed into his war with the French and the Farneses, he necessarily involved himself in the greatest embarrassments. Although the imperialists gave him

[1] Bull of Paul IV. Cupientes indemnitati: 15 April 1559. Bullar. Cocq. IV. I. 358. "Exactio, causantibus diversis exceptionibus, libertatibus et immunitatibus a solutione ipsius subsidii diversis communitatibus et universitatibus et particularibus personis, nec non civitatibus, terris, oppidis et locis nostri status ecclesiastici concessis, et factis diversarum portionum ejusdem subsidii donationibus seu remissionibus, vix ad dimidium summæ trecentorum millium scutorum hujusmodi ascendit."—[The impost, owing to the various exceptions, franchises, and immunities from payment of the said subsidy, granted to divers communities and universities and particular persons, as well as to cities, lands, towns and places of our ecclesiastical state, and to donations or remissions made of various portions of the said subsidy, hardly amounted in this way to the half of the sum of three hundred thousand scudi.]

[2] Instruttione per voi Monsignore d'Imola: ultimo di Marzo 1551. Informationi politiche, tom. XII.

what was no insignificant aid in money for those times, yet all his brieves are full of complaints. "He had expected to raise 100,000 scudi in Ancona; instead of that he had not got 100,000 bajocchi; instead of 120,000 scudi from Bologna he had received only 50,000: immediately on the back of the promises of the bankers of Genoa and Lucca, there had come intimations recalling these; and whoever possessed a farthing withheld it, and would not run the risk of its being lost."[1]

If the pope wished to have his military forces brought together, he necessarily required to have recourse to stronger measures; he resolved to institute a new Monte, and did it in a way that has been followed almost ever since.

He imposed a new tax by charging two carlini on every rubbio of flour. After all deductions, this brought him 30,000 scudi, which sum he set apart as interest for a capital, which he raised forthwith; and thus he founded the Monte della farina. Let us observe how closely this resembled the earlier financial operations; just as offices connected with the church were erected in former times, and appointed to be paid out of the prospective augmentations of the dues paid to the Curia, for the sole object of having these offices to sell, and receiving in hand the sum that was required at the moment, so were the revenues of the state now augmented by a new impost, but this was employed only as the interest of a large capital, which could not be obtained in any other way. Such was the procedure of all the popes that followed. Sometimes these Monti were, like the Clementine, non vacabili; sometimes however they were vacabili, that is, the obligation to pay interest ceased with the death of the creditor. In this last case the interest was higher, and in the collegiate character given to the Montists, there was a nearer approach to the system of raising money by creating offices. Paul IV. established the Monte novennale de Frati on a tribute to which he compelled the regular orders of Monks to submit. Pius IV. levied a quatrin on every pound of meat, and employed the proceeds immediately in founding a Monte non vacabile, which then brought him 170,000 scudi. Pius V. imposed a new quatrin on the pound of meat, and on this established the Monte Lega.

It is by keeping this course of things in view, that the gene-

[1] Il papa a Giovamb. di Monte, 2 April 1552.

ral importance of the states of the church first comes fully before us. Yet what were the necessities by which the popes were compelled to have recourse to so strange a kind of loan, and one that imposed so direct a burthen on their territory? It was, generally speaking, the necessities of Roman catholicism at large. When purely political tendencies passed away, there remained none but the ecclesiastical for people to aim at accomplishing. The support of the Roman catholic powers in their contest with the Protestants, and in their enterprises against the Turks, now almost invariably became the first cause that led to new financial operations. The Monte of Pius the V. was called di Lega,[1] because the capital which it procured was applied to the war with the Turks, entered upon by that pope while in league with Spain and Venice. This became more and more a settled system. In this way every European movement affected the states of the church. These had on almost every occasion to contribute by some new burthen or other, to the maintenance of Roman catholic interests, precisely on which account the preservation of these states was of importance to the ecclesiastical position of the popes.

They were not, however, content with Monti; they did not allow the old methods of raising money to drop. They went on creating new offices, or cavalierate (knighthoods) with special privileges attached to them, whether the remunerations were proportionally met by new imposts, or that, from the remarkable depreciation of money which then took place, more considerable sums were paid into the exchequer.[2]

By this means it now came about that the papal revenues, after a short diminution under Paul IV. and caused by his wars, from that time forward constantly rose. Even under Paul they rose again to 700,000 scudi; under Pius, they were reckoned at 898,482 scudi. Paul Tiepolo was amazed at finding them, after an absence of nine years, increased, by about 200,000 scudi, and risen to 1,100,000. The only thing extraordinary was, which however could not have been otherwise, that the popes notwithstanding this increase, in reality received no more.

[1] Of the league. Tr.

[2] Thus about 1580, many "luoghi di Monte"—[government funds] stood at 130 instead of 100: the interests of the vacabili were lowered from 14 to 9 (per cent), which, on the whole, made a mighty saving.

With the rise in the amount of the taxes, alienations were proportionally augmented. It is calculated that Julius III. alienated 54,000, Paul IV. 45,960, but Pius IV. who turned every thing to account, alienated no less than 182,550 scudi of the revenues. Pius IV. increased the number of saleable offices to 3500, exclusive of course of the Monti, which were not reckoned among the offices.[1] Under this pope the amount of alienations rose to 450,000; they still continued to increase, and in 1576, had risen to 530,000. Great as had been the increase in the revenues, this nearly absorbed half the entire amount.[2]

The accounts of the papal revenues present a remarkable aspect about this period. After naming, article by article, the sums which the farmers of the revenues had contracted to give, the contracts with the farmers being generally made for nine years, we have a statement of the amount of alienations. The custom-house at Rome, for example, in 1576, and the following year, yielded the respectable sum of 133,000 scudi; but of this 111,170 was assigned (to the payment of interests); still further deductions had to be made, so that the exchequer did not receive above 13,000 scudi. Some imposts on corn, meat, and wine, left no remainder, the monti payments having to be provided for out of them. From several of the provincial government chests, called treasuries, which had likewise to meet the wants of the provinces, for example, from the Mark and from Camerina, not a farthing came into the papal exchequer. And yet the sussidio was often added to these. Nay, the alum pits of Tolfa, on which formerly much dependence was placed, were so heavily burthened with the interests secured upon them, that the produce fell short of them by about two thousand scudi.[3]

[1] Lista degli ufficii della corte Romana, 1560.—[List of the offices attached to the Roman court.] Bibl. Chigi No. II. 50. Many other individual notices of different years.

[2] Tiepolo reckons that besides 100,000 scudi for payment of salaries, 270,000 were spent on fortresses and nuncio's offices, so that the net sum received by the pope never amounted to 200,000. He calculates afterwards that the popes had received, under the pretext of its being needed for the Turkish war, 1,800,000, and yet had applied to that purpose only 340,000.

So that the embezzlements of their Holinesses amounted to the respectable sum of 1,460,000 scudi, equal to more than seven times their lawful net revenue! Tr.

[3] For example, Entrata della reverenda camera apostolica sotto il pontificato di N. S. Gregorio XIII. fatta nell' anno 1576. MS. Gothana, No. 219.—[Income of the reverend apostolic exchequer under the pontificate of our Lord Gregory XIII., drawn up in the year 1576. Gotha MS. n. 219.]

The pope had mainly to look to the dataria for his personal expenses and those of his court. The revenues of the dataria were of two kinds. The one consisted of such as were more ecclesiastical in their nature, such as compositions, being fixed payments in money, for which the datarius allowed regresses, reservations, and other canonical irregularities, on the occasion of a person passing from one benefice to another. Paul IV., by the strictness of his procedure, had much diminished these, but they had again gradually increased. The other kind was of a more secular quality. They accrued upon the vacancy and new endorsements of the cavalierate, saleable offices, and shares in the monti vacabili; they increased in proportion as these became more numerous.[1] But both together, about the year 1570, did not amount to more than barely sufficient to meet the daily necessities of the household.

Now this development of things quite altered the condition of the states of the church. Whereas they had once gloried in being the least burthened of all the Italian states, now they were taxed as heavily, nay more heavily than the others,[2] and loud were the complaints of the inhabitants. But little remained of the old municipal independence. The action of the government became more and more regular. The rights of the administration used often, formerly, to be handed over to favoured cardinals and prelates, who made no inconsiderable gains by them. The fellow-countrymen of the popes, such as the Florentines under the Medici, the Neapolitans under Paul IV. and the Milanese under Pius IV., had accordingly enjoyed the best situations. Pius V. put a stop to this. Yet none of these favourites ever personally administered the government; they uniformly committed it to a doctor of law;[3] Pius V. appointed

[1] According to Mocenigo 1560, the Dataria drew before that between 10,000 and 14,000 ducats. Under Paul IV. they came to from 3,000 to 4,000 ducats less.

[2] Paolo Tiepolo, Relatione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV. e Pio V., says already: "L'impositione allo stato ecclesiastico è gravezza quasi insopportabile per essere per diversi altri conti molto aggravato; - - d'alienare più entrate della chiesa non vi è più ordine, perchè quasi tutte l'entrate certe si trovano gia alienate e sopra l'incerto non si trovaria chi desse danari."—[The taxes imposed on the states of the church form a grievance that may be considered as intolerable, being much aggravated by various other means; - - the alienation of more of the revenues of the church is no longer the order of things there, as it may be said that all the certain revenues are alienated already, and nobody can be found to give money on such as are uncertain.]

[3] Tiepolo, ibid. "Qualche governo o legatione rispondeva sino a tre, quatro, o forse sette mila e più scudi l'anno. E quasi tutti allegramente ricevendo il denaro

this doctor himself, and appropriated to the exchequer the gains which had previously flowed into the coffers of these favourites. All things became more orderly and tranquil. A militia had formerly been established, and 160,000 men had been enrolled; Pius IV. had kept a body of light horse; Pius V. dispensed with both the one and the other. The cavalry he disbanded, and allowed the militia to drop; his whole armed force amounted to less than 500 men, the mass of whom was composed of 350 men, chiefly Swiss, at Rome. But for the necessity of guarding the coast from the attacks of the Turks, people would have become quite unused to arms. This warlike population seemed willing to become perfectly peaceable. The popes wished to administer the government of the country as one would manage a large estate, the rents of which should indeed partly go to the use of the family, but in the main should be applied to the necessities of the church.

We shall see, however, that in this attempt they met once more with great difficulties

THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.—GREGORY XIII.

GREGORY XIII.—Hugo Buoncompagno of Bologna, had been brought up as a jurist and in secular services, and was naturally lively and of a jovial disposition. He had a son, born it is true, before his ordination to the priesthood, yet not in marriage; and although ever after his ordination he had lived a regular life, yet at no time was he scrupulous; he rather manifested his disapprobation of a certain kind of strictness, and seemed disposed to conduct himself after the example of Pius IV. whose minister he immediately brought again into office, rather than that of his immediate predecessors.[1] But in this pope we see the mighty influence of sentiments that have once gained the ascendancy. A century earlier he would, at the most, have reigned like an Innocent VIII. Now on the contrary, even such a man as he

si scaricavano del peso del governo col mettere un dottore in luogo loro."—[Each government or legation answered to as much as three, four, or perhaps six thousand scudi a year. And while almost all gladly took the money, they threw off the burthen of government by putting a doctor (of laws) in their place.]

1 It was expected that he would govern in a different manner from his predecessors: "mitiori quadam hominumque captui accommodatiori ratione"—[by a certain milder method, and one better fitted to captivate men]. Commentarii de rebus Gregorii XIII. (MS. Bibl. Alb.)

could no longer emancipate himself from the power of the strict spiritual tendencies.

There was a party at court which had made it their grand aim to maintain and defend these. It was composed of Jesuits, Theatines and their friends. We find mentioned by name Monsignors Frumento and Corniglia, that dauntless preacher Francis Toledo, and the Datarius Contarell. They acquired an overpowering influence over the pope, the more readily from their acting in concert. They represented to him that the respect enjoyed by Pius V. was mainly to be ascribed to his personal conduct. In all the letters they read to him, nothing was introduced but the remembrance of the holy life of the deceased, and the renown of his reforms and his virtues. Every expression to the contrary was suppressed. They gave a thoroughly spiritual character to the ambition of Gregory XIII.[1]

How much must he have had it at heart to promote his son and to elevate him to princely dignities. But out of the very first act of favour bestowed on him, his appointment as warder of St. Angelo and standard-bearer of the church, there was made a case of conscience by the associated friends; during the jubilee of 1575, they did not suffer Giacomo to be in Rome; as soon as that was over, they permitted him to return; even then, however, for this sole reason that the discontentment of the aspiring youth was hurting his health. Gregory then married him; he gave his sanction to the Venetians[2] naming him one of their nobili, and to the king of Spain's appointing him general of his men at arms. Nevertheless, he at all times was careful to keep

[1] Relatione della corte di Roma a tempo di Gregorio XIII. (Bibl. Corsini 714) 20 Feb. 1574, is full of information on this subject. Speaking of the temper of the pope, the author says, "non è stato scrupuloso nè dissoluto mai, e le son dispiaciute le cose malfatte."—[it has never been either scrupulous or dissolute, and ill deeds have displeased it.]

[2] On this occasion they had to indicate the difficulty attending his birth. It has been boasted of as a proof of the tact of the Venetians, that he was called Signor Giacomo Boncompagno, "closely allied with His Holiness." This was properly an evasion of Cardinal Como's. While the matter was under discussion, the ambassador asked the minister, if Giacomo was to be called the son of His Holiness. "S. Sgria Illma prontamente, dopo avere scusato con molte parole il fatto di S. Sa, che prima che havesse alcuno ordine ecclesiastico generasse questo figlivolo, disse: che si potrebbe nominarlo per il Sr Jacomo Boncompagno Bolognese strettamente congiunto con Sua Santità."—[His most illustrious Lordship, after having excused with many words what His Holiness had done, that he had begotten this son before having been ordained to any ecclesiastical office, said readily; that he might be called by the name of Lord Jacomo Boncompagno, of Bologna, straitly allied with His Holiness.] Dispaccio Paolo Tiepolo 3 Marzo 1574.

him within bounds. Once that he succeeded in procuring liberation from custody for one of his university friends, the pope banished him anew, and proposed to deprive him of all his offices. This was prevented only by the young wife throwing herself at his feet. But the time for cherishing higher expectations was long since gone by.[1] It was during the last years of the pope's life that Giacomo, for the first time, had any influence with his father, neither was it then in the important business of the state, nor unrestricted.[2] If his influence with the pope were asked for, he would shrug his shoulders.

Now, if such were the case with the son of the pope, how much less durst other relations entertain any hopes of irregular favours, or of having a share in the government. Gregory raised two ot his nephews to the cardinalship; Pius V. had also done something of the same kind; but to the third who presented himself no less for promotion, he even refused an audience, obliging him within two days to remove again to a distance. The pope's brother also had set out for the purpose of enjoying a glimpse of the good fortune that had befallen his family; he had already reached Orvieto, but there was met by a messenger from the court, commanding him to return. Tears started into the old man's eyes, and he could not refrain from pursuing his journey to Rome a short distance farther, but receiving a second order, he went back in good earnest to Bologna.[3]

Enough has been said to show that this pope can never be fairly charged with promoting nepotism, or illegally favouring his family. When a cardinal who had just received his appointment as such, said that he should ever feel grateful to the pope's family and nephews; striking the arm chair with his hands, he exclaimed: "You must be grateful to God and the holy see."

Thus much was he already imbued with the religious tendencies.

[1] Antonio Tiepolo, Dispacci Agosto, Sett. 1576.—[Despatches in August and Sept. 1576.] In the year 1583 (29 March) it is said in one of these despatches: "il Signor Giacomo non si lascia intromettere in cose di stato."—[Signor Giacomo is not allowed to intermeddle with state affairs.]

[2] In these last days of his life only did the opinion hold good of him which has very strongly established itself, and which I find for example in Richelieu's Memoirs: "prince doux et benin fut meilleur homme que bon pape."—[a mild and benevolent prince, a better man he was than a good pope.] It will be seen in how limited a measure this was true.

[3] The worthy man complained that his brother's elevation to the popedom rather injured than benefited him, by obliging him to spend more than Gregory ever made up to him.

In the piety of his behaviour he endeavoured not merely to equal, but even to surpass Pius V.[1] During the first years of his pontificate, he himself read mass three times a week, and never once omitted doing so on Sunday. His walk and conversation were not only irreproachable but edifying.

There were certain functions of the pontificate which no man ever administered more faithfully than Gregory. He kept lists of men belonging to all countries, who were considered as fit for the episcopal office. Whenever any one was proposed, he showed that he was fully informed on the bearings of the case; he sought with the utmost care to direct how those important offices might best be filled.

Above all things he took pains to promote strict ecclesiastical instruction. He supported the extension of the Jesuitical colleges with extraordinary liberality. He made munificent presents to the house occupied by the "professed" of that order, in Rome; he bought houses, shut up streets, and assigned revenues in order to give the college that entire form which we see it bear at the present day. It was calculated for twenty lecture rooms and three hundred and sixty cells for the students; it was called the seminary of all nations; at its very first institution, in order to show that it was meant to embrace the whole world, twenty-five discourses were delivered in different languages, each, however, accompanied at the same time with a translation in Latin.[2] The collegium Germanicum, which had already been established for some time, was in jeopardy from want of funds; the pope not only gave it the palace of St. Apollinarius and the revenues of St. Stephen's on the Monte Celio, he likewise assigned to it 10,000 scudi chargeable on the apostolic exchequer. In fact Gregory may be regarded as having properly been the founder of that institution, out of which, ever since that time, there has

[1] "Seconda relazione dell'ambasciatore di Roma Cl^mo M. Paolo Tiepolo Cav^re 3 Maggio 1576. Nella religione ha tolto non solo d'imitar, ma ancora d'avanzar Pio V.; dice per l'ordinario almeno tre volte messa alla settimana. Ha avuto particolar cura delle chiese, facendole non solo con fabriche et altri modi ornar, ma ancora colla assistentia e frequentia di preti accrescer nel culto divino."—[Second report from the ambassador at Rome, the most illustrious Paul Tiepolo, Knight, 3d May, 1576. In religion he has taken not only to imitate, but even to surpass Pius V.; he says mass ordinarily thrice in the week. He pays particular attention to the churches, not only causing them to be adorned with architectural and other kinds of ornament, but further to be filled by enjoining the attendance of a number of priests at divine worship.]

[2] Dispaccio Donato, 13 Genn. 1582.

been annually sent a whole host of defenders of Roman catholicism into Germany. He established an English college also at Rome, and found suitable means to endow it. He supported the colleges at Vienna and Gratz from his privy purse, and probably there was not a single Jesuit-school in the world which had not to boast, in one way or other, of his bounty. On the advice of the bishop of Sitia he also established a Greek college. It was to be open for the reception of young people of from thirteen to sixteen years of age; not only from countries subject to Christian dominion, such as Corfu and Candia, but even from Constantinople, the Morea, and Salonichi. They were provided with Greek schoolmasters; they were dressed in the caftan and Venetian cap; and were never suffered to forget that they were to return to their native country. They were to be allowed to retain their peculiar ritual as well as their language; and it was intended that they should be instructed in those doctrinal principles on which the Greek and Latin churches were united.[1]

Gregory's reformation of the calendar also, must be ascribed to that assiduous care of his, which embraced the collective Roman catholic world. The Tridentine council had desired it, it was rendered indispensable by the displacement of the high feasts from the relation which the decrees of councils had ordained them to hold to certain periods of the year. All Roman catholic nations took part in this reform. A Calabrian, little known in other respects, called Lewis Lilio, has earned for himself undying renown by having pointed out the readiest method of remedying the evil. His proposal was communicated to all the universities, among others to the Spanish, Salamanca and Alcala; communications approving of it came fast in from all sides. A commission in Rome, the most active and most learned member of which was our countryman Clavius,[2] then subjected it to a fresh examination, and drew up the definitive decree. The learned Cardinal Sirleto had the greatest influence in all that was done on this occasion. Matters were conducted in it with a certain

[1] Dispaccio Antonio Tiepolo, 16 Marzo 1577: "accio che fatto maggiori possano affettionatamente e con la verità imparata dar a vedere ai suoi Greci la vera via" —[in order that by the superiority of their behaviour they might affectionately, and with the truth imparted to them, enable their Greek countrymen to see the true way].

[2] Erythræus: "in quibus Christophorus Clavius principem locum obtinebat"— [among whom Christopher Clavius held the chief place].

degree of mystery; the new calendar was communicated to nobody, not even to the ambassadors, until it had received the approval of the various courts.[1] After that Gregory made a solemn announcement of it. He boasted of this reform as a proof of God's immense goodness towards his church.[2]

But all this pope's endeavours were not of so peaceful a nature. It made him miserable to find that first the Venetians concluded a peace, and then that even King Philip II. agreed to a truce with the Turks. Had it depended on him, the league that had won the victory of Lepanto, would never have been dissolved. An immense sphere of activity was opened up to him by the troubles in the Netherlands and in France, and by the mutual exasperation of parties in Germany. He was indefatigable in his projects against the Protestants. The risings which Queen Elizabeth had to contend with in Ireland, were almost always encouraged by aid from Rome. The pope made no secret of his desire to mature matters for a general attempt upon England. Year after year his nuncios negotiated about this with Philip II. and with the Guises. It would not be uninteresting to bring together all those negotiations and attempts, which were often unknown to those for whose ruin they were intended, and which resulted at length in the grand enterprise of the Armada. Gregory urged them on with the utmost warmth of zeal. The League in France which proved so formidable to Henry III. and Henry IV., had its origin in the understanding which this pope maintained with the Guises.

Now, although it be true that Gregory XIII. did not burthen the state much with the cost of favours conferred on his relations, yet such comprehensive and costly undertakings not the less obliged him to lay his hand on its resources. Even that expedition of Stuckley's, which afterwards completely failed in Africa, trifling as it was, he had allowed to cost him a considerable sum of money. Further, he sent Charles IX. on one occasion 400,000 ducats, raised from a direct pecuniary subsidy from the cities in the states of the church. He often gave support in money to the emperor, and to the grand master of the Maltese. But even his pacific efforts required a large expenditure. It was

[1] Dispaccio Donato 20 Dec. 1581, 2 Giugno 1582. He commends the cardinal as "huomo veramente di grande litteratura"—[a man truly of great learning].

[2] Bull of the 13th of Feb. 1582 § 12. Bullar. Cocq. IV. 4, 10.

reckoned that the support given to young people in their studies cost him two millions.[1] How heavy must have been the expense in which the twenty-two Jesuit colleges, which owed their origin to him, involved him.

In the financial operations of the state, which notwithstanding the gradual augmentation of the receipts, had never presented a clear surplus, these expenses must have often thrown him into sufficient embarrassment.

Soon after his ascending the pontifical throne, the Venetians made an attempt to prevail on him to grant them a loan. Gregory listened with increasing attention to the detailed proposal of the ambassador; when he saw at last what he would be at, he exclaimed: "Where am I, Mr. Ambassador, the congregation meets every day for the purpose of contriving how to procure money, and never finds an available means of doing so."[2]

Gregory XIII.'s mode of administering this government now became a matter of pre-eminent importance. People had already proceeded so far as to condemn both the alienations and also the raising of new imposts; the danger, nay the absolute ruin involved in such a system, became perfectly evident. Gregory called upon the congregation to procure him money, but not by spiritual concessions, nor by new imposts, nor by the sale of ecclesiastical revenues.

But after excluding these, what other methods remained to be thought of? Both the measures adopted and the effects they produced afterwards, demand our special attention.

Gregory, who was at all times guided by a boundless idea of the extent of legal rights, fancied he could discover that the ecclesiastical principality still possessed many such rights which it had only to turn to account, in order to obtain new resources.[3] He had no idea of sparing privileges that stood in his way. He abolished, without the least consideration, among other rights, that belonging to the Venetians, of exporting corn from the

[1] Calculation of Baronius. Possevinus in Ciacconius Vitæ Pontificum IV. 37. Lorenzo Priuli reckons that he annually expended 200,000 scudi on "opere pii"—[pious works]. The most copious and authentic notices on this subject are to be found in the extracts which Cocquelines gives from the reports of the Cardinal of Como and Musotti's at the conclusion of the Annals of Maffei.

[2] Dispaccio 14 Marzo 1573. It was a "Congregatione deputata sopra la provisione di danari"—[a congregation deputed on the means of finding money].

[3] Maffei, Annali di Gregorio XIII. I. p. 104. He reckons that the states of the church still preserved a net income of only 160,000 scudi.

Mark and Ravenna under certain favourable conditions. He said that it was fair that the foreigner should pay as much taxes as the native.[1] As they would not at once agree to this, he caused their warehouse at Ravenna to be opened by force, its contents to be sold by auction, and the owners to be imprisoned. Nevertheless this was but a small affair; it merely indicated the course which he proposed to follow. What was of far more importance was, that he thought he could perceive a multitude of abuses in the nobility of his territory, which might be abolished with advantage to the coffers of the state. His commissioner of the exchequer, Rudolph of Bonfiglivolo, brought under consideration a widely comprehensive enlargement and renewal of feudal rights, which had been hardly ever thought of. He stated that a large proportion of the castles and domains of the barons within the states of the church, had lapsed to the pope, some in consequence of the failure of the line of heirs to which they had been properly granted as fiefs, others in consequence of the non-payment of the dues to which they were liable.[2] Nothing could have fallen out more opportunely for the pope, who had already acquired possession of some such estates by their having feudally lapsed to him, or by purchase. He proceeded forthwith to work. In the hills of the Romagna he took Castelnova from the Isei of Cesena, and Corcana from the Sassitelli of Imola. Lonzano on its beautiful hill, and Savignano in the plain, were confiscated from the Rangones of Modena. Alberto Pio voluntarily resigned Bertinoro, rather than encounter the lawsuit with which he was threatened by the papal exchequer; but not content with this, it deprived him also of Berucchio and other territories. Hereupon he made a formal offer of his reddendo every Peter's day, but it was never accepted again. All this took place in the Romagna alone, but the same procedure was adopted in the other provinces. Not only estates for which the feudal reddendos had not been offered, were laid claim to; there were

[1] Dispaccio Antonio Tiepolo 12 April 1577.

[2] Dispaccio A. Tiepolo 12 Genn. 1579. "Il commissario della camera attendo con molta diligentia a ritrovare e rivedere scritture per ricuperare quanto dalli pontefici passati si è stato obligato o dato in pegno ad alcuno, e vedendo che S. S^a gli assentisse volontieri, non la sparagna o porta rispetto ad alcuno."—[The commissary of the exchequer set himself with much diligence to find out and review documents that might enable him to recover whatever had been made obligatory or had been given in pledge by former popes to any one, and perceiving that His Holiness willingly gave him his consent, he did not spare it or bear favour to any one.

others which originally had been only given in pledge to the barons; but in the course of time, this original title had come to be forgotten; they had passed from hand to hand as unencumbered property, and had been much improved; now it pleased the pope and his commissary of the exchequer to redeem them again. Thus they obtained possession of the castle of Sitiano by paying the redemption money of 14,000 scudi, a sum far below the actual value.

The pope was too much gratified with these measures. He thought to earn one claim more to the favour of heaven, as soon as he should succeed in augmenting the church's revenues by even 10 scudi, it being of course understood without new imposts. He calculated with no small satisfaction that the revenue of the states of the church had been increased within a short time, and by legitimate means, about 100,000 scudi. What an increased capability did this afford for acting against hereties and unbelievers! He was in a great measure supported by the court. "This pope is called the watchful," (that being the meaning of Gregorius) said the cardinal of Como: "he will watch and get his own into his hands again."[1]

In the country, on the contrary, and among the aristocracy, these proceedings made a very different impression.

Many great families found themselves suddenly ousted of a possession which they had considered to be lawful in the highest degree. Others saw themselves threatened. Daily searches were made in Rome for ancient documents, and on these new claims were made day after day. Soon no one thought himself secure, and many made up their minds rather to defend their properties with arms than to deliver them up to the commissary of the exchequer. One of these feudatories told the pope to his face, "to lose is to lose; by defending his own, a man finds at least a sort of satisfaction."

In consequence of the influence of the nobility on their ten-

[1] Dispaccio 21 Ottobre 1581. "Sono molti anni che la chiesa non ha havuto pontefice di questo nome Gregorio, che secundo la sua etimologia greca vuol dire vigilante: questo che è Gregorio è vigilante, vuol vigilare e ricuperare il suo, e li par di far un gran servitio, quando ricupera alcuna cosa, benche minima."—[Many years have past since the church has had a pontiff of this name Gregory, which according to its Greek etymology means watchful: this that is Gregory is watchful, desires to watch and recover his own, and it seems doing a great service to him to recover any thing however small.]

ants and on the nobili of the neighbouring cities, this produced a ferment over the whole country.

To this it must be added that the pope had by other ill advised measures brought some losses on some of the cities which they felt very sensibly. Among others he had raised the custom-house duties at Ancona, with the intention that the impost should fall on the commercial classes, not on the land; but he thus gave a blow to the prosperity of that city which it has never yet recovered; commerce quickly withdrew from it; it proved but of little avail that the duties were taken off again, and that the Ragusans had their ancient franchises expressly renewed.

The consequences of this were unexpected and peculiar in the highest degree.

In any country, but most of all, in one so tranquilly disposed as that of the states of the church, obedience to the government is based on a voluntary subordination. There the elements of agitation were neither removed out of the way, nor put down by force; they were merely concealed by the magisterial authority of the government extended over them. Accordingly, in proportion as subordination gave way, these elements jointly pressed forward and appeared in free action. The country seemed suddenly to call to its recollection how warlike, how capable of bearing arms, how independent in partisanships, it had been for centuries. It began to despise the regimen of priests and doctors; it fell back into a condition which was natural to it.

Not as if there was any direct opposition to the government, or insurrection against it; enough, that in all quarters, the old parties re-appeared on the scene.

All the Romagna was anew divided out amongst them. In Ravenna, the Rasponi and Leonardi; in Rimini, the Ricciardelli and Tignoli; in Cesena, the Venturelli and Bottini; in Furli, the Numai and Sirugli; in Imola, the Vicini and Sassatelli, were opposed to each other; the first named were always Gibellines, the others Guelphs; even after so total a change of interests, the names were revived anew. These parties often appropriated to themselves different quarters and different churches; they were distinguished by wearing badges; the Guelphs wore the feather always on the right side, the Gibellines on the left;[1]

[1] The Relatione della Romagna makes these distinctions to consist "nel tagliar del

the distinction of parties was carried even into the pettiest village; no man would have spared his brother's life had that brother professed to belong to an opposite party. Some had been known to murder their wives, for the sake of being able to take a wife out of a family that belonged to their own party. The pacifici were no longer of any avail, owing to this as well as other causes, that from motives of personal favour, members less capable than formerly were admitted into that association. The factions even administered justice among themselves, and often declared persons to be innocent whom the papal courts had condemned as criminals. They broke into prisons for the purpose of liberating their friends; their enemies, on the other hand, prosecuted them for such doings, and the next day sometimes saw their heads taken off and stuck on the public wells.[1]

Now that the public authority was so weak, there began to be formed in the Mark, the Campagna, and in all the provinces, gangs of banditti who had absconded from justice, and that in such numbers as to be like little armies.

There appeared at their head Alphonso Piccolomini, Roberto Malatesta, and other young men belonging to the most considerable families in the country. Piccolomini took the town-house of Monte-abboddo; he caused all his opponents to be searched out and executed before the eyes of their mothers and their wives: nine were killed of the name of Gabuzio alone, his followers in the meantime amusing themselves with dances in the market-place. He overran the country as if he were lord of the soil; even an intermittent fever with which he was seized had no effect in restraining him; when the weather was bad, he had himself carried in a litter before his troops. He made a proclamation to the inhabitants of Corneto to make good speed with their harvest; for he would come and burn down the crops of his enemy Latino Orsino. As far as respected himself personally, he still retained a certain feeling of honour; he took the letters from a courier, but would not touch the money the man carried with him. His companions showed themselves only so

pane, nel cingersi, in portare il pennacchio, fiocco o fiore al capello o'all orecchio" —[in the cut of their clothes, in adjusting the sash, and in the feather, tassel, or flower worn on the cap or at the ear]. From the connection I presume *pane* must be old spelling for *panni*, clothes. If not, it must be translated *loaves*. Tr.

[1] In the MS. Sixtus V. Pontifex M. (Altieri Lib. at Rome) there is a full description of this state of things. An extract from it will be found in the appendix.

much the greedier and disposed to plunder. Deputations arrived in Rome from the cities on all sides, praying for assistance.[1] The pope increased his military forces; gave Cardinal Sforza as extensive powers as any one had ever possessed since Cardinal Albornoz; he was boldly to proceed to act *manu regia*, not only without any respect for privileges, but even without being bound by any of the enactments of law, nay, without any legal process;[2] Giacomo Boncompagno took the field; they succeeded, indeed, in dispersing the armed bands, and in clearing the country of them; but no sooner had they withdrawn than the old disorder sprang up behind them, and became as bad as before.

Its mischievous effects were much aggravated by a particular circumstance.

This pope, who has often passed for being too good-natured, yet maintained his princely as well as his ecclesiastical prerogatives with the utmost strictness.[3] He spared neither the emperor nor the king of Spain; he paid no regard to his neighbours. Not only was he embroiled with Venice on innumerable questions, such as the affair of Aquileia, the visitation of their churches, and other points; the ambassador could not find words to

[1] Dispacci Donato del 1582 throughout.

[2] Letters for Sforza, communicated in the Dispacci. "Omnimodam facultatem, potestatem, auctoritatem et arbitrium contra quoscunque bannitos, facinorosos, receptatores, fautores, complices, et seguaces etc. nec non contra communitates, universitates et civitates, terras et castra, et alios cujuscunque dignitatis vel præeminentiæ, Barones, Duces, et quavis auctoritate fungentes, et extrajudicialiter et juris ordine non servato, etiam sine processu et scripturis, et manu regia illosque omnes et singulos puniendi tam in rebus, in bonis quam in personis."—[Every sort of faculty, power, authority, and absolute discretion against whatsoever bandits, criminals, receivers, favourers, accomplices and followers, &c. as also against communities, universities, and cities, domains and castles, and others of whatsoever dignity or pre-eminence, barons, dukes, and persons in the exercise of any authority, and that extrajudicially, without observing the forms of justice, even without formal process or minutes, and of punishing them, all and each, with royal power, as well in goods and chattels as in their persons.]

[3] This is remarked by P. Tiepolo as early as in 1576. "Quanto più cerca d'acquistarsi nome di giusto, tanto più lo perde di gratioso, perchè concede molto meno gratie estraordinarie di quel che ha fatto altro pontefice di molti anni in qua:—la qual cosa, aggiunta al mancamento ch'è in lui di certi offici grati et accetti per la difficultà massimamente naturale che ha nel parlar e per le pochissime parole che in ciascuna occasione usa, fa ch'egli in gran parte manca di quella gratia appresso le persone."—[The more he seeks to acquire the name of a just man, the more he loses that of a gracious one, for he grants many fewer extraordinary favours than any other pontiff has done in this way for many years; which thing, added to the want we find in him of certain grateful and acceptable offices, owing to the difficulty, for the most part natural, which he has in speaking, and to the very few words he employs on every occasion, has the effect of making him very much fail in being liked by others.]

describe how he flared up every time these matters were touched upon, and what intense bitterness he manifested. The same was the case as to Tuscany and Naples. Ferrara found no favour; Parma, shortly before, had lost considerable sums of money in its law-suits. All these neighbours were content enough to see the pope in such unpleasant embarrassments; they scrupled not to receive the bandits into their territories, and these again seized the first opportunity of returning to the states of the church. It was in vain that the pope besought them to cease doing so. They thought it strange that people should care for nobody at Rome, and then desire to have respect paid to them by every body.[1]

Gregory accordingly was never able to lay hands on those who had absconded from his territories. No taxes were paid; the sussidio failed. In the country, general dissatisfaction spread everywhere. The very cardinals started the question, whether it were not better to attach themselves to some other state.

In these circumstances to think of carrying into effect the measures proposed by the commissary of the exchequer, was out of the question. In December 1581, the Venetian ambassador expressly reports, that the pope had put a stop to all proceedings in cases of threatened confiscation.

He had to submit to Piccolomini's coming to Rome, and presenting a petition to him.[2] He shuddered all over on reading it, presenting as it did so long a catalogue of murders which he was to pardon, and he laid it on the table. But he was told that of three things, one was necessary; he must expect his son Giacomo to be put to death by the hands of Piccolomini; or he must execute him himself; or Piccolomini must be allowed to obtain a free pardon. The father confessors of St. John Lateran declared that although they durst not reveal the secrets of the confessional, if something were not done, a great calamity impended. To this it must be added that Piccolomini came to be openly

[1] Dispaccio Donato 10 Sett. 1581. "E una cosa grande che con non dar mai satisfatione nissuna si pretende d'avere da altri in quello che tocca alla libertà dello stato suo correntemente ogni sorte d'ossequio."—[It is one great affair, that while he never gave satisfaction, he claimed having every sort of obsequiousness uniformly shown to him by others in all that touched the liberty of the state.]

[2] Donato 9 April 1583. "Il sparagnar la spesa e l'assicurar il Signor Giacomo, che lo desiderava, et il fuggir l'occasione di disgustarsi ogni di più per questo con Fiorenza si come ogni di avveniva, ha fatto venir S. S^a in questa risolutione."—[His Holiness was led to adopt this resolution by a view to the saving of expense, and to satisfy Lord Giacomo who desired it, and to avoid the occasion of being disgusted any more every day on this account with Florence, as daily happened.]

patronised by the grand duke of Tuscany, for he had his residence in the Medici palace. The pope at last made up his mind, but with a sorely wounded heart, and subscribed the brief of absolution.

This did not, however, at once restore tranquillity. His own capital was full of banditti. Matters proceeded to such a length that the city magistrate of the conservators had to step in and enforce obedience to the papal police. A person of the name of Marianazzo refused to accept the pardon that was offered to him; it was more advantageous, said he, for him to live as a bandit; his doing so gave him greater security.[1]

The old pope, weary of life and feeble, raised his eyes to heaven and exclaimed; "Thou shalt arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Zion!"

Gregory reigned from the 13th of May, 1572, to the 10th of April 1585.

SIXTUS V.

It would seem at times, as if in confusion itself, there were a secret power which forms and rears men capable of controlling and directing it.

While throughout the whole world, hereditary monarchies and aristocracies were transmitting the powers of government from generation to generation, the spiritual monarchy had this to distinguish it, that it could promote a man from the lowest step in human society, to the highest rank there. From the most humble condition there now arose a pope, who possessed the power, and quite the natural disposition along with that, to put an end to all this disorder.

On the occasion of the first successes of the Osmen in the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces, many of their inhabitants fled into Italy. There they were seen collected in groups, sitting on the shore, and lifting their hands to heaven. Zanetto Peretti, the ancestor of Sixtus V., probably came over among those refugees; he was of Slavonic origin. But as it commonly fares with fugitives, neither he nor his descendants, who had settled in Montalto, had any particular good fortune to boast of. Peretto Peretti, the father of Sixtus V., had even to leave that town on

[1] "Che il viver fuoruscito li torni più a conto e di maggior sicurtà."—[That to live as an outlaw was more to his advantage and was attended with more security.]

account of his debts; and was first placed by his marriage, in a condition to rent a garden in Grotto a Mare, near Fermo. It was a remarkable spot; the ruins of a temple dedicated to the Etruscan Juno, Cypra, were seen among the garden plants; there was no want of the finest fruits of the south, for Fermo enjoyed a finer climate than the rest of the Mark. Here, on the 18th of December, 1521, Peretti had a son born to him. Shortly before it had seemed to him in a dream, that while he was lamenting his manifold adversities, a voice from heaven consoled him with the assurance that he should have a son who would restore the fortunes of his family. This hope he seized with all the eagerness of a fanciful self-satisfaction, excited by the indigence of his circumstances, and moreover turned already to the regions of the mysterious; he called the boy Felix.[1]

The circumstances of the family may be readily understood from such incidents; for example, as the child falling into a pond, and his aunt, who was washing at it, pulling him out again. The boy had to watch the fruit, nay even to take care of the pigs. He learned his letters from the horn-books which other boys, in passing through the fields to school and coming back from it, allowed to remain with him, the father not having even the five bajocchi to spare which the nearest schoolmaster required as his monthly fee. Fortunately, one of the family relations belonged to the clerical order, a Franciscan friar, called Salvatore, who was at last prevailed upon to pay the school money. Thereupon the little Felix went with the rest to receive instruction; he got at the same time a slice of bread, and this he used to eat for his

[1] Tempesti, Storia della vita e geste di Sisto V. 1754, made researches in the archives of Montalto as to the origin of his hero. The Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata, MS. in the Altieri Lib. at Rome, is also an authentic document. Sixtus was born, "cum pater Ludovici Vecchii Firmani hortum excoleret, mater Dianæ nurui ejus perhonestæ matronæ domesticis ministeriis operam daret."—[when his father was cultivating the garden of Lewis Vecchio Firmani, and while his mother was acting as a domestic servant to Diana his spouse, a most respectable matron.] This Diana in extreme old age lived to see the pontificate of Sixtus. "Anus senio confecta Romam deferri voluit, cupida venerari eum in summo rerum humanarum fastigio positum, quem olitoris sui filium paupere victu domi suæ natum aluerat." —[The old woman when enfeebled by age wished to be taken to Rome, being desirous of venerating him who was now placed on the very summit of human affairs, but whom, as the son of her gardener, she had brought up on mean fare after being born in her house.] Moreover, "pavisse puerum pecus et Picentes memorant, et ipse adeo non diffitetur ut etiam præ se ferat."—[they say that the boy dreaded the cattle and the Picentes, and he himself is so little ashamed of it, as even to boast of it.] At the Ambrosiana R. 124, there is to be found F. Radice dell' origine di Sisto V., a document dated at Rome 4th May, 1585, which meanwhile says but little to the purpose.

dinner as he sat beside the well that supplied him with water to moisten it. Yet, notwithstanding such scanty means, the father's hopes soon became also those of the son; and when that son, at the very early age of twelve—for no Tridentine council had as yet forbidden vows being taken so early—entered into the Franciscan order, he still retained the name of Felix. Friar Salvatore kept him under strict discipline, using all the authority of an uncle who had succeeded to that of a father; yet he continued to send him to school. Felix would often study without a supper, by the light of a lamp in the corridore, or when it went out, by that which burned in the church before the host. He exhibited no immediate indications of an originally religious cast of thought, or of a decided aptitude for acquiring knowledge; we only learn that his progress was rapid, both at the school at Ferno and at the schools and universities of Ferrara and Bologna. He carried off the academical honours with much applause, and gave proofs, in particular, of a turn for logic. He applied himself to the utmost to the acquisition of the monkish talent for handling abstruse questions in theology. At the general convention of the Franciscans held in 1549, and which was celebrated with literary debates, he opposed, with ability and presence of mind, Antonio Persico from Calabria, a Telesian, who had at that time earned a high reputation at Perugia.[1] This was the first occasion of his attracting respect; the protector of his order, Cardinal Pius of Carpi, zealously befriended him ever after.

But he ascribes his own good fortune to another occurrence.

In 1552, he preached the Lent sermons in the church of the Holy Apostles at Rome with the greatest applause. His discourses were thought animated, copious, and fluent. He was not superficial; his order was excellent; he expressed himself plainly and agreeably. On that occasion it happened one day, in the

[1] Sixtus V. Pontifex Maximus: MS. in the Altieri Library. "Eximia Persicus apud omnes late fama Perusiæ philosophiam ex Telesii placitis cum publice doceret, novitate doctrinæ tum primum nascentis nativum ingenii lumen mirifice illustrabat. Montaltus ex universa theologia excerptas positiones cardinali Carpensi inscriptas tanta cum ingenii laude defendit ut omnibus admirationi fuerit."—[When Persico, with great and wide-spread reputation amongst all men, was teaching philosophy from the *placets* of Telesius, at Perugia, he amazingly illustrated the native light of genius with the novelty of a doctrine then first brought into existence. Montalto defended, to the admiration of every one, positions extracted from universal theology, inscribed to the Cardinal of Carpi.]

midst of a full congregation, when after the first part of his discourse, as is the custom in Italy, he was pausing for a while, and after he had rested, was reading out the notices that had been handed in, and which used to contain prayers and intercessions, he came to one which had been found sealed up on the pulpit, and contained something very different. All the heads of Peretti's previous preaching were noted down in it, particularly with respect to the doctrine of predestination, and under each head there appeared in large letters: "Thou liest." Peretti could not quite conceal his astonishment; he hastened to the conclusion of his sermon, and on reaching home despatched the note to the Inquisition.[1] Soon he saw the grand inquisitor, Michael Ghisilieri, arrive at his apartment. The strictest investigation began. Peretti often used to relate afterwards, how much he was frightened by the appearance of that person, with his severe brow, deep-set eyes, and strongly marked features. Yet he did not lose his presence of mind; he answered satisfactorily and showed no weakness. When Ghisilieri saw that the friar was not only innocent, but was so well versed and firmly settled in the Roman catholic doctrines, he at once became another person; he embraced him with tears and proved his second patron.

Ever after that, Friar Felix Peretti attached himself most decisively to the strict party, which was just then rising to power in the church. He maintained an intimate connection with Ignatius, Felinus, and Philip Nero, who all three, gained the name of Saints. His meeting with opposition in his own order which he endeavoured to reform, and his being even expelled by the brethren of that order from Venice, only increased the respect entertained for him by the representatives of the tone of opinion which was now advancing to the ascendency. He was introduced to Paul IV., and often consulted in difficult emergencies; he laboured as a divine in the congregation for the council of Trent, and as consulter at the inquisition; he had a great share in the condemnation of the archbishop Carranza. He did not

[1] Extract from the same manuscript. "Jam priorem orationis partem exegerat, cum oblatum libellum resignat ac tacitus, ut populo summam exponat, legere incipit. Quotquot ad eam diem catholicæ fidei dogmata Montaltus pro concione affirmarat, ordine collecta continebat, singulisque id tantum addebat, literis grandioribus: Mentiris. Complicatum diligenter libellum, sed ita ut consternationis manifestus multis esset, ad pectus dimittit, orationemque brevi præcisione paucis absolvit."—[Freely translated in the text.]

grudge the pains it cost him, to search out those passages in the writings of the Protestants which Carranza had adopted in his own, and gained the full confidence of Pius V. That pope appointed him vicar-general of the Franciscans, for the express purpose of authorizing him to proceed with the reformation of that order, and in fact Peretti went vigorously to work. He deposed the commissaries-general who had to that time possessed the supreme government of the Franciscans; he restored the old constitution, according to which this belonged to the provincials, and carried the strictest visitation into effect. Pius saw his expectations not only fulfilled but even exceeded; he considered the liking he had for Peretti to be a kind of divine inspiration; deaf to the calumnies with which the latter was persecuted, he appointed him first, bishop of St. Agatha, and in 1570, a cardinal.

The see of Fermo was also conferred on him. Felix Peretti returned to his native seat in the purple of the church, that native seat where he used to watch fruits and tend cattle. Yet his father's anticipations and his own hopes were not yet fully accomplished.

It has been repeated, indeed, times without number, what artifices Cardinal Montalto, for that was now the name he went by, employed in order that he might obtain the tiara; what meekness he affected; how he tottered along bent down as with weakness, coughing, and supporting himself with a staff; any one that knows the world must be satisfied at once that there is no truth in this. It is not by such tricks that the highest dignities are obtained.[1]

Montalto lived a quiet, frugal and industrious life, directed to his own satisfaction. It was his delight to cultivate trees and vines in his vineyard at Santa Maria Maggiore, which is still visited, and to confer benefits on his native town. His more serious hours were occupied with the works of St. Ambrose, which he published in 1580. Notwithstanding the pains he bestowed on this work, his method of treating it was somewhat capricious. Moreover, his character appeared not quite so harm-

[1] It is not alleged that he obtained the popedom by such artifices, but only that he secured the votes of other expectants, such as Trani and Justinian, who, but for the idea that he could not live long, might have turned the election against him. Tr.

less as it had been said to be; a document dating as early as 1574, speaks of Montalto as a man of ability and learning, but as crafty and malicious.[1] Yet he gave proofs of extraordinary self-command. When his nephew, husband of Vittoria Accorambuona, was murdered, he was the first to beg the pope to drop the prosecution. This peculiarity, which was a matter of general surprise, probably contributed most to the election having actually fallen upon him, after the intrigues of the conclave of 1585 had succeeded so far as to secure his being named. It was considered, also, as is expressly stated in the authentic narrative of the proceedings, that, according to the circumstances, he was still at a tolerably fresh time of life, namely, 64, and of a vigorous and hale complexion. It was the universal feeling, that at that particular conjuncture a man in the full vigour of his strength was above all things necessary.

And so Friar Felix found himself at the wished-for goal. It must have been with feelings worthy of a man that he saw so

1 A "Discorso sopra i soggetti papabili"—[Discourse upon subjects capable of being popes] says of Montalto: "La natura sua, tenuta terribile imperiosa et arrogante, non li può punto conciliare la gratia."—[His nature, held to be terribly imperious and arrogant, could not in the least conciliate favour for him.] It will be seen that he was the same in his cardinalship as when he was pope. Gregory XIII. often said to his friends, "Caverent magnum illum cinerarium"—[that they should beware of that great relicman]. Farnese saw him between the two Dominicans, Trani and Justinian, who also had hopes for themselves. The author of Sixtus V. P. M. makes him say: "Næ Picenum hoc jumentum magnifice olim exiliet, si duos illos, quos hinc atque illinc male fert, carbonis saccos excusserit."—[Won't that Picenian ox spring out magnificently, should he ever shake off these two sacks of coals which he now carries so impatiently.] To this he adds, that with this very view Accorambuona betrothed herself with the nephew of Sixtus. Besides, the grand duke Francis of Tuscany had a great share in this election. In a despatch of the Florentine ambassador, Alberti, of the 11th May, 1585, (Roma Filza n. 36) we find as follows: "V^ra Altezza sia sola quella che come conviene goda il frutto dell' opera che ella ha fatta (he speaks of this election) per avere questo Pontefice amico e non altro se ne faccia bello."—[Your Highness is the only one that properly enjoys the fruit of the work you have done (speaking of the election) by having this pontiff friendly, and that no other can plume himself upon it.] In another Florentine despatch we find: "Il papa replica, che il gran duca aveva molte ragioni di desiderargli bene, perchè egli era come quel agricoltore che pianta un frutto che ha poi caro insieme di vederlo crescere et andare avanti lungo tempo, aggiungendoli che egli era stato quello che dopo il Signor Iddio aveva condotta quest'opera, che a lui solo ne aveva ad aver obligo, e che lo conosceva, se ben di queste cose non poteva parlar con ogn'uno."—[The pope replied that the grand duke had many reasons for wishing well to him, for he was like a gardener who plants a fruit-tree, and who then takes an interest in seeing it grow and make progress for a long while; adding, that he had been the person who, next to the Lord God, had conducted this business; that to him alone he had to feel obliged for it, and that he knew it, although these indeed were matters about which he could not speak to every one.] Here we see that quite another story was transacted behind the scenes, of which we know little or nothing. The election took place on the 24th of April, 1585.

lofty and so legitimate an ambition gratified. Every thing now presented itself to his soul in which he had ever thought that he could recognise a higher calling. He adopted as his motto, "Thou, God, hast been my defender from the womb."

In all his enterprises, too, he believed that from that time forward he would be favoured by God. No sooner had he ascended the throne, than he announced it as his determination to root out banditti and evil-doers. Should his own powers prove inadequate for such a purpose, he was persuaded that God would send legions of angels to his assistance.[1]

To this difficult task he proceeded immediately, with equal resolution and considerateness.

EXTIRPATION OF THE BANDITTI.

THE remembrance of Gregory was against him; he could not think of carrying into effect the measures of that pope; he disbanded the greater number of the troops he found enrolled, and reduced even the sbirri to about half their numbers. On the other hand, he resolved to inflict the most ruthless punishment on such criminals as had been apprehended.

It had long been forbidden to carry short weapons, and, in particular, a sort of firelock. Four youths belonging to Cora, nearly related to each other, had allowed themselves to be arrested while carrying such weapons. The pope was to be crowned on the day following, and advantage was taken of so joyful an occasion, to intercede for them. Sixtus opposed this. "As long as I live," said he, "every criminal must die."[2] That same day the whole four were seen suspended from a gibbet at the Angel bridge.

A youth from beyond the Tiber was condemned to death, for having resisted the sbirri who wanted to take from him an ass.

1 Dispaccio Priuli 11 Maggio 1585. The pope's discourse in the consistory. "Disse di due cose che lo travagliavano, la materia della giustitia e della abondantia, alle quali voleva attender con ogni cura, sperando in dio che quando li mancassero li ajuti proprii e forastieri, li manderà tante legioni di angeli per punir li malfattori e ribaldi, et esortò li cardinali di non usar le loro franchigie nel dar ricapito a tristi, detestando il poco pensier del suo predecessor."—[He spoke of two things which pressed on his thoughts, the subject of justice and of plenty, to which he desired to give his utmost attention, hoping in God that should his own and others' aids be wanting to him, he would send so many legions of angels to punish the malefactors and rogues, and exhorted the cardinals not to use their franchises in giving shelter to wretches, abominating his predecessor's want of thought.]

2 Se vivo facinorosis moriendum esse.

As the weeping boy was led to the place of execution, he was an object of universal pity; his tender age was represented to the pope. "I will add a few of my own years to his," said he, and allowed the execution to take place.

These first doings of Sixtus V. terrified every one; they secured a powerful impression for the ordinances which he now issued.

Barons and municipalities were enjoined to keep their castles and towns free from banditti; the lord superior, or the municipality, were themselves to repair whatever losses might be caused by banditti.[1]

It had been usual to set a price on the head of a bandit. Sixtus ordained that this price should not be paid from the exchequer, but rather by the bandit's relations, or when these were too poor, by the commune (or parish) from which he came originally.

It is clear that his intention was to have the lords superior, the municipalities, and the relations, all interested in the attainment of his object. He even sought to arouse the interest of the bandits themselves. He promised to each of them that should deliver up an accomplice, dead or alive, not only pardon for himself, but for some of his friends whom he should name, and a reward in money over and above.

On the adoption of these ordinances, and after the strictness with which they were administered, had been exhibited in a few examples, the prosecution of the banditti in a short time took another form.

It fortunately happened that it succeeded at the very first with a few of the chiefs.

The pope could not even sleep at the thought that the priest Guercino, who called himself the king of the Campagna, and who had once forbidden the subjects of the bishop of Viterbo to obey their lord, still pursued his trade, and even projected new depredations. He prayed, says Galesinus, that God might deliver the states of the church from such a marauder; the news arrived next morning that Guercino had been apprehended. The head was stuck up at the castle of St. Angelo with a gilt crown on it; the man who brought it received his reward, 2000 scudi; the people applauded his Holiness's administration of justice.

1 Bull. T. IV. p. IV. p. 137. Bando b. Tempesti I. IX. 14.

Notwithstanding this, another called della Fara, ventured one night to knock up the guards at the porta Salara, when he announced his name and requested them to present his compliments to the pope and to the governor. Hereupon Sixtus commanded the bandit's relations to produce him, and that on pain of corporal punishment if they failed. Ere a month had elapsed the head of Fara was brought in.

Sometimes it was not altogether justice that was exercised against the bandits.

At Urbino thirty of them had entrenched themselves on a hill. The duke caused mules laden with provisions to be driven along in the neighbourhood; and the train of course was plundered. But the provisions were poisoned and all the robbers died. "On hearing the news of this," says a biographer of Sixtus V., "the pope felt great satisfaction."[1]

In Rome a father and his son were put to death, though both protested their innocence. The mother interposed; she begged only for a slight delay; she could instantly prove the innocence of her husband and son. The senator refused it to her. "Since you are thirsting for blood then," she exclaimed, "I will satisfy you," and threw herself out at a window in the capitol. Meanwhile the two arrived at the place of execution; each wanted to suffer death first; the father unwilling to see the son die, the son unwilling to see the father; the people cried aloud from compassion; the savage executioner chided their useless delay.

Personal rank was then of no avail. Count John Pepoli, who belonged to one of the chief families in Bologna, but who had largely participated in the banditti movements, was strangled in prison, his property and ready money were taken possession of by the treasury. Not a day passed without an execution; in all parts of the country, in wood and field, stakes were to be met with, having the heads of bandits stuck upon them. The pope commended those only of his legates and governors who satisfied him in this respect, and sent him in abundance of heads. There is something at once barbarous and oriental in this justice.

Such robbers as were not overtaken by it, were sure to fall by means of their own comrades. The pope's promises had dis-

[1] Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V.: "Ragguagliato Sisto ne prese gran contento."—[See the text.]

united the banditti; none now trusted another; they murdered one another.[1]

And thus not a year had elapsed when the insurrectionary movements in the states of the church, if not extinguished at their source, were nevertheless repressed in their outbreaks. In 1586, the news arrived that Montebrandano and Arara, the last of the chiefs, had been put to death.

The pope felt himself happy now that ambassadors, on their arrival, reported that in travelling through his states they had everywhere found peace and security.[2]

LEADING FEATURES OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

But as the abuses which the pope had to combat, had another origin besides the want of vigilance in the government, so was the success which attended his efforts to be ascribed also to other steps taken by him.

Sixtus V. has sometimes been regarded as the sole author of the ordinances of the states of the church; regulations have been ascribed to him which existed long before his time; he has been celebrated as an incomparable financier, a most unprejudiced statesman, a restorer of antiquities. He had natural qualities that were calculated to make a deep impression on others, and thus too ready a credulence has been given to fabulous and hyperbolical tales respecting him.

But although we must not put implicit confidence in all that has been said of him, his administration nevertheless must ever be regarded as very remarkable.

In one peculiar respect it presents a contrast to that of Gregory. The latter, in the general measures he pursued, was severe, decided, partial; but he winked at particular instances of disobedience. The growing social disorder which he experienced,

1 Disp. Priuli as early as 29th June 1585. "Li fuorusciti s'ammazzano l'un l'altro per la provision del novo breve."—[The outlaws killed one another for the sake of the sums provided for them in the new brief.]

2 Vita Sixti V. i. m. em. "Ea quies et tranquillitas ut in urbe vasta, in hoc conventu nationum, in tanta peregrinorum advenarumque colluvie, ubi tot nobilium superbæ eminent opes, nemo tam tenuis, tam abjectæ fortunæ sit qui se nunc sentiat cujusquam injuriæ obnoxium."—[Such was the quiet and tranquillity that in a vast city, in this assemblage of nations, in such a mass of foreigners and newcomers, where there is proud opulence of so many nobles to engross regard, there is no one of means however small, or in fortune so abject, who now feels himself exposed to injury from any one.]

had precisely this for its origin, that while he raised a war of interests against himself on the one hand, he allowed an unexampled impunity to prevail on the other. Sixtus, on the contrary, was inexorable in individual cases; he held to the execution of his laws with a severity that bordered on shocking cruelty; in his general measures, on the contrary, we find him mild, yielding, placable. Under Gregory, obedience to law brought no advantage; resistance to it, no harm. Under Sixtus, people had every thing to fear the moment they manifested any opposition to him; on the contrary one might expect tokens of favour in reward for being well disposed towards him. Nothing so much promoted his views.

From the very first he allowed all those misunderstandings to drop in which his predecessor had become involved with his neighbours, on account of his ecclesiastical claims. He declared that a pope must uphold and augment the privileges which were secured to princes. To the Milanese, for example, he gave back those places in the Rota which had been taken from them by Gregory XIII. When the Venetians at last brought a brief to light, the tenor of which was decidedly in favour of their claims in the case of Aquileia, he expressed himself highly satisfied. He resolved to expunge every offensive article in the bull *In cœna Domini*. He at once abolished the congregation on the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, from which most of the disputes had proceeded.[1] Assuredly there was something magnanimous in a man allowing all disputed rights, by a spontaneous act of his own will, to drop. This procedure was followed forthwith with the happiest consequences. The king of Spain announced to the pope, in a letter in his own handwriting, that he had instructed his ministers at Milan and Naples to pay no less deference to the ordinances of the pope than to his own. Sixtus was moved even to tears at the thought that the greatest

1 Lorenzo Priuli, Relatione 1586. "E Pontifice che non così leggiermente abraccia le querele con principi, anzi per fugirle ha levata la congregatione della giurisdittione ecclesiastica (at another place he says, mainly out of respect for Spain), e stima di potere per questa via concluder con maggior facilità le cose, e di sopportare con manco indegnità quelle che saranno trattate secretamente da lui solo."—[He is a pontiff who does not thus lightly enter into quarrels with princes, but in order to avoid them, has abolished the congregation of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and considers that in this way he shall be able to conclude matters with greater facility, and to suffer with less indignity those which shall be treated secretly by himself alone.]

monarch in the world should thus, as he expressed himself, honour him, a poor monk. Tuscany showed her submissiveness, Venice her satisfaction. These neighbours now adopted a different policy. Bandits who had sought refuge beyond the frontiers, were sent in to the pope from all quarters. Venice prohibited, under threats of punishment, their return into the states of the church, and forbade her ships, when touching on the Roman coasts, to take outlaws on board. The pope was in ecstasy at this. He said he would remember his obligations to the republic for it at another time; he would, such were his expressions, allow himself to be flayed alive for it; he would shed his blood for it. Thus were the banditti brought into his power, because they nowhere found shelter and assistance.

Then, too, he avoided to the utmost, in his own territory, those severe measures which Gregory had adopted for the benefit of his exchequer. After having punished the guilty feudatories, he rather sought to attach the remaining barons to himself and to gain them over to him. He bound together those two great families, the Colonnas and the Orsini, by connecting them in marriage both with his own house and with each other. Gregory took their castles from the Colonnas; Sixtus even regulated their domestic economy and advanced money to them.[1] He gave the constable M. A. Colonna the one, and Duke Virginio Orsini the other of his two grand-nieces, bestowing on them equal portions and very similar favours. He adjusted the contentions between them about precedency, by engaging that it should always belong to the eldest of the two families. The pope's sister, Donna Camilla, then appeared in great splendour between her children, such noble sons-in-law and married grand-daughters.

Sixtus, generally speaking, found gratification in communicating privileges.

To the Mark in particular, he proved himself a well-disposed native. He restored to the citizens of Ancona some of their old municipal rights. In Macerata he established a supreme court of justice for the whole province; he distinguished the college of advocates in that province by new grants in its favour; he raised Fermo to an archbishopric, and Tolentino to a bishopric;

1 Dispacci degli ambasciatori estraordinarii 19 Ott. 25 Nov. 1585.

the small town of Montalto, in which his forefathers first took up their residence, he raised by a bull to that special effect, to the honours of a city and bishopric; "for," said he, "it gave our lineage its happy origin." While only a cardinal he had established a classical school there; now that he was pope, he founded at the university of Bologna, the Montalto college, for fifty scholars from the Mark, and of these Montalto alone was to present eight and Grotto-a-mare two.[1]

He resolved to raise Loreto also to the rank of a city. Fontana represented to him the difficulties that stood in the way. "Think no more about it, Fontana," said he, "it was harder for me to make up my mind to it, than it will be to carry it into execution." Part of the ground was purchased from the Recanatese; hollows were filled up; hills were levelled down; the streets were then marked off; the free communes of the Mark were encouraged each to build a house there; Cardinal Gallo appointed new civic functionaries in the holy chapel. By this the pope satisfied at once his patriotism and his devotion to the holy virgin.

All the other cities also, in the other provinces, shared his solicitude. He took measures for checking the augmentation of their debts, and restrained their alienations and mortgages; he instituted a close scrutiny into the whole management of their money affairs, and to his ordinances it has been ascribed that the municipalities gradually increased again in point of population.[2]

[1] The neighbouring districts also were reckoned to Montalto. Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata. "Porculam Patrignorum et Mintenorum, quia Montalto haud ferme longius absunt quam ad teli jactum et crebris affinitatibus inter se et commerciis rerum omnium et agrorum quadam communitate conjunguntur, haud secus quam patriæ partem Sixtus fovit semper atque dilexit, omniaque iis in commune est elargitus, quo paulatim velut in unam coalescerent civitatem."—[Sixtus always cherished and loved Porcula of the Patrigni and Minteni, because they were distant from it only about a bowshot, and were conjoined with it by frequent affinities among themselves and interchanges of all things in buying and selling, and by a certain community of fields, no otherwise than if they had formed part of his native seat, and to these he gave bountifully all things in common, whereby they gradually coalesced into one city.]

[2] Gualterius. "Ad ipsarum (universitatum) statum cognoscendum, corrigendum, constituendum quinque camerse apostolicæ clericos misit."—[He sent five clerks of the apostolic chamber to examine into the state of these (universities) and to correct and constitute them aright.] In the Memorie likewise the utility of these regulations is noticed. "Con le quali provisioni si diede principio a rihaversi le communità dello stato ecclesiastico; le quali poi de tutto ritornorono in piedi: con quanto l'istesso provedimento perfezionò Clemente VIII."—[With the which provisions he first devoted himself to regain the municipalities in the states of the church, which then everywhere returned to their (former) footing: with how much of the same prudence could Clement VIII. perfect it.]

He promoted agriculture in all directions, and took measures for draining the Chiana[1] of Ovvieto and the Pontine marshes. This last he himself visited; the Fiume[2] Sisto, which previous to the time of Pius VI. was all that had been accomplished for this purpose, owed its origin to Sixtus V.

And so too would he willingly have promoted the prosperity of trade and commerce. A person called Peter of Valencia, a Roman citizen, having offered his services in setting on foot the silk manufactures, the thoroughly efficacious regulations with which the pope seconded this enterprise, are most characteristic of him. He issued an order that throughout his whole territory, mulberry trees should be planted in all gardens and vineyards, in all meadows and wolds, over all hills and valleys where no corn grew; he appointed five as the fixt number for every rubbio of land, and in case of non-compliance, threatened the communes with a considerable fine.[3] He endeavoured to promote woollen manufactures, "that the poor," he said, "might earn something thereby;" to the first that engaged in it he furnished assistance from the exchequer, in return for which the manufacturer was to deliver in a prescribed number of pieces of cloth.

We should do injustice to the predecessors of Sixtus V. were we to give him the sole credit of turning his attention to these matters. Pius V. and Gregory XIII. likewise patronised agriculture and manufactures, and Sixtus distinguished himself not so much by entering on a new career, as by pursuing that which had been entered on already, with greater promptitude and more powerful effect. It is owing just to this that he has lived longer in the recollections of men.

When it is said that he founded the congregations of the car-

[1] *Chiana*, the Italian for "a standing pool." Tr.

[2] *Fiume*, river. Tr.

[3] "Cum sicut accepimus:" 28th May, 1586, Bull. Cocq. IV. 4, 218. Gualterius. "Bombicinam sericam laneficiam vitreamque artes in urbem vel induxit vel amplificavit. Ut vero serica ars frequentior esset, mororum arborum seminaria et plantaria per universam ecclesiasticam ditionem fieri præcepit, ob eamque rem Maino cuidam Hebreo ex bombicibus bis in anno fructum et sericam amplificaturum sedulo pollicenti ac recipienti maxima privilegia impertivit."—[He either introduced into the city or extended the silk, woollen, and glass manufactures. But that the silk trade might become more generally followed, he ordered nursery grounds and plantations of mulberry trees to be made throughout the entire territory subject to the church's jurisdiction; and on that account when a Jew, called Main, sedulously undertook to increase the fruit and silk from the silk worms twice in the year, and gathered in the same, he bestowed on him the highest privileges.]

dinals, this must not be understood as having been quite the case. The seven most important, for the inquisition, the index, the affairs of the council, the bishops, the monks, the Segnatura and Consulta, he found already formed. Nor were state affairs altogether left out of account by these, for the two last embraced justice and the executive. Now Sixtus determined to add eight new congregations to those already existing, yet of these, only two were to be charged with the affairs of the church, the one with the founding of new bishoprics, the other with the management and renovation of ecclesiastical customs,[1] the other six were designed for particular branches of the administration; there was that for corn, a second for the construction of roads, a third for the repeal of oppressive imposts, a fourth for the building of war vessels, a fifth for the Vatican printing press, and the sixth for the university at Rome.[2] It will be seen with how little system the pope went to work in this department, and how much he confounded merely transient interests with such as were general; nevertheless, he had guessed right in adopting them, and the order he introduced has with few alterations lasted for ages.

Moreover, he established a high standard for the qualifications of the cardinals themselves. They were all to be distinguished men, of exemplary morals, their words were to be oracles, whatever fell from their lips was to be a rule of life and thought for others; they were to be the salt of the earth, the candle upon the candlestick.[3] Not that it is to be supposed that on each occasion of an appointment he acted very conscientiously. He had nothing better to allege in favour of Gallo, whom he raised to that dignity, than that he was his servant, to whom he wished well on many accounts, and who had once entertained

[1] "Congregation de sacr iriti e cerimonie ecclesiastiche, delle provisioni consistoriali: a questa volle appartenesse la cognitione delle cause dell'erettione di nove cattedrali."—[Congregation of sacred rites and ecclesiastical ceremonies, of consistorial provisions: to this he would have the cognisance of matters relating to the erection of new cathedrals to belong.]

[2] "Sopra alla grascia et annona—sopra alla fabrica armamento e mantenimento delle galere—sopra gli aggravi del popolo—sopra le strade acque ponti e confini—sopra alla stamperia Vaticana—sopra l'università dello studio Romano."—[Over provisions and corn, the building, equipment, and maintenance of the galleys, the roads, waters, bridges, and boundaries, the Vatican printing press (he gave the chief superintendent of the church's printing press a residence in the Vatican, and 20,000 scudi for 10 years) over the university of the Roman college.]

[3] Bulla: Postquam verus ille: 3 Dec. 1586. Bullar. M. IV. IV. 279.

him very hospitably when on a journey.[1] But here, too, he presented a rule which though not always followed, yet for the most part was kept in view afterwards. He fixed the number of the cardinals at seventy; "like as Moses," said he, "chose out seventy old men from among all the people that he might take counsel with them."

Not seldom, too, has this pope had ascribed to him the annihilation of nepotism. But if we consider the matter more closely, we shall find that here the case was really otherwise. Already, under Pius IV. Pius V. and Gregory XIII. as we have seen, the favours bestowed on nephews had become very insignificant. If we are to regard any of them as deserving of special commendation in this respect, it is Pius V. who expressly prohibited the alienation of ecclesiastical property. As we have said, this earlier kind of nepotism had disappeared previous to the time of Sixtus V. But among the popes of the succeeding century, it re-appeared under another form. There were always two specially favoured nephews, the one of whom was raised to the cardinalship and entrusted with the supreme administration of ecclesiastical and political affairs; the other, in a secular station, richly married, provided with landed property, and luoghi di Monte, founded an entailed estate, and gave its origin to a family of princely rank. Now, if we ask when this form of nepotism first made its appearance, we shall find that it was by degrees that it acquired a shape, but that it first had a way opened for it under Sixtus V. Cardinal Montalto, for whom the pope cherished a heart-felt affection, so as even to moderate the natural violence of his temper to him, was admitted to the consulta and to a share at last in foreign affairs; his brother Michael became a marquis and founded a wealthy house.

But were we to believe that in this Sixtus introduced a nepotismal government, we should be completely mistaken. The marquis had no sort of influence; the cardinal none at least

[1] If Sixtus met with opposition from no other quarter, he found it in the pulpit. Francis Toledo, the Jesuit, said on this taking place, in a sermon, a man commits sin when he bestows a public station on any one in return for private services. "Non perchè," he went on to say, "uno sia buon coppiere o scalco, gli si commette senza nota d'imprudenza o un vescovato o un cardinalato."—[Not because a man has been a good cup-bearer or carver can one commit to him either a bishoprick or a cardinalship, without being noted for imprudence.] Gallo had been just a master of the kitchen. (Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V.)

that deserved the name.[1] That would have been quite at variance with this pope's settled notions. His favours had something simple and familiar in them; they lay at the foundation of his public and private popularity; but he never would quit his hold; he invariably ruled himself. However much he appeared to favour the congregations, however much he even challenged the free expression of opinions, yet he always became impatient and petulant as soon as any one availed himself of this liberty.[2] He always showed great wilfulness in having every thing done as he would. "With him," says Giovanni Gritti, "almost no one has a consultative, not to say a decisive voice."[3] Yet with all those personal and provincial marks of favour, his administration plainly had a most thorough, strict, and absolute character.

Nowhere, indeed, more than in its financial department.

FINANCES.

THE Chigi family in Rome preserves a small autograph memorandum book of Pope Sixtus V. which he had kept when a monk.[4] One now glances at its contents with much interest. He has carefully noted down in it every thing of importance that occurred in his life; where he on each occasion preached on fast days, what commissions he had received and executed, also the books he possessed, what were bound by themselves and what bound up with others; finally his whole petty monkish housekeeping. We read in it, for example, how his brother-in-law Baptista had bought twelve sheep for him; how the friar had paid for that, first twelve, then again ten florins and twenty Bolognians, so that they became his absolute property; the brother-in-law kept them by him, as was customary, at Montalto,

[1] Bentivoglio, Memorie p. 90. "Non aveva quasi alcuna partecipatione nel governo."—[He may be said to have had no share in the government.]

[2] Gualterius. "Tametsi congregationibus aliisque negotia mandaret, illa tamen ipse cognoscere atque conficere consuevit. Diligentia incredibilis sciendi cognoscendique omnia quæ a rectoribus urbis, provinciarum, populorum omnium, a ceteris magistratibus sedis apostolicæ agebantur."—[Albeit he committed business to the congregations and others, yet that he himself was wont to make himself acquainted with and to execute. He had an incredible diligence in knowing and informing himself of all things which were doing by the rulers of the city, of the provinces and of all the populations, and by other magistrates of the apostolic see.]

[3] Gritti, Relatione. "Non ci è chi abbi con lui voto decisivo, ma quasi ne anche consultivo."—[See the text.]

[4] Memorie autografe di papa Sisto V.

for half the profits on them. Such is the manner in which it proceeds. It will be seen how prudently he went about his little savings, how carefully he kept an account of them, how the total amount gradually increased to a few hundred florins; we pursue this with a pleasing interest; we see in it the same thrifty disposition which this Franciscan shortly afterwards transferred to the administration of the papal states. His frugality is a characteristic trait which he praises in every bull that affords an opportunity, and in many inscriptions. In fact no pope either before or after him, governed with similar success.

On ascending the throne he found the funds of the state completely exhausted. Bitterly did he complain of Pope Gregory, who had spent a considerable part of the pontificates at once of his predecessor and successor.[1] He had conceived so bad an opinion of that pope that he once ordered masses for him, in consequence of his having seen him in a dream suffering punishment in the other world. The revenues were already pledged beforehand up to next October.

Just so much the more did he make a point of filling the treasury, and in this he succeeded beyond all expectation. At the close of the first year of his pontificate, in April 1586, he had already amassed a million of scudi in gold, in November 1587 a second million, in April 1588 a third. This amounts to above four millions and a half in silver. As soon as he had collected a million, he deposited it in the castle of St. Angelo, having devoted it, as he expressed himself, to the holy Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and to the holy apostles Peter and Paul. "He surveyed," as he says in his bull, "not only the billows on which the ship of Peter now staggered at times, but those also of the more distant storms that threatened; the hatred of heretics was inexorable; the believers were threatened with the powerful Turks, the rod of God's anger; by that God

[1] Vita e successi del cardinal di Santaseverina. MS. Bibl. Alb. "Mentre gli parlavo del collegio de' neofiti e di quel degli Armeni, che havevano bisogno di soccorso, mi rispose con qualche alteratione, che in castello non vi erano danari e che non vi era entrata, che il papa passato havea mangiato il pontificato di Pio V. e suo, dolendosi acremente dello stato nel quale haveva trovato la sede apostolica."—[When I spoke to him of the college of the neophytes and of that of the Armenians, as needing his assistance, he answered me with some warmth of temper, that there was no money in the castle and no revenues, that the late pope had eaten up the pontificate of Pius V. and his own, bitterly complaining of the condition in which he had found the apostolic see.]

on whom he thus depended, he was likewise taught that the master of the house should watch by night as well as day. He followed the example of the fathers of the Old Testament, who kept at all times a good sum of money stored up in the temple of the Lord. He fixed, as is known, what were to be the events in which alone it should be allowable to take advantage of this treasure. They were the following; on a war being undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land, or a general campaign against the Turks, on famine and pestilence invading the country, on a province of Roman catholic Christendom being in manifest danger of being lost, on a hostile attack being made on the states of the church, or in case of the possible recovery of a city belonging to the holy see. He bound his followers by the wrath of Almighty God, and that of the apostles Peter and Paul, to bind themselves by these emergencies.[1]

We shall leave the value of these destinations for a moment to rest on its own merits; and proceed to inquire what means Sixtus employed in collecting a treasure which for that period was so astonishing in its amount.

It was no accumulation of net revenues; Sixtus himself often said that of these the papal see had not above 200,000 scudi.[2]

Neither is it to be directly imputed to his savings. He had made something by these; he restricted the expenses of his table to six paoli a day; he abolished many useless places at the court; he reduced the number of troops; but not only have we the testimony of the Venetian Delfino, that all this lessened the disbursements of the exchequer by no more than about 150,000 scudi; even Sixtus himself calculates the reductions which the exchequer owed to him, only at 146,000 scudi.[3]

With all his savings, then, according to his own statements, the net revenue stood him only 3,500,000 scudi. This was hardly sufficient for his buildings, not to say for the amassing of so colossal a treasure.

[1] Ad clavum, 21 Apr. 1586. Cocq. IV. IV. 206.

[2] Dispaccio Gritti, 7 Giugno 1586. The pope blames Henry III. for saving nothing out of 14 millions. "Con addur l'esempio di se medesimo nel governo del pontificato, che dice non haver di netto più di 200,000 sc. all'anno, battuti li interessi de' pontefici passati e le spese che convien fare."—[Alleging his own example in the government of the pontificate, which he said had not of net income above 200,000 scudi a year, after deducting the interests of former popes and the necessary expenses.]

[3] Dispaccio Badoer, 2 Giugno 1589.

We have already considered the peculiar financial economy which had established itself in the states of the church: this augmentation of imposts and burthens without any increase of net income; this multiplicity of loans in the way of saleable offices and Monti; this augmented burthening of the state for the purpose of meeting the necessities of the church. It is evident what mischiefs must have been involved in it, and on hearing the high-sounding praises that have been lavished on Sixtus V. we must be led from these to suppose that he had contrived to remove those evils. But how much are we surprised to find that he went straight on in the same course, with the utmost recklessness; and gave so fixed a character to this financial economy that never could check be given to it again.

The sale of offices formed one of the chief sources of his financial wealth. First of all, he raised the price of many which already had been sold. For example, there was the office of the treasurer of the exchequer. It had been hitherto transferred for 15,000 scudi; he sold it first to a Giustiniani for 50,000 scudi; on making him a cardinal, he sold it to a Pepoli for 72,000 scudi; on giving him too the purple, he cut off a full moiety of the income of the office, 5,000 scudi, which he assigned to a Monte; after such a diminution he still contrived to sell it for 50,000 scudi in gold. Secondly, he began to sell offices which hitherto had always been given away gratuitously; notaryships, fiscalships, the offices of the commissary-general, of the solicitor of the exchequer, of the poor's-advocates; often at considerable prices, the office of commissary-general at 20,000, and the notaryships at 20,000 scudi. But lastly he erected a multitude of new offices, and among these some of great importance; a treasurership of the Dataria, the prefecture of the prisons, 24 referendaryships, 200 cavalierate, notaryships in the principal quarters of the states; these he sold, one and all.[1]

In this way he certainly collected very considerable sums; the sale of the offices brought him in 608,510 scudi in gold, and 401,805 in silver, consequently altogether amounting to near a million and a half in silver; but if the saleable offices even before this, caused a pressure on the state, for, as has been mentioned,

[1] Calculation to be found in a copious manuscript on the Roman Finances under Clement VIII. (Barberini Library at Rome.)

there was involved in it a participation in the rights of government, on the ground of a loan, which rights the lender enforced with the utmost severity against those who were bound to pay, without attending to the official duties (that were paid for), how much must this evil have been thus increased! The consequence unavoidably followed that the office was regarded as a possession that gave rights, not as a duty which called for exertions.

But over and above this, Sixtus now increased the Monti too, beyond measure. He established three Monti non vacabili and eight Monti vacabili; being more than any one of his predecessors had done.

We have seen that the Monti had always to be secured on new imposts. Even Sixtus V. found no other means, although at first he fain would have avoided it. When he first spoke to the cardinals in the consistory of the laying up of a public treasure, Cardinal Farnese replied, that his grandfather Paul III. had also contemplated this, but perceiving that it would be impossible without an augmentation of the taxes, he had refrained from doing it. Sixtus turned on him violently. The insinuation that another pope had been wiser than he, galled him to the quick. "That was caused," he replied, "because under Paul III. there were some great spendthrifts, who, thank God, are not to be found in our times." Farnese blushed and was silent.[1] But it turned out as he had said. In 1587, Sixtus V. became quite reckless. The most laborious of employments, for instance, that of dragging vessels up the Tiber by means of buffaloes and horses, and the most indispensable wants of life, such as firewood and the pint of wine sold by retail, he burthened with new imposts, and straightway founded Monti on these. He depreciated the coin, and whereas this was directly followed by

[1] Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V. "Mutatosi per tanto nel volto mentre Farnese parlava, irato più tosto que grave gli rispose: Non è maraviglia, Monsignore, che a tempo di vostro avo non si potesse mettere in opera il disegno di far tesoro per la chiesa con l'entrate e proventi ordinarii, perchè vi erano di molti e grandi scialaquatori (a word he was very fond of using), i quali non sono dio gratia a tempi nostri: notando amaramente la moltitudine di figli e figlie e nepoti d'ogni sorte di questo pontefice. Arrossì alquanto a quel dire Farnese e tacque."—[So far changing countenance while Farnese spoke, he answered rather angrily than seriously: No wonder, My Lord, that in your grandsire's time it was impossible to put in practice the design of having a treasure for the church drawn from the ordinary receipts and revenues, for there were then many and great spendthrifts (a word which he was very fond of using), such as, thank God, are not to be found in our day; bitterly remarking that pope's multitude of sons and daughters and nephews of all kinds. Farnese blushed a little when he spoke thus, and was silent.]

a petty exchange business being formed at all the street corners, even that he took advantage of, by selling the privilege of engaging in it.[1] Much as he favoured the Mark, yet he burthened the commerce of Ancona with a further two per cent on imports. Manufactures, while as yet but springing into life, were obliged to contribute at least indirectly to his advantage.[2] He employed a Portuguese Jew, of the name of Lopez, who from terror at the Inquisition had fled from Portugal, and had gained the confidence of the Datary, of Madam Camilla, and at last of the pope himself, and who had suggested to him these and similar operations. After the treatment Farnese had received, not a cardinal durst venture on any further opposition. When the above-mentioned impost on wine was spoken of, Albano of Bergamo said; "I approve of all that pleases your Holiness, yet I would approve of it still more, did this impost displease you."

Sixtus thus effected such an augmentation of the revenues, as to be able to take up, with interest on it, a loan in the Monti, of about two millions and a half of scudi in gold, the precise sum being 2,424,725.

But we confess that in this political economy there was something incomprehensible.

The country was burthened with new and unquestionably very oppressive taxes, in consequence of these fresh imposts, and so many offices; the offices were paid out of fees which could not but clog the course of justice and the administration; the imposts fell on trade, both wholesale and retail, and could not fail injuriously to affect its movements. And, after all, what object was gained by the revenue thus acquired?

If we reckon up together how much the Monti and offices together produced, it will be found to amount to much about the

[1] One got for an old Julio besides 10 Bajocchi which he had coined, a premium of from four to six quatrins.

[2] The following is a fair specimen of his administration. Le stessi memorie: "Ordinò non si vendesse seta o sciolta o tessuta in drappi nè lana o panni se non approbati da officiali creati a tal effetto, nè si estraessero senza licenza degli stessi: inventione utile contro alle fraudi, ma molto più in prò della camera, perchè pagandosi i segni e le licenze se n'imborsava gran-danaro dal pontefice."—[The same Memoir: He ordained that there should be no sales of silk, whether raw or woven into cloth, or of wool or woollen cloth, unless approved by official persons created to that effect, nor was any to be exported without license from such persons; a useful invention against all frauds, but much more so for the profit of the exchequer, for from what was paid for seals and licenses, large sums were pocketed by the pontiff.] That then could not be very hurtful to industry.

sum that came to be deposited in the castle; four millions and a half of scudi, little more. All the great undertakings for which this pope has been celebrated, he must have managed to execute with the money derived from his savings.

One can readily conceive of a man collecting and saving up his surplus income; for a man to make loans to help out the wants of the moment, is nothing out of course; but for a man to contract loans and lay on burthens for the purpose of hoarding up a treasure, intended for future wants, in a fortress, is most extraordinary.

Yet this is what the world has most wondered at in the case of Sixtus V.

True it is that the measures of Gregory XIII. had something odious and violent about them, and that they produced a very mischievous reaction. Notwithstanding all this, I am inclined to believe that had he brought matters into such a train as would have enabled the papal exchequer for the future to dispense with both new imposts and loans, this would have called forth a most beneficial action, and the states of the church would probably have had a more prosperous development.

Gregory, however, in his last years especially, was wanting in the force required for carrying his ideas into effect.

What distinguished Sixtus V. was precisely his possessing this thoroughly executive force. His accumulating of treasure by means of loans, the sale of offices and new imposts heaped burthen upon burthen; we shall see what were the consequences, but his success blinded the world, and for the moment actually gave the popedom a new importance.

Surrounded with states, the greater number of which were pinched in respect of money, the popes, by their possessing a treasure, came to have more confidence in themselves, and to command more respect with others.

In point of fact, this administration of the state was singularly of a piece with the Roman catholic system of that time.

As it placed all the financial powers of the state in the hands of the ecclesiastical chief, it first fully fitted the states to become an organ of spiritual government.

For to what else could this money be applied but to the defence and extension of the Roman catholic faith?

The life of Sixtus V. was absorbed in projects that had this for their object. Sometimes they were designed for the East and the Turks; more often for the West and Protestants. Betwixt the two systems, the Roman catholic and the Protestant, a war burst forth in which the popes took the liveliest part.

We shall review it in the book that follows. First, let us for a moment longer remain at Rome, which contrived anew to exercise a general influence on the world.

ARCHITECTURAL ENTERPRISES OF SIXTUS V.

THIS was now the third time that Rome presented itself even in its external aspect as the metropolis of the world.

The splendour and extent of ancient Rome are well known; many are the representations that have been attempted to be made of it from ruins and historical accounts. Its middle age, too, has certainly deserved for once to have a like diligence bestowed on them. Mediæval Rome, as well as the ancient, was a lordly city, with its majestic basilics, the worship of its grottos and catacombs, the patriarchal residences of the popes, in which were preserved the memorials of the Christianity of the earliest times, the still sumptuous imperial palace which belonged to German kings, the fortified castles, which in the midst of so many governments, and as if in defiance of them, independent races erected for themselves.

During the absence of the popes in Avignon, this mediæval Rome had fallen into a decay as evident as that of the Rome of antiquity, which had lain long in ruins.

When Eugenius IV. returned to Rome in 1443, it had become a city of cow-herds; the inhabitants were not distinguished from the peasants and herds of the country. The heights had long been deserted; the level ground between the windings of the Tiber, was the only part inhabited. The narrow streets had no pavement. The gloom was still further increased by the balconies and arches by which the houses supported one another; cattle were seen going about as in a village. From St. Sylvester to the Porta del popolo nothing appeared but garden grounds and marshes, where wild ducks were hunted. The very remembrance of antiquity seemed to have nearly vanished. The Capitol had become the Goat-hill, and the Forum Romanum the Cow-

park. The strangest traditions had become associated with some of the monuments that still remained. St. Peter's church was in danger of falling in.

When Nicolas had gained at last the obedience of all (Roman catholic) Christendom, he conceived the idea, when enriched with the offerings of the pilgrims that came pouring in at the jubilee, of adorning Rome with buildings in such a manner, that every one should be filled with the thought that it was the metropolis of the world.

But this was not the work of one man alone. The popes that succeeded laboured at it for centuries.

I will not here repeat in detail what they have attempted in this way, as has been described in their biographies. The epochs of Julius II. and of this our Sixtus, were the most important, as well in respect of their success, as also of the contrast which they present.

Under Julius II. the lower part of the city on the banks of the Tiber, to which quarter it had drawn itself, was entirely renewed. After Sixtus IV. had better connected the two sides of the river by that solid and simple bridge of Travertino's which still bears his name, both were built on with the utmost eagerness. On the other side, Julius did not content himself with such an undertaking as the church of St. Peter, which under him raised its head majestically; he also renewed the Vatican palace. In the hollow between the old building and Innocent VIII.'s country house, called the Belvedere, he founded the Loggie, one of the best designed works that can be conceived. Not far from that his cousins the Riari, and his treasurer, Augustine Chigi, strove which of the two should erect the finest edifice. Chigi unquestionably carried off the prize; his is the Farnesina, wonderful even in its design, but incomparably adorned by the hand of Raphael. On this side of the river we are indebted to Julius II. for the completion of the Cancellaria, with its cortile, which has been executed in pure and happily-conceived proportions; it is, in fact, the finest court-yard in the world. His cardinals and barons strove to emulate him; Farnese, whose palace by its magnificent entrance has gained for itself the fame of being the most perfect of Roman palaces; Francis di Rio, who boasted of his, that it would stand until the tortoise

shall have travelled over the earth. The residence of the Medici was filled with all the treasures of literature and art, and the Orsini adorned both the exterior and interior of their palace on the Campofiore, with statues and sculpture.[1] The stranger does not always give the attention they deserve to these monuments of that noble epoch, in which people strove to equal antiquity, extending all round from the Campofiore and the Farnese square. It displays an union of emulation, genius, fertility, and a general state of wellbeing. In proportion as the population increased, buildings were erected on the Campo Marzo and all round by the mausoleum of Augustus. This state of things was still farther carried out under Leo, but even before that Julius had had occasion to trace out the Lungara beyond the river, and facing it on this side, the Strada Julia. The inscription is still seen, in which the conservators extol him as having marked out and opened new streets, "suited to the majesty of the newly-acquired dominion."

The population again fell low in consequence of the plague and of the sack of the city. The commotions under Paul IV. brought an addition of new and grievous calamities; it was after that that it first began to revive again; with the renewed obedience of the Roman catholic world, the number of the inhabitants again began to increase.

Already had Pius IV. contemplated rebuilding the forsaken rising grounds. On the Capitoline hill he founded the palace of the conservators. On the Viminal, Michael Angelo erected for him, out of the ruins of Diocletian's baths, the church of Santa Maria degli Angli; the Porta Pia on the Quirinal, to this day bears his insignia.[2] Gregory XIII. also built there.

Still from the very nature of things, all these were but vain attempts as long as the heights were without water.

This was the very desideratum which Sixtus proceeded to supply. What has secured for him a glorious reputation in the

[1] Opusculum de mirabilibus novæ et veteris urbis Romæ editum a Francisco Albertino, 1515.—[A small work on the wonders of modern and ancient Rome by Francis Albertini, 1515,] especially in the second part, "de nova urbe"—[on the modern city].

[2] Luigi Contarini, Antichità di Roma p. 76, gives the highest meed of praise to the endeavours of Pius IV. "S'egli viveva ancora 4 anni, Roma sarebbe d'edificii un altra Roma."—[Had he lived four years longer, Rome in point of buildings would have been another Rome.]

city, beyond all other popes, is his having fixed his regards on this want, and his having resolved to supply the deficiency of water, by means of colossal aqueducts. This he did, says he, "that therewith these hills, ennobled even to Christian times with basilics, noted for the purity of their atmosphere, for their charming position, and pleasant prospect, might again be inhabited." "Therefore," he adds, "we have not allowed ourselves to be deterred by any difficulties or by any expense." In fact, from the very first he told the architects that he wanted a work which might match with the ancient magnificence of imperial Rome. In defiance of all obstacles he brought the Aqua Martia a distance of twenty Roman miles, all the way from the Agro Colonna, leading it partly under ground, partly over lofty arches. Great was the satisfaction with which the pope saw at last this run of water discharge itself in his vineyard. He conducted it farther to St. Susanna on the Quirinal; called it after his Christian name, Acqua Felice; and with no small self-satisfaction had Moses sculptured at the fountains, standing as when the water at the stroke of his staff gushed from the rock.[1]

This proved a great advantage both for that particular quarter and for the whole city. The Acqua Felice supplies 20,537 cubic meters of water every twenty-four hours, and feeds twenty-seven fountains.

Upon this people began in good earnest to build again upon the heights, and Sixtus encouraged them by special privileges. He levelled the ground at the Trinita de' Monti, and prepared the foundation of the steps leading to the Spanish square, which forms the nearest communication from the lower city to that height.[2] Here he laid out the Via Felice and Borgo Felice; he opened the streets that to this day lead from all sides towards

[1] We have in Tasso's Stanze all'acqua felice di Roma (Rime II. 311), how the water wanders at first along a dark path and then cheerfully bursts out into the light of the sun, to see Rome as Augustus saw it.

[2] Gualterius: "Ut viam a frequentioribus urbis locis per Pincium collem ad Exquilias commode strueret, Pincium ipsum collem ante sanctissimæ Trinitatis templum humiliorem fecit et carpentis rhedisque pervium reddidit scalasque ad templum illud ab utroque portæ latere commodas perpulcrasque ad modum extruxit, e quibus jucundissimus in totam urbem prospectus est."—[In order that he might form a commodious communication from the more thickly inhabited parts of the city, by the Pincian hill to the Exquiliæ, he lowered that Pincian hill in front of the church of the most holy Trinity, made it passable for carts and carriages, and built flights of steps, at once convenient and exceedingly beautiful, on each side of the door, and leading up to that church, whence there is a most charming view of the whole city.]

S. Maria Maggiore; he contemplated connecting all the basilics with that one, by broad and ample ways. The poets boast that Rome had almost doubled itself, and again sought out her ancient habitations.

Yet it was not only by this building upon the heights, that Sixtus V. was distinguished from former popes. He likewise conceived designs that ran directly counter to the earlier ones.

The ruins of ancient Rome were contemplated under Leo X. with a kind of religious awe; the divine sparks of the ancient spirit were perceived in them with feelings of ecstasy. How studiously did that pope issue orders for the preservation, "of whatever still remained extant of the ancient mother, of the renown, and of the grandeur of Italy."[1]

From such a spirit Sixtus V. was infinitely removed. This Franciscan had no sense of the beauty that pervaded the remains of antiquity. The Septizonium of Severus, a most remarkable work, which had outlasted all the storms of so many centuries down to his time, found no favour in his eyes. He destroyed it from the foundation, and removed some of its columns to St. Peter's.[2] He was quite as headstrong in destroying as zealous in building, and it was the universal apprehension that in that too he would show no moderation. Let us mark what is told by

[1] See passages from Castiglione's well-known Letter to Leo X. Lettere di Castiglione, Padova, 1796, p. 149. Yet I can find nothing in that letter of a project for any regular digging out of the ancient city. It seems evident to me that it is a preface to a description of Rome with a plan; to this description and this plan there is a continual reference; it remains in the highest degree probable that a work of Raphael himself was to have been introduced with this preface. This may be presumed especially from the similarity of expressions to be found in the well-known epigram on Raphael's death and in this epistle. For example, "vedendo quasi il cadavero di quella nobil patria così miseramente lacerato"—[beholding as it were the carcass of this noble native seal thus miserably lacerated]. Urbis lacerum ferro igni annisque cadaver Ad vitam revocas.

Life in Rome's carcass at thy call appears,
Though thus disfigured by war, fire, and years!

This, indeed, denotes a restoration, but only in idea, in a description. This meaning does not really do away with the hitherto asserted views, but more precisely defines them. We may conclude that the work in which Raphael was engaged during the last period of his life, was already pretty far advanced, for a dedication for it had already been composed in his name. What a name to add to those of other astygraphers (describers of cities)! The papers and the plan might have come into the hands of Fulvius, who probably had a great share in the undertaking.

[2] Gualterius: "Præcipue Severi Septizonii, quod incredibili Romanorum dolore demoliendum curavit, columnis marmoribusque usus est, passimque per urbem caveæ videbantur undo lapides omnis generis effodiebantur."—[In particular he employed the columns and marbles of the Septizonium of Severus, which he had caused to be destroyed, to the incredible vexation of the Romans, and here and there throughout the city excavations were seen where stones of all kinds were dug out.]

the cardinal of Santa Severina, and which might seem incredible but that it happened in the relater's own experience. "When it was seen," says he, "that the pope was altogether and absolutely bent on destroying the antiquities of Rome, a number of the Roman nobility came to me one day and besought me to do my utmost to induce His Holiness to relinquish so extravagant an idea. They applied to that cardinal who, beyond a doubt, was regarded as the greatest zealot of that time. He was joined by Cardinal Colonna. The pope answered them by saying, that he would remove ugly antiquities, but would restore the rest that required it. Be it but imagined what might not appear to him as ugly! He contemplated the direct destruction of the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, which even then was the sole important relic of republican times, an amazing and sublime monument. How much may under him have been levelled with the ground!"

He could hardly make up his mind to bear with the Laocoon and Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican. The ancient statues with which the citizens of Rome had adorned the Capitol, he would not suffer to remain there. He declared that he would destroy the Capitol, if people would not remove them. They consisted of a Jupiter Tonans betwixt a Minerva and an Apollo. The Minerva alone was allowed to remain; the other two were in fact taken away. But Sixtus wished to make her serve as an emblem of Rome and of Christianity. He therefore removed the spear which she held in her hands and replaced it with an enormous cross.[1]

In this sense he restored the pillars of Trajan and the Antoninuses. Having ordered to be removed from the former the urn which, it was said, contained the ashes of the emperor, he dedicated it to the apostle Peter, and the other to the apostle Paul, whose statues have ever since stood facing each other in that aerial altitude, and looking down upon the habitations of men. His intention in this, was to achieve a triumph for the Christian faith over heathenism.[2]

The erection of the obelisk in front of St. Peter's lay the more at heart with him, inasmuch as he "wished to see the monu-

[1] Passages from the Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata, reprinted in Bunsen's Description of Rome, I. S. 702.

[2] Among other authorities, J. P. Maffei Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII. lib. I. p. 5, seems to indicate this.

ments of unbelief subjected to the cross, at the very spot where Christians had once to suffer death by crucifixion."[1]

It was, indeed, a magnificent design, which he executed, however, quite after his own fashion; with a strange mixture of violence, grandeur, pomp and bigotry.

The architect, Domenico Fontano, who had worked his way up under the pope's own eye from the time that he was a mason's apprentice, he even threatened to punish should any thing miscarry with him and the obelisk be damaged.

Difficulties occurred at every step, to raise it from its base at the spot on which it stood near the vestry of the old church of St. Peter's, to lower it again, to transport it to a new site, and there to set it on its base again.

It was begun with the impression that a work was now to be undertaken which would be celebrated throughout all after-ages. The workmen, nine hundred in number, began with hearing mass, making confession, and receiving the sacrament. They then entered the space which had been enclosed with a paling for their labours. The master occupied a raised seat. The obelisk was encased in straw-matting and boards, held together by strong iron rings. Thirty-five capstans were to set in motion the huge machine which was intended to lift it up, with strong hempen ropes. Two horses and ten men worked at each. At last the signal was given by the blowing of a trumpet. The very first pull proved most effective; the obelisk rose from the base on which it had rested for 1500 years; at the twelfth it had risen 2¾ palms, and was there fixed. The architect saw the enormous mass, with its casing weighing upwards of a million of Roman pounds, in his power. It was carefully noted that the day was the 30th of April 1586, at about 3 o'clock P. M. about the twentieth hour. A salute was fired from the castle of St. Angelo; all the bells of the city began to peal; the workmen carried their master in triumph round the enclosure with unintermitted acclamations.

[1] Vita Sixti V. i. m. c: "ut ubi grassatum olim suppliciis in Christianos et passim fixæ cruces, in quas innoxia natio sublata teterrimis cruciatibus necaretur, ibi supposita cruci et in crucis versa honorem cultumque ipsa impietatis monumenta cernerentur."—[that where of old Christians were assailed with punishments, and crosses were fixed here and there, lifted up on which the harmless nation were slain by the most dreadful tortures, there the very monuments of impiety might be seen placed beneath the cross, and applied to the honour and worship of the cross.]

Seven days thereafter the obelisk was let down with no less skill, after which it was moved along on rollers to its new site. Not until after the hot months had passed was there any attempt made to proceed to its re-erection.

For this the pope selected the 10th of September, a Wednesday, which day he had always found to be a lucky one, and the next before the feast of the elevation of the cross, to which the obelisk was to be dedicated. On this occasion, too, the workmen began with commending themselves to God; they fell on their knees on entering the enclosure. Fontana, in his arrangements, had proceeded not without respect to the last erection of an obelisk as described by Ammianus Marcellinus; yet he had provided besides a force of a hundred and forty horses. It was thought, too, a particularly auspicious circumstance that the sky was cloudy. All succeeded to a wish. The obelisk was moved in three great lifts, and about an hour before sunset it settled down on its new pedestal, on the backs of four bronze lions, which seemed to support it. The rejoicings of the people were indescribable; the pope felt the most complete satisfaction. So many of his predecessors had desired to have it done; it had been thought desirable in so many writings; and now he had carried it into effect. He had it noted in his diary that he had succeeded in one of the greatest and most difficult tasks that the mind of man could think of; he had medals struck on the occasion; he received verses upon it in all languages, and sent an account of it to all the foreign powers.[1]

[1] The Dispacci of Gritti, of the 3, 10 Maggio, 12 Luglio, 11 Ottobre, treat of this erection. The "Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata" gives no bad picture of the impression. "Tenuitque universæ civitatis oculos novæ et post 1500 amplius annos relatæ rei spectaculo, cum aut sedibus suis avulsam toleret molem, uno tempore et duodenis vectibus impulsam et quinis tricenis ergatis quos equi bini homines deni agebant, in sublime elatam, aut cum suspensam inde sensim deponeret extenderetque humi junctis trabibus atque ex his ingenti composita traha quæ jacentem exciperet, aut cum suppositis cylindris (sunt hæ ligneæ columnæ teretes et volubiles) quaternis ergatis protracta paulatim per editum et ad altitudinem basis cui imponenda erat excitatum aggerem atque undique egregie munitum incederet, denique cum iterum erecta libratauque suis reposita sedibus est."—[He fixed the attention of the whole city with the spectacle of a new, and, after more than 1500 years, repeated thing, when either he raised the mass when wrenched from its seat, being subjected to twelve simultaneous pulls and lifted into the air by thirty-five capstans, driven each by two horses and ten men, or when from thence he slowly let it down while thus suspended, and extended it along the ground on beams fixed together, and on a huge tray composed of those beams for the purpose of receiving it, as it lay, or when on cylinders (that is, wooden columns smoothly rounded) placed beneath, it was dragged along by four windlasses (that is, four capstans for each stage, of which, it appears from the text, that there were three) it gradually moved over the

The inscription sounds odd in which he takes praise to himself for having wrested this monument from the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, and having dedicated it to the most holy cross. He had a cross erected upon it, in which there was enclosed a piece of the pretended true cross. This expressed his full meaning. The very monuments of heathenism were to subserve the purpose of conferring glory upon the cross.

He devoted himself with all his soul to those buildings of his. A herdboy, brought up in gardens and fields, still he loved cities; he had no idea of looking at a villeggiatura; it was refreshing to him, he said, "to see many roofs." I understand by this that his architectural undertakings gave him the greatest satisfaction.

Many thousand hands were constantly employed; he allowed no difficulty to daunt him.

The cupola was still wanting at St. Peter's, and the architect asked ten years for its completion. Sixtus intended to give money for this, but he also wanted the work to be done under his own eye. He set 600 workmen to it; there was no intermission even during the night; all was finished in two and twenty months. He lived to see all but the leaden roof put upon it.

But even in works of this description he set no bounds to his arbitrary spirit. The remnants of the papal patriarchium at the Lateran, which were still by no means insignificant, and which were besides exceedingly interesting relics of the very dignity with which he himself was invested, he pitilessly ordered to be pulled down, that he might build his Lateran palace on the spot, a palace which was never needed, and which has only gained a very doubtful notoriety as one of the first specimens of the uniform regularity of modern architecture.

How completely changed was now the relation in which people stood with respect to antiquity. Both at an earlier time, and also now, efforts were made to rival it; but formerly the object was to equal it in beauty and grace of form; what now was attempted, was to equal, or to surpass it, in massive undertakings. Even in the most trifling monument, people used formerly to revere the slightest trace of the spirit of antiquity; now they

line which had been built and elevated to the height of the base, on which it was to be placed, and excellently strengthened on all sides; finally, when being again set up and nicely poised, it was settled on its own resting-place.]

would rather obliterate such traces. One idea was followed, and it alone was allowed any weight, and beside that no other was acknowledged. It is the same that gained the ascendancy in the church, and that made the state become an organ of the church. This idea of modern Roman catholicism enters into all the veins of life, amid all the diversity of its institutions and arrangements.

CHANGE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE MIND IN GENERAL.

For we must by no means believe that it was the pope alone that felt the ascendancy of this spirit; at the close of this century there is observable, in every department, a direction of the mind opposed to that which peculiarly marked its commencement.

Here a leading feature presents itself in the fact, that the study of the ancients, from which at that time every thing had proceeded, had now immensely declined. Even now an Aldus Manutius appeared again at Rome, and became professor of rhetoric. But he found no congenial spirit to become enamoured either of his Greek or of his Latin. At the hour appointed for his prelections, he might be seen with one and another of his hearers pacing to and fro before the gate of the university; these were all that showed him the least sympathy. What an incredible advance had been made in the study of the Greek authors at the commencement of that century! At its close, not a single Hellenist of any note was to be found in Italy.

Now I do not wish to represent this altogether as a decline; in a certain respect it is connected with what was the necessary progress of the development of science.

Thus, although previous to this, science was derived directly from the ancients, this had now ceased to be any longer possible. On the one hand, its materials had immensely increased. What a totally different mass of information on the subject of natural history had been collected, for example, by Ulysses Aldrovandi in the course of a long life of unintermitted labour and of many journeys, from what any of the ancients knew; he had contemplated bringing the science to a degree of peculiar completeness in his museum, where the natural object was wanting, supplying its place by an imitation, and having each object accompanied

with a copious description. How had geography become extended beyond every conception of the ancient world! On the other hand, researches began to be conducted more deeply and minutely. Mathematicians first only endeavoured to fill up the blanks left by the ancients in that science. Commandin, for example, believed he had discovered that Archimedes must have either read, or even written something on the centre of gravity, which had since been lost. He made this an occasion for him to investigate the subject itself. But just by doing so people came to be led much farther; they broke loose from the leading-strings of the ancients; they made discoveries lying beyond the circle that had been described by them, and opening up new paths for more extensive investigations.

To the knowledge of nature in particular, people devoted themselves with an independent zeal. They wavered for a moment betwixt the owning of mysteries in things, and a bold and thorough exploration of phenomena. Yet the latter, that is, the more scientific tendency, already preponderated. Already had an attempt been made to arrange the vegetable world by itself, according to a rational system; and in Padua there lived a professor whom people used to call the Columbus of the human body. On all sides, efforts were made to extend the limits of science; it ceased any longer to be comprised within the books of the ancients.

It followed, if I mistake not, necessarily, that the study of antiquity, to which people no longer durst pay such absolute deference in point of object, even in respect of form could no longer exercise the influence it formerly possessed.

In works of learning people began to turn their attention to the accumulation of materials. At the commencement of the century Cortesius had presented the essence of the scholastic philosophy, intractable as the subject may appear, in a well-written classical work, full of mind and wit: now (near its close) a certain Natal Conte compiled a body of ancient materials that might have given scope for the most intellectual and exquisite treatment, namely, the ancient mythology, in an unreadable quarto. This author wrote a history too; the sentences with which he has adorned his book, he has almost always quoted directly from the ancients, and has referred to the places they

have been taken from, yet all the while he shows an utter want of taste for proper descriptive writing. For his contemporaries it seemed quite sufficient to heap together materials consisting of bald facts, in masses. One may venture to say that such a work as the Annals of Baronius, so altogether shapeless, written in Latin, but without a trace of elegance even in single expressions, would never for a moment have been thought of at the commencement of the century.

While the path of antiquity was thus forsaken in scientific efforts, and much more of course in form and composition, changes entered into the life of the nation which exercised an incalculable influence on all literary and artistic efforts.

Even that part of Italy which was republican in its government and left to its own discretion, that Italy on whose peculiar circumstances the earlier developments even of the mind itself had rested, now fell to the ground. The whole freedom and racy simplicity of the general intellect vanished. Be it observed that a passion for titles came in. As early as in 1520, some were vexed to see that every man wished to be called Signor; this was ascribed to the influence of the Spaniards. About 1550, alike in letters and in speech, cumbersome honorary titles had already supplanted simple addresses. Towards the close of the century, the titles of Marquis and Duke began to carry the day; everybody wanted to have one or other of them; all wanted to be "your excellency." It may be said, indeed, that this is a matter of no great consequence; yet even at this day its effects are observable, though now the fashion has long been antiquated; how much more at the time that it was in vogue. But in every other respect, too, people maintained towards one another a stricter, firmer, and more definite bearing; the hearty freedom from restraint that marked the mutual relationships of earlier times, the directness of reciprocal intercourse, had disappeared.

Be the cause of this what you please, assuming even that it was a change which had its origin in the nature of the soul, thus much is evident, that in all productions, from about the middle of the century downwards, there breathes another spirit, and that society, in its living reality, had other wants.

Of all the phenomena that marked this change, perhaps the most striking is the recomposition of the Orlando Inamorato of

Boiardo, undertaken by Berni. It is the same and yet quite a different work. All the charm and freshness of the original poem are taken out of it. If we examine it a little more closely, we shall find that the author has everywhere poorly substituted a generally prevalent for individual traits, and for the careless expression of a nature beautiful and full of life, a kind of conventional decorum, such as society in Italy, then and in later times, required.[1] Therewithal he completely succeeded in his aim. His work met with incredible popularity. The recomposition has completely supplanted the original. And how speedily was this revolution completed. Not quite fifty years had passed since the first appearance of the work.

This fundamentally altered tone, this breath of another spirit, may be traced through most of the productions of that time.

It is not so much want of talent that makes the large poems of Alamanni and Bernardo Tasso, so insipid and tedious, not at least in the case of the latter. But even their conception is cold. In compliance with the demands of a public, not indeed by any means very virtuous, but which had become serious and decorous, they chose for themselves faultless heroes; Bernardo chose Amadis, of which the younger Tasso says; "Dante would have recalled the contemptuous judgment he has passed on the romances of chivalry, had he known the Amadis of Gaul or of Greece; so full are those ideal representations of generosity and constancy;"—Alamanni elaborated Giron the courteous, the mirror of all knightly virtue. His avowed object in it was to direct young men to that example, to show them how a man should endure hunger and watching, cold and sunshine, bear arms, show justice and inoffensiveness towards every man, and forgiveness of enemies. Now in as much as with this morally didactic object in view, they proceeded just as Berni did, and purposely deprived their fable of the poetical groundwork it possessed, the consequence is that their works have generally turned out prolix and dry.

It seemed, if one may venture to say so, as if the nation had used and worked out the whole amount of poetical conceptions that had been suggested by its past experience, by the ideas of

[1] I have endeavoured to go more closely into this subject in the academical treatise above noticed.

the middle age, and that there did not even remain the power of comprehending them. It wanted something new. But neither would creative genius appear, nor did life present fresh materials. Down to about the middle of the century we find prose, didactic from its nature, still intellectual, glowing, flexible, and pleasing. But it, too, gradually became stiff and cold.

Art shared the same fate with poetry. It lost the inspiration that once animated its religious objects, and very soon that also which animated its profane objects. It was for the most part among the Venetians only that any of it survived. How completely had the disciples of Raphael, with one sole exception, fallen short of Raphael! In imitating him they lost themselves in a factitious beauty, in theatrical attitudes and affected graces, and we observe in their works in what a colder and more unattractive tone they are conceived. The disciples of Michael Angelo were no better. Art no longer knew its object; it relinquished the ideas which it formerly struggled to embody; nothing remained but the externals of method.

In this state of things, when people had already departed from antiquity, no longer imitated its forms, and had outstripped it in science, when the old national poetry also, and religious modes of conception, were despised by literature and art, the new aggrandizement of the church commenced. It obtained the mastery over men's minds with or against their wills; and introduced a thorough change in every thing connected with art or literature.

But the church, if I mistake not, produced quite a different effect on science from what it produced on art.

Once more did philosophy and science, in general, experience an epoch of great importance. After the restoration of the genuine Aristotle, people began in philosophy too, as well as in other branches of other ancient writers, to cast themselves loose from him. They proceeded to a free investigation of the highest problems. Now, from the very nature of things this was what the church could not favour. She herself had already pronounced upon the highest principles in a manner that admitted of no doubt. But if the adherents of Aristotle had often professed anti-ecclesiastical and naturalistic views, something of the same kind was to be apprehended from those that opposed him. They desired, as one of them expressed it, to compare the dog-

mas of previous teachers with the original handwriting of God, with the world, and with the nature of things. This was an attempt the consequences of which no one could see in all their extent, but which must produce, be it discoveries or errors, of a very prejudicial character; the church therefore checked it in the very bud. Albeit that Telesius never brought himself into notice on the subject of physical science, he remained his whole lifetime mewed up in his petty native town; Campanella lived as an exile; he was subjected to the torture; the most profound of the whole, Giordano Bruno, a true philosopher, after many persecutions and wanderings, at length, as it runs in the record, "not only as a heretic but as a heresiarch, who had written some things which bore upon religion and were unbecoming,"[1] came to be accused by the Inquisition, was arrested, sent off to Rome, and adjudged to be burned alive. In such circumstances, who could have felt courage enough to indulge any free movement of the mind? Of all the innovators produced by this century, only one,

[1] In a Venetian MS. in the Vienna Archives under the Rubric Roma, Espositioni, 1592, 28 Sett., we find the original of a protocol on the subject of the delivering up of Giordano Bruno. There appeared before the college the Vicar of the patriarchs, the father Inquisitor, and the assistant of the Inquisition, Thomas Morosini. The Vicar stated: "li giorni passati esser stato ritenuto e tuttavia ritrovarsi nelle prigioni di questa città deputate al servicio del santo ufficio Giordano Bruno da Nola, imputato non solo di heretico, ma anco di heresiarca, havendo composto diversi libri nei quali laudando assai la regina d'Inghilterra et altri principi heretici scriveva alcune cose concernenti il particolar della religione che non convenivano sebene egli parlava filosoficamente, e che costui era apostata, essendo stato primo frate domenicano, che era vissuto molt'anni in Ginevra et Inghilterra e che in Napoli et altri luoghi era stato inquisito della medesima imputatione: e che essendosi saputa a Roma la prigionia di costui, lo ill^{mo} Santa Severina supremo inquisitore haveva scritto e dato ordine che fusse inviato a Roma, - - con prima sicura occasione."—[that for days past there had been detained and constantly kept within the prison of this city, destined to be at the service of the holy office, Giordano Bruno of Nola, charged not only with being a heretic, but further as a heresiarch, having composed divers books, in which sufficiently praising the Queen of England and other heretical monarchs, he hath written some things concerning the particular of religion which were not becoming, although he spoke philosophically, and that he was an apostate, having first been a Dominican friar; that he had lived many years in Geneva and England, and that in Naples and other places he had been accused of the same charge, and that his imprisonment being known at Rome, the most illustrious Santa Severina, supreme inquisitor, had written and given order that he should be sent to Rome - - by the first safe opportunity.] Such an opportunity was now presented. They receive no immediate answer. After dinner the father Inquisitor again appears, and is very pressing, for the vessel is about to sail. But the *savi* reply: "che essendo la cosa di momento e consideratione, e le occupationi di questo stato molte e gravi, non si haveva per allhora potuto fare risolutione."—[that the case being one of great weight, and calling for consideration, and the engagements of this state being many and serious, they had it not in their power at the time to come to any resolution.] And so the vessel sailed that time without the prisoner. I have not been able to discover whether afterwards the actual delivering of him up was brought about by means of new negotiations.

Francesco Patrizi, found favour at Rome. He too attacked Aristotle, only however on this account, that the positions of that ancient author were opposed to the church and to Christianity. In contradiction to the views of Aristotle, he attempted to trace a genuine philosophic tradition, from the pretended Hermes Trismegistus, in whose writings he thought he could find a clearer explanation of the Trinity than even in the Mosaical scriptures, down through the succeeding ages. This tradition he endeavoured to revive, renew, and to substitute in the place of the Aristotelian. In all the dedications of his works, he introduced this object and the usefulness and necessity of having it accomplished. He was a man of a peculiar turn; not without critical talent, yet only for what he rejects, not for what he admits. He was called to Rome and there he maintained himself in great respectability, by the correspondency of the peculiar character and tendency of his works with the church's views, not exactly by means of their influence, for that was but small.

With the philosophical investigations of that period, those relating to physics and natural history were almost inseparably mixed up. The entire system of men's notions as it had existed till then, was called into question. We find, in fact, a great tendency in the Italians of that age; we find in them research, eagerness to advance, lofty anticipation. Who shall say what attainments they would have made? But the church prescribed for them a certain limit beyond which they must never go. Woe to the man who ventured beyond it.

If, as there can be no doubt, the restoration of Roman catholicism had thus a repressive effect on science, it was rather the reverse that took place with art and literature. They suffered from the want of a subject, of the living object, and these the church restored to them again.

The degree to which the renovation of religion obtained the mastery over men's natures, may be seen in the case of Torquato Tasso. His father had sought out a morally faultless hero; he advanced a step farther. Like yet another poet of this age who selected the crusades as his subject, for this reason, "that it is better to treat a true argument in a Christian way than to seek after a far from Christian fame in a fictitious one," so also did

Torquato Tasso. He adopted, not a fabulous, but an historical, a Christian hero. Godfrey is more than Æneas; he is like some saintly man, satiated with the world and its passing renown. Meanwhile he would have produced a very dry work, had the poet chosen to content himself with the representation of such a personage. Tasso seized at the same time the sentimental and enthusiastic side of religion, which also very well harmonizes with the fairy world, whose party-coloured threads he shot into his web. The poem here and there has turned out somewhat tedious; the effect is not everywhere properly and fully worked out; yet it is a poem full of fancy, and feelings of national sentiment, and of truth in the expression of character, by which Tasso has retained the favour and admiration of his countrymen down to the present day. But what a contrast when compared with Ariosto! The art of poetry at an earlier period had fallen away from the church; it subjected itself again to religion when revived.

Not far from Ferrara, where Tasso composed his poem, in Bologna, there arose directly afterwards the school of the Caracci, the rise of which marks a general revolution in painting.

If we inquire how this was occasioned, we are told that it was by the anatomical studies of the Bolognese academy, its eclectic imitations, the learning that distinguished its style of art. And certainly the zeal wherewith it strove in manner to approach the phenomena of nature, is a great merit. But to me it seems of no less consequence what subjects it selected, and with how much spirit it seized them.

Ludovico Caracci was much engrossed with the ideal of Christ. Not always, but at times, as in the calling of Matthew, he succeeded in representing the man full of mildness and earnestness, of truthfulness and fervour, of grace and majesty, as has been so often imitated since. We observe the distinctive peculiarity of his character in the manner in which he proceeds when he himself imitates. On one occasion he has Raphael's transfiguration evidently before his eyes, but while he avails himself of its conception, he adds one of his own, and makes his Christ, giving instruction, lift up his hand towards Moses. The masterpiece of Agostino Caracci is St. Jerome, an old man just about to die, unable any longer to move himself, and who with his last breath

longs eagerly for the consecrated wafer which is held out to him.

Of Annibal Caracci it may well be said that in his most celebrated works he repeats Ludovico's ideal Christ, in a more elevated style. In the passion at the Borghese palace, it appears in a figure strongly shaded, of fine transparent skin, and in tears. Admirably and with youthful greatness it shows itself even in the torpor of death, in the Pieta, a work in which moreover the mournful event is conceived and expressed with new feeling.

We see that although these masters devoted themselves likewise to profane subjects, still they seized the sacred with peculiar zeal; here accordingly it was not quite so external a service which their position rendered them; the main affair will be found to be that they received inspiration again from their subject, that the religious scenes which they represent were of some reciprocal importance to them.

This tendency distinguishes their disciples also. Domenichino employed his industry so successfully upon the invention of Agostino, that idea of Jerome (above noticed), that in the variety of his grouping, and in finish of expression, he perhaps excelled his master. But his own inventions also have the same character. I consider his head of St. Nilus a noble production, exhibiting a mingled expression of pain and thoughtfulness; his prophetesses are full of youthfulness, innocence, and profound meditation. He delighted above all things, to place in contrast the joys of heaven with the sorrows of earth; as he has done so strongly in the Madonna del Rosario, the celestial mother, rich in grace, with poor indigent mortals.

Guido Reni, too, sometimes seizes this contrast; were it in nothing but in placing monkish saints, consumed with grief, over against the Virgin, radiant with immortal beauty. Guido possessed elevation and originality of conception. How lordly is his Judith, transported with the consciousness of her accomplished deed, and with the gratitude she owes to aid from heaven! Who knows not his Madonnas, ecstatic, and somewhat melting in their ecstasy? For his saints likewise he created for himself a sentimental and enthusiastic ideal.

Still we have not yet pointed out the whole peculiarity of this tendency; it had at the same time not quite so attractive a side.

The inventions of these artists assume at times somewhat of an odd and incongruous character. The beautiful group of the holy family, for example, is at times thus represented with St. John formally kissing the feet of the infant Jesus, or with the apostle appearing, as was said, to condole with the Virgin, who thereupon prepares to wipe away her tears. How often, still more, do we find what is shocking represented without the slightest alleviating trait. We see the blood of the Saint Agnes of Domenichino gush out under the sword; Guido pictures the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem in all its horrors; women, who one and all open their mouths in shrieks of agony, ferocious executioners in the act of murdering the innocent.

Men had again become religious as they had been in earlier times; but there existed a great difference between the two periods. In the earlier times the composition was epigrammatically simple; now it often presented something fantastic and forced.

No man will refuse his admiration to the talent of Guercino. But what kind of a John is that of his which the Sciarra gallery preserves! With broad sinewy arms, colossal naked knees, gloomy, certainly bearing marks of inspiration, but an inspiration of which it is impossible to say whether it be of earth or heaven. Guercino represents Peter the Martyr, just as the sword has cleft his head. Near that Aquitanian duke whom St. Bernard is investing with the cowl, he introduces a monk also, who is converting one of his squires; and the spectator thus finds himself remorselessly delivered over to the contemplation of a scene of merely contrived devotion.

Here we shall not inquire, in how far by this mode of treating a subject, sometimes insanely ideal, sometimes hard and unnatural, the proper bounds of art were on both sides overstepped; enough if we remark, that the church became absolute master of painting at its restoration. She animated it with the inspiration of poetry, and with the principles of a positive religion; but she gave it at the same time a spiritual, priestly, and modern dogmatic character.

The church of Rome must have found this still more easy in architecture, for that was at her immediate service. I know not whether any one has investigated the progress which took place

in modern buildings, from the imitation of the antique down to the canon drawn up by Barozzi for the building of churches, and which has been observed ever since at Rome and throughout the whole Roman catholic church. The lightness and free geniality with which the century commenced, passed in architecture, as well as other things, into seriousness, and pomp, and devout splendour.

There was but one of the arts, as to which it was long doubtful whether it was ever to subserve the church's purposes.

Music about the middle of the sixteenth century had become lost in the most intricate artificiality. Prolongations, proportions, imitations, puzzles, fugues, made the glory of a composer There was no longer any attention paid to the sense of the words; a great many masses are to be found belonging to that period, which are composed according to the theme of well-known profane melodies; the human voice was employed as a mere instrument.[1]

No wonder that the council of Trent took offence at the introduction into the church of pieces of music of such a character. Following up the discussions that had taken place there, Pius IV. appointed a commission which was to address itself directly to the question whether music should be admitted into the church or not. The decision it might come to, was still very doubtful. The church required intelligibility of words, and that there should be an agreement between their meaning and the expression of the music; the musicians insisted that that could not be attained by the laws of their art. Charles Borromeo was in the commission, and considering the strict temper of that church dignitary, a severe judgment might readily be expected to follow.

Fortunately (for the church of Rome) once more there appeared the right man at the right time.

Among the musical composers then in Rome, was Peter Lewis Palestrina.

That austere man, Paul IV., had expelled him from the pope's chapel, on account of his being married, and he had been living ever since, retired and forgotten, in a poor hut among the vine-

[1] Giuseppe Baini, Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pier Luigi di Palestrina, Roma 1828, gives these notices of which I have availed myself.

yards of Monte Celio. But his was a spirit which untoward circumstances could not crush. Even in that solitude he devoted himself to his art with a resignation which allowed the creative powers by which he was distinguished, to give birth to the freest and most original productions. Here he composed the Improperios, which still every year, in the Sistine chapel, glorify the solemnization of Good Friday. Never perhaps did a musical composer show a finer mind in apprehending the profound meaning of a text of Scripture, its symbolical significancy, its application to the soul and to religion.

If ever man were qualified to make the experiment how far this method was capable of being applied to the comprehensive work of a mass, assuredly it was this master; and the commission accordingly employed him for that purpose.

Palestrina was impressed with the conviction that it was an experiment upon which, so to speak, depended the life and death of that grand description of music employed in masses. He proceeded to his task with a conscious effort; and the words, "Lord, enlighten mine eyes," have been found in his manuscript.

He did not succeed at once, his first two attempts having proved failures; but at length he brought to a bearing in happy moments, the mass which is known by the name of Pope Marcellus's mass, and in which he exceeded all expectation. It is full of simple melody, and yet, in point of variety, will stand a comparison with earlier masses; choruses separate and unite again; the meaning of the text is exquisitely brought out; the Kyrie is all prostration, the Agnus humility, the Credo majesty. Pope Pius IV., before whom it was executed, was in ecstasy. He compared it with heavenly melodies, such as those that the apostle John might have heard when he was entranced.

By this one great example the question was now for ever set at rest; a way was opened by which musical pieces have been produced, most beautiful in themselves and most affecting even to persons of another faith. Who can hear them without being enwrapt? It is as if nature were endowed with music and a voice, as if the elements spoke, and all living things had united in one spontaneous concert of prayer; now rising and falling like the ocean, now darting up to heaven in one general shout of joy.

Forthwith this art, which more perhaps than any other, had divorced itself from the church, attached itself to it most intimately. Nor could any thing have proved more important for Roman catholicism. Yet, if we mistake not, even in its dogmas, it had imbibed abstract contemplation and something of an enthusiastic character. A deep tone of feeling had found its way into the most influential books of penance and edification. Spiritual sentimentalism and ecstatic fervour became the chief objects of poetry and painting. Music, which is more direct, more urgent, more irresistible than any other kind of instruction, or than any other art, and in the department of an ideal expression, at once more pure and more appropriate, music presented that expression, and with it fascinated the minds of men.

THE CURIA.

WHILE in this manner all the elements of life and mind were seized and beset on all sides by the ecclesiastical movement, the court at Rome, in which they all found a common centre, likewise experienced a great change.

This was perceived even as early as in Paul IV.'s time; the example of Pius V. had an extraordinary influence; under Gregory XIII. it was manifest to every body. "It immensely contributes to the best interests of the church," says Paul Tiepolo in 1576, "that there have been several popes of irreproachable life immediately following one another; all other people have either been improved thereby, or at least have seemed to be so. Cardinals and prelates assiduously attend mass; in their domestic habits they try to avoid whatever might give offence; the whole city has thrown off its old reckless habits; in point of morals and social customs it is much more Christian than it used to be. It may be asserted that Rome, in worldly business and in religion, is not very far from the perfection attainable by human nature in general."

Not as if the court there had been composed of hypocritical and demure persons; it consisted unquestionably of distinguished men, who, however, in a high degree, had made that severe ecclesiastical temper their own.

On bringing that court before our minds as it existed in the days of Sixtus V. we find the seats of not a few of the cardinals

occupied by men who had a large share in the affairs of the world.[1] There was Gallio of Como who had conducted the government as premier under two pontificates, with the talent for reigning by means of address; all that he was noted for now, was the application of his large revenues to ecclesiastical institutions: there was Rusticucci, a powerful person under Pius V. and not without much influence under Sixtus also; a man noted for his acuteness and goodness of heart, industrious, but so much the more circumspect and irreproachable in his morals, as he had hopes of yet being pope: Salviati, who had made himself famous by a well-conducted administration of the government of Bologna; blameless and simple; and still more rigorous than simply in earnest: Santorio, cardinal of S. Severina, the man of the Inquisition, who had already long exercised a commanding influence in spiritual affairs; obstinate in his opinions, severe towards his servants, obdurate towards his relations, how much more so towards others; inaccessible to every body: contrasted with him there was Madruzz, who had ever at his tongue's end the policy of the house of Austria, whether the Spanish or the German line, who used to be called the Cato of the college, but only on account of his learning and untarnished virtue, not because of his censorious arrogance, for he was modesty's very self. Sirlet was still alive, of all the cardinals of that time unquestionably the most deeply versed in science, and in the knowledge of languages quite a living library, as Muretus said; yet who when

[1] It is interesting to compare these eulogistic characters sketched from those left by warm partisans, of particular individuals in the Romish church, who were placed in eminent situations, to wipe off, by their shining qualities, the reproach that had so long been attached to their church as a nurse of the most flagrant vices, and who lived in honour and affluence, with the account given by enemies, of the Waldenses as a body, poor, persecuted, and despised, with nothing in this world, whether in enjoyment or in prospect, to encourage them in virtue and self-denial.

"Heretics," says Reinerius, "are distinguished by their manners and their words. For they are sedate and modest in their manners. They have no pride in clothes; for they wear such as are neither costly nor mean. They do not carry on commerce, in order that they may avoid falsehoods, oaths, and frauds; but live by labour as workmen. Their teachers also are shoemakers and weavers. They do not multiply riches; but are content with what is necessary. They are chaste, especially the Leonists, and are temperate also in meat and drink. They do not go to dances, taverns, or other vanities. They restrain themselves from anger. They are always at work learning or teaching." He adds, "and so they pray but little," also a statement of their hypocritically at times attending the Romish Church. How ill, says Mr. Elliott, the *parum orant* (they pray little) applies to the Leonist Waldenses, appears sufficiently from the strong exhortations to watch and pray always, inculcated in the "Noble lesson." "They abstain," continues Reinerius, "from scurrility, detraction, and levity in their discourse, and also from lying and swearing." See *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, by the Rev. E. B. Elliott, vol. II. p. 692. Tr.

separated from his books, would call the boys to come to him as they were taking their bundles of faggots to market in winter, would instruct them in the mysteries of the faith and then buy their bundles; a man, in short, thoroughly good-tempered and compassionate.[1] The example of Charles Borromeo, whose memory gradually attained such a lustre that he was at last sainted, exercised much influence. Frederick Borromeo was naturally irritable and violent; but conforming to his uncle's example, he led a spiritual life, and would not allow himself to be driven out of temper by the mortifications he not seldom experienced: but Charles Borromeo was more peculiarly represented by Augustine Valier, a man of no less noble and pure a nature than uncommon learning, who followed his conscience alone, and seemed now, when at an advanced age, to present the image of a bishop of the first centuries.

The remaining prelates fashioned themselves after the model of the cardinals, beside whom they sat in the congregations, and whose places they were destined one day to occupy.

Among the members of the supreme court of justice, the auditori di Rota, two were at that time pre-eminent, though certainly they presented a contrast in point of character,—Mantica and Arigone. Mantica lived only among books and law papers, made himself useful to the bar and to the schools, by his works on jurisprudence, and was wont to express himself in a curt manner, without much ceremony; Arigone gave his time not so much to books as to the world, to the court and to business; and showed judgment and versatility; but both equally endeavoured to maintain the character of moral and religious men. Among the bishops who resided at court, those were particularly noticed who had made trial of their talents in the office of nuncio; such as Torres, who had had a great share in the arrangement of the League formed by Pius V. against the Turks; Malaspina, who attended to the interests of the Roman catholic church in Germany and the north; Bolognetti, who was entrusted with the difficult task of visiting the Venetian churches,—all of

[1] Ciaconius Vitæ Paparum III. p. 978. There, too, we find Sirleto's epitaph, in which he is designated as "eruditorum pauperum patronus"—[patron of poor men of learning]. In Cardella's Memorie storiche de'cardinali, we only find the notices given by Ciaconius collected together in Italian.

them persons who owed their rise in life to the activity and zeal they had displayed in behalf of their religion.

An important rank was held by men of learning. Such were Bellarmine, professor and grammarian, the greatest controversialist of the Roman catholic church, and who has the reputation of having led the life of an apostle; and another Jesuit, Maffei, who composed the history of the Portuguese conquests in India, particularly with an eye to the extension of Christianity in the South and East, and who also wrote the life of Loyola, phrase for phrase, with deliberate prolixity and elaborate elegance.[1] These learned men were in some instances foreigners, like our (German) Clavius, who combined profound science with a blameless life, and enjoyed the reverential regard of all men; or Muretus, a Frenchman and the best Latinist of that time. After having for a long while illustrated the Pandects in an original and classical manner, for he was no less witty than eloquent, he became a priest even in his old age, devoted himself to theological studies, and daily read mass. There was, also, the Spanish canonist Azpilcueta, whose Responsa were regarded as oracular at the court and throughout the whole Roman catholic world. Pope Gregory had often been seen to stop before his house and to converse with him for hours at a time; and yet therewithal he discharged the humblest services in the hospitals.

Among these remarkable personages Philip Neri, founder of the congregation of the oratory, a great man for hearing confessions and prescribing for men's souls, obtained a deep and extensive influence. He was good-natured and playful, severe in what was important, tolerant in smaller matters; he never commanded, but only gave advice, and requested as it were. He did not lecture; he conversed and possessed the shrewdness required for distinguishing the peculiar bent of every individual mind. His oratory increased in his hands in consequence of the visits that were made to him, and of the dependence upon him of some young people, who regarded themselves as his disciples and wanted to live with him. The most celebrated of these was Cæsar Baronius, the annalist of the church. Philip Neri recognised his talents, and recommended him, without his having at

[1] Vita J. P. Maffeji Serassio auctore. In the edition of Maffei's works, Berg. 1747.

first shown any great inclination for it, to read lectures on church history in the Oratory.[1] For the space of thirty years Baronius performed this task. Even after he had become a cardinal, he was constantly out of bed before day-break to continue his labours at it. He regularly took his meals at the same table with his domestics, making his whole life an example of humility and piety. As he had been in the Oratory, so was he in this dignity; he was most intimately associated with Tarugi, who had become greatly respected as a preacher and father confessor, and who exhibited quite the same immaculate piety. Their friendship lasted till death, and in that we may count them happy, for they were buried beside each other. A third disciple of S. Filippo's was Silvio Antoniano, who indeed had a general turn for literature. He employed himself at times in writing poetry, and when, at a later period, a pope committed to him the composition of his brieves, he executed that task with uncommon literary skill. But over and above this he was a man of the gentlest manners, meek and affable, all pure goodness and religion.[2]

[1] Gallonius: Vita Phil. Nerii. Mog. 1602, p. 163.

[2] These glowing descriptions of individual characters, existing in a state of things directly opposed in principle to scriptural Christianity, and influencing by feelings of deadly hostility those who professed it, may startle a protestant reader, and have no doubt been eagerly caught at by Roman catholics as proofs of the virtuous tendency of their creed. Some qualifying reflections, however, at once suggest themselves. 1st. If Roman catholicism had any such virtuous tendency in itself, this ought to have appeared previous to the protestant Reformation, instead of being deferred until the virtuous demands of protestantism, acting on public opinion throughout Europe, had made an ostentatious display of shining personal qualities in its dignified priests, indispensable to the popedom as a matter of policy. 2d. That all the persons described lived in great ease and comfort, if not in splendour, and had secular and temporal reasons for cultivating amiable and useful qualities, probably far more cogent than any temptations they had to the reverse. 3d. That virtuous appearances are no test of religious truth, but that with respect to that we must absolutely submit to God's law and testimony. 4th. That the author has drawn his descriptions of character from eulogistic biographies written by panegyrists, who, as a matter of policy as well as feeling, indulged the passion for hyperbolical writing, which distinguishes the Italians, without restraint. 5th. That we cannot have the testimony of protestant witnesses to their characters, as the most amiable of them do not seem to have offered the slightest opposition to the barbarous custom of committing such protestants to the flames. 6th. That the most seductive qualities are often found to co-exist in the same persons with the most revolting religious errors, and even with revolting vices. In this respect Professor Ranke's saints remind us of a story told of an Indian old woman and convert to popery who was about to receive the sacrament from her priest, but while the latter was rejoicing in what he thought the indubitable marks of grace in his convert, she horrified him by begging that a boy might be killed, as she thought she could relish picking one of his hands when broiled! So the Inquisition and its horrors fully proved that the papists of Italy, at the period described, had none of them lost the innate ferocity of human nature, any more than its innate self-righteousness and

All that was exhibited at this court, politics, the civil administration, poetry, art, learning, assumed the same colour.

How remote was this from the Curia as it existed at the commencement of the century, where the cardinals gave battle to the popes, where the popes girded on their armour, and threw off from their court and life whatever was likely to recall their Christian vocation. How still and cloister-like was the life of the cardinals now. The chief cause why Cardinal Tosco, who at one time had the nearest prospect of being pope, never reached that dignity, lay in his having a habit of using some Lombardy proverbs, which people thought offensive. So exclusive had the public mind become in its tendency, and so easily was it scandalized.

But let us not conceal that it developed, not only in literature and in art, but also in actual life, another and to our mind an unpleasant side. Miracles recommenced after having long ceased to attract notice In the church of St. Silvestro an image of Mary began to speak; and such was the general impression which this produced upon the people that the vacant ground lying about the church, was very soon covered with buildings. In Rione de' monti there appeared a miraculous image of Mary in a hay-rick, and the inhabitants of the country round regarded this as so evident a favour from heaven that they went out in arms to resist an attempt that was made to remove it. We find notices of like apparitions at Narni, Todi, San Severino, and from the states of the church they spread further and further over the whole Roman catholic world. The popes likewise proceeded anew to pronounce canonizations, which they had long intermitted. Not many father confessors were so sagacious as Philip Neri; a hollow external sanctity was favoured, and fantastic superstitions were mingled with men's notions of divine things.

proneness to idolatry. They remind the translator too of what once occurred to himself in France. Happening to be at table with some worthy French pastors, he begged to have their opinion of the "Sisters of Charity," a well-known religious order who devote themselves to the visitation of the sick. He said that they were often spoken of even by protestants in England, as being little short of angels. "Des anges!" said one of the ablest and best informed of the company, "Gens d'armes en jupes!"—[Angels! policemen in petticoats.] And then he proceeded to relate how these same sisters of charity had nearly succeeded in throwing out of a high window a poor Reformed pastor, who had ventured into an hospital for the purpose of visiting a patient belonging to his flock! Tr.

Would that one might venture at least to cherish the conviction that therewithal the multitude also had begun to give tokens of an absolute resignation to the authority of the precepts of religion!

But it necessarily followed, even from the nature of the court, that side by side with those spiritual efforts, there might be observed the perpetual agitation of the keenest secular struggles.

The Curia was not merely an ecclesiastical institution; it had a state, and, indirectly, a great part of the world to govern. According to the degree in which a man participated in this government, he obtained respect, fortune, influence, every thing in short, of which men usually covet the possession. Human nature could not have undergone such a change, as that people should endeavour by spiritual methods alone to carry off the prize in the rivalships of society and the state. Here they grasped at such objects as was generally done at other courts, but only in a manner that corresponded to such a soil, and highly peculiar.

Rome, it is probable, had at this time the most shifting population of all the cities in the world. Under Leo X. it had risen to more than 80,000 souls; under Paul IV., from the rigour of whose government all were ready to fly, it fell to 45,000; immediately after his time it rose again in a few years to 70,000, and under Sixtus V. to above 100,000. Now it is remarkable that the fixed inhabitants bore no proportion to so large a number. It was rather a place of prolonged stay than a native home to those who dwelt there. It might be compared with a fair, or with a diet; no constant residence and firm consolidation; no ties of blood and kindred to bind the people into one whole. How many turned their steps thither, because they could find no success at home. Mortified pride actuated some; boundless ambition others. Many found that a man could live with less restraint there than anywhere else. And each sought to advance his interests in his own way.

But all these various classes had not become properly amalgamated into one body. Those who were natives of the same soil still formed such numerous bodies by themselves, and held themselves so much apart, that the differences of national and provincial character could easily be distinguished. By the side

of the observant and docile Lombard, you could distinguish the Genoese, who thought he could accomplish every thing by his mere good luck; the Venetian, studious to penetrate foreign secrets; the frugal and garrulous Florentine; the Romagna man, whose instinctive shrewdness would never let him lose sight of his own interests, and the pretensions and ceremonious Neapolitan. The men from the North were distinguished for their simplicity, and sought to enjoy themselves; even our own Clavius must submit to be jested on his double and always excellently furnished breakfast. The French held themselves aloof, and with the greatest difficulty relinquished their national habits. Wrapt up in his cottana and his cloak, the Spaniard, as he stalked along, full of pretension and of ambitious aims, looked on all the rest with contempt.

There was nothing that every man might not covet. People remembered with satisfaction that John XXIII. on being asked why he went to Rome, replied that he wished to be pope, and that it had turned out according to his wish. Just so, too, had Pius V. and Sixtus V. risen from the lowest rank to the highest dignity. Every man reckoned himself capable for any thing, and set no bounds to his hopes.

It was often remarked at that time, and is perfectly true, that the prelature and the Curia had something republican about them. It consisted in this, that all men might pretend to all things; that a man rose by a continuous course from a mean beginning to the highest dignities. But this republic was most singularly constituted; the general authority was directly confronted with the absolute despotism of a single individual, on whose caprice every favour, every promotion, was absolutely dependent. And who then was this? It was the man who came forth as victor from the conflicts of the election, in consequence of some combination upon the result of which it was absolutely impossible to calculate. However insignificant a person he might have been before, he now came all at once to have the utmost plenitude of power in his hands. He could so much the less feel himself induced to give up his personal inclinations, from his experiencing the conviction that he had been elected to the highest dignity through a special influence of the Holy Ghost. Generally speaking he began at once with a thorough and uni-

versal change of official persons. All the legates, all the provincial governors were displaced. In the metropolis there were certain offices which, moreover, in all cases, fell to the nephews of the pope for the time being. And although, as at the time which we are more immediately considering, nepotism was kept within bounds, yet every pope favoured his old intimates and dependents; it was so natural that he should not admit of his being deprived of their further companionship through life. Thus the secretary who had long served Cardinal Montalto, was the fittest person also to act in that capacity for Pope Sixtus. The partisans of the opinions to which they had belonged, they necessarily brought into power along with themselves. Hence every new pope on entering upon office, caused a sort of revolution in all views and expectations, in the avenues to power and in ecclesiastical as well as secular dignities. "It was," says Commendone, "as if in a city the prince's castle should be removed to another spot, and as if all the streets were to be made to turn towards it. How many houses must be pulled down; how often must a highway be made to pass right through a palace: new lanes and thorough-fares began to show themselves." This comparison gives no bad idea of the violence of such a revolution, and of the degree of stability in the arrangements that took place each time.

It necessarily followed that the state of things assumed a very peculiar aspect.

As this occurred so often, as the popes ascended the throne at so much more advanced an age than other monarchs generally did, as at any instant a new change might supervene and the government pass into other hands, people lived as if they were engaged in an interminable game of chance: like that, the results could never be calculated upon, yet constant scope was allowed for indulging hopes.

To rise in the world, to be promoted according as every man desired to be, depended especially on personal favours. In the extraordinary fluctuation of all personal influence, ambition in the course of its calculations had to assume a corresponding shape, and to adopt very peculiar modes of procedure.

Among our manuscript collections there is to be found quite a multitude of instructions, showing how a man had to conduct

himself at this court.[1] It strikes me as not unworthy of observation how the subject is handled, how each severally endeavours to make his fortune. The plasticity of human nature is inexhaustible, and the more limited the circle of its relations, the more unexpected are the forms which it assumes.

All evidently could not pursue one uniform course. The man who had no property, had to be content to accept of service. The free literary family fellowships were still kept up by princes and cardinals. In the case of a man being obliged to reconcile himself to such a connection, it became his first endeavour to assure himself of the favour of the patron. He had to strive to obtain some merit at his hands, to penetrate into his secrets, to become indispensable to him. He had patiently to endure everything; even should he have been wronged, he had to suppress his resentment. How probable that amid the changes of the popedom, his star should gain the ascendancy in its turn, and then its lustre might reach the servant as well as his lord. Fortune is ever subject to alternations, the man remains the same.

Others might, in the first instance, aim at obtaining some petty office, which might open certain prospects to their zeal and industry. But it must be confessed that it was always there, as at any other time and any other place—a man had to look first to profit and then to honour.

In that respect how much better off were those who had abundance! From the Monti, in which they had shares, a certain income accrued to them from month to month; they purchased for themselves an office by means of which they immediately entered the prelature, and not only obtained an independent establishment, but had opportunities of exhibiting their talents to the utmost advantage. To him that hath, it shall be given.

[1] For example "Instruttione al signor cardinale di Medici, del modo come si deve governare nella corte di Roma.—Avvertimenti all'ill^{mo} cardinal Montalto sopra il modo col quale si possa e debba ben governare come cardinale e nepote del papa. Inform. XII. Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per la corte di Roma: 78 extremely doubtful axioms: Inform. XXV. The most important: Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di Mr Illmo Commendone. Codd. Rang. at Vienna XVIII."—[Instructions to the Lord Cardinal di Medici, showing how he ought to conduct himself at the court of Rome. Advices to the most illustrious cardinal Montalto as to the manner in which he might and should conduct himself properly as cardinal and nephew of the pope. Inform. XII. Political and most useful advices for the court of Rome: (78 most doubtful axioms) Inform. XXV. The most important: Discourse or description of the court of Rome by Monsignor the most illustrious Commendone. Codd. Rang. at Vienna XVIII.]

At this court the possession of somewhat proved doubly profitable, because the possession reverted to the exchequer, so that the pope himself had an interest in granting promotion.

In this position there ceased to be any further need for so unlimited an attachment to some great man; nay, any such declared partisanship might rather even damage a man's prospects of advancement, should fortune not correspond to it. What before of all things had now to be seen to, was that a man should offend no one. This caution was thoroughly felt and observed even to the nicest and most delicate points of contact with others. People took care, for example, not to pay any one more honour than was properly his due. Equality of behaviour towards different persons would be inequality, and might make a bad impression. Nothing, too, but good was to be spoken of the absent, not only because words once uttered are no more in our power, they fly no one knows where; but also because very few people like to be sharply scrutinized. People are advised to make a moderate use of their acquirements, and to guard against annoying any body with an unseasonable display of them. Care was to be taken to avoid being the bearer of any piece of bad news; because part of the unfavourable impression always rests on the person who brings it. Here there was but the difficulty presented on the other side, of not being so incommunicative as to make your purpose observed.

No man's rise in society, not even his advancement to the cardinalship, obviated the necessity for his attending to these things; nay, in his new sphere he had only to be more observant of them. Why should a man venture to betray that people considered any particular member of the college (of cardinals) less worthy than others of being promoted to the popedom? No one was so insignificant that the election might not fall on him.

It was above all things of consequence to the cardinal that he should enjoy the favour of the pope for the time being. On that depended fortune and respect, the general regard and willingness to be of service. Yet this was what had to be sought after with the utmost caution. While with respect to the personal interests of the pope a profound silence was observed, no pains were meanwhile spared in order to obtain a perfect knowledge of them, secretly to adapt one's conduct accordingly. But one might

venture at times to praise the pope's nephews, their loyalty and talents; for, generally speaking, this he was willing to hear. In order to ferret out the secrets of the papal family, advantage was taken of the monks who, under pretence of religion, insinuated themselves farther than any one imagined.

In consequence of the influence, and the rapid changes, of men's personal circumstances in relation to others, ambassadors, in particular, were obliged to be more than ordinarily observant. Like a good pilot, the representative of a foreign court watched how the wind blew; he spared no expense in seeking intelligence, for all his outlay would be repaid to him by some one single piece of sound information pointing out the seasonable moment which he required for the object he had in hand. Should he have a request to present to the pope, he would endeavour to intermingle therewith, unobserved, the interests of the pontiff in some other quarter. Above all things he had to seek to make sure of the favourite nephew, and to convince him that he had to expect wealth and permanent aggrandizement from none of the courts so much as from his. He had to endeavour to assure himself also of the favour of the cardinals. Without promising the popedom to any, he had to flatter all with hopes of obtaining it. Without being absolutely devoted to any, at times he would bestow a favour on those whose disposition to him was hostile. He had to do like the fowler who shows the flesh to the hawk, but gives it only a little, and that only by degrees.

Thus did they live and deal with one another; cardinals, ambassadors, prelates, princes, public and secret possessors of power; full of ceremony, for which Rome was the classic soil, full of professions of attachment and subordination; but thoroughly selfish; all ever greedily bent only on attaining some object, effecting some purpose, gaining some advantage from others.

Strange, how this struggle to obtain what all were bent on having, power, honour, riches, enjoyment, which elsewhere occasioned animosity and feud, should here wear the garb of eagerness to serve others, and how a man should flatter the passion of a stranger, of which he is perhaps in some degree conscious himself, in order to obtain some end of his own. Here we see abstinence full of greed, and passion creeping cautiously to its object.

We have seen the dignity, earnestness, and religion that reigned at this court; we now behold its worldly side too, ambition, envy, dissimulation and cunning.

If one would pass a eulogy on the Roman court, he will recognise the former only of these elements of which it is composed; if he would make it the object of attack, then he will profess to see nothing but the latter. So if one would rise to a candid and unprejudiced contemplation of the subject, he will take cognisance of both; nay, from the nature of man and the state of things, will find both equally necessary.

That development in the world's history which we are now considering, made the promotion of dignity, purity of morals, and religion more actively in vogue than ever; it was in perfect accordance with the leading principle of the court, whose position with reference to the rest of the world rested upon it. It necessarily followed that those before all others rose to eminence, whose conduct best corresponded to that demand; public opinion would not only have given the lie to itself, but would have destroyed itself, had it not brought about this result. But it is an immense charm in the spirit of this world when it so happens that the good things of fortune are so directly connected with moral and intellectual qualities.[1]

We can have no doubt of the genuineness of the sentiment, as not seldom described by our observant and judicious informants. But how many would adapt themselves to it with the sole view of tying down fortune by an empty show. In how many others would worldly tendencies insinuate themselves along with those of a higher kind, in the darkness of half-developed motives.

It was with the Curia as with literature and art. There had been a universal apostasy from the church, and a devotion to tendencies that bordered on paganism. By means of the historical development we have described, there was a resurrection of the principle of the church; it seemed to breathe afresh, with reviving influence, on all the energies of society, and to give a new colour to universal being. What a difference between

[1] Is it not still more charming to see high moral and intellectual qualities flourishing without any of the encouragements of what the author calls the good things of fortune? *Virtus sine dote* had charms even for a heathen. Tr.

Ariosto and Tasso, Giulio Romano and Guercino, Pomponazzo and Patrizi. They are divided by a great epoch. Nevertheless, they possess something also in common, which forms a connecting link between the latter and the former. The Curia too preserved the old forms and retained much of the old modes of procedure. Yet this did not prevent its being animated by a different spirit; a spirit which at least communicated its impulse to what it could not completely reconstruct and essentially alter.

While treating of this mingling of diverse elements, I am reminded of a scene in nature which may perhaps serve to place it before the mind in a kind of image and similitude.

At Terni, the river Nera is beheld between wood and meadow, advancing through the valley in the distance, with a calm unruffled stream. On the other side the Velino, confined between rocks, rushes down from the heights with a tremendous speed, ending at last in a magnificent fall, foaming and dancing in a thousand hues. It immediately reaches the Nera and instantly communicates its motion to it. Raging and foaming, the mingled waters then flow on with the velocity of a torrent.

Thus had the newly-awakened spirit of the Roman catholic church given a fresh impulse to all the organs of literature and art, nay, of life in general. We see the Curia at once devout and restless, spiritual and warlike; on the one hand full of dignity, pomp, ceremony; on the other, marked by cold calculating shrewdness, and a matchless ambition which nothing can ever tire. Its piety and its ambitious projects, both being based on the idea of an exclusive orthodoxy, coincide. Thus, once more, does it make an effort to conquer the world.

FIFTH BOOK.

COUNTER REFORMATION.—FIRST PERIOD.
1563—1589.

In the history of a nation, of a power, it is always one of the most difficult problems, to perceive the connection of its particular circumstances with those of the world in general.

Human life, in particular cases, as contrasted with human life in general, opens out from its own peculiar mental principles, according to certain implanted laws, and moves on in harmony with itself through successive ages. But it is constantly subject nevertheless to general influences which powerfully act upon the progress of its development.

Upon this contrast the character of Europe at the present day may be said to rest. The states and the nations that compose it, are for ever separated from each other, but at the same time they are compressed into an indissoluble community. There is not a single national history in which universal history does not play an important part. So necessary in itself, and so all-comprehensive, is the reciprocal result of ages, that even the mightiest state often seems but a member of the whole body, and as such to be involved in and governed by its destinies. Whoever has tried to bring before his thoughts the history of a nation in general, and to contemplate its career, without prejudice and self-deception, will have experienced the difficulty arising from this source. In the individual steps of progressive life, we perceive the different currents of universal history.

But this difficulty is doubled when a power, as sometimes happens, excites a general movement, and makes itself in a special manner the representative of the principle whence that move-

ment springs. It then takes so active a part in the general business of the age, it places itself in so animating a relation with all the world's energies, that its history, in a certain sense, widens out into universal history.

Such was the influential position into which the popedom entered, after the close of the council of Trent.

While shaken to its very centre, and having the very principle of its existence endangered, it had shown itself capable of sustaining itself, and even of renovating its youth. In the two southern peninsulas it had already successfully repelled all hostile efforts, had drawn to itself the elements of life anew, and infused them into every part of its organization. And now it conceived the idea of again subjecting all that had revolted from it, in all other parts of the world. Rome again became a conquering power, it planned projects, it entered upon undertakings, such as had emanated from those seven hills in the times of antiquity and in the middle ages.

We should know little of the history of the popedom after its restoration, should we confine our regards merely to its centre. In fact its real importance is first perceived in its influence on the world.

Let us begin then by fixing our regards on the power and position of its opponents.

STATE OF PROTESTANTISM ABOUT THE YEAR 1563.

On this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, protestant views had continued to make their way without intermission, down to the times of the last sittings of the council of Trent; they extended their dominion far and wide over nations of German, Sclavonic, and Roman origin.

They had established themselves the more immovably in the Scandinavian kingdoms, from their introduction there having coincided with the founding of new dynasties and the general composition of the institutions of state. They were gladly welcomed from the very first, as if there lay in them some original affinity with the national disposition. Bugenhagen, the founder of Lutheranism in Denmark, cannot find words to express the eagerness with which people attended preaching there, "even on work days," as he expresses it, "before day-break, and on holy-

days, all the day."[1] They had now extended themselves to the very remotest frontiers. People hardly know how the Faroe islands became protestant; the change was so easily[2] effected. In the year 1552 the last representatives of Roman catholicism demitted their offices in Iceland. In 1554 a Lutheran bishopric was founded at Wiborg. Evangelical preachers travelled in company with the Swedish governors to the remote regions of Lapland. Gustavus Vasa inculcated most emphatically upon his heirs in his testament, to persevere along with their posterity in the evangelical doctrine, and to tolerate no false teachers. He made this almost a condition of their right to the throne.[3]

On this (the south) side also of the Baltic, Lutheranism had obtained a complete ascendency, at least over such of the inhabitants as spoke German. Prussia had presented the first example of the secularization of ecclesiastical property on a large scale; when this was followed at last by Liefland in 1561, the first condition of its submission to Poland, was that it should be allowed to retain the confession of Augsburg. Even at that time, through their connection with those countries whose submission was based on the protestant principle, the Jagellonic kings were prevented from setting themselves in opposition to it. The great cities in Polish Prussia were in 1557 and 1558, by express charters to that effect, fully established in religious worship according to the Lutheran ritual, and still more unequivocal are the privileges which the smaller cities soon after obtained; they having been previously exposed to the attacks of the powerful[4] bishops. Protestant sentiments had gained the favour of a large proportion of the nobility in Poland proper, owing to their gratifying that feeling of independence which was fostered in that body by the nature of its political constitution. It used in fact to be said, "a Polish nobleman is not subject to the king; why then should he be subject to the pope?" Matters went so far that protestants forced their way into the places of the bishops, and further, under Sigismund Augustus, formed the majority of the senate.

[1] Relation D. Pomerani 1539. Sabb. p. visit. in Müller's Entdecktem Staatscabinet 4ter Eröffn. p. 365.

[2] Münter: Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark, III. 529.

[3] Testamentum religiosum Gustavi I. in Baaz's Inventarium ecclesiæ Sueogoth. p. 282.

[4] Lengnich: Nachricht von der Religionsänderung in Preussen, vor dem 4ten Theil der Geschichte der Preussischen Lande, § 20.

That prince was without doubt Roman catholic; he attended mass daily, and the Romish preaching every Sunday; he even joined in singing the Benedictus with the singers of his choir; he observed the times for confession and for the communion which he received under one kind; but therewithal he seemed to trouble himself little about what people believed at his court or in his territory, and was by no means disposed to imbitter the last years of his life by entering into conflict with so powerfully advancing a conviction.[1]

The government in the adjacent Hungarian provinces at least gained nothing by attempting such an opposition. Never could Ferdinand I. bring the Hungarian diet to adopt measures that would have been unfavourable to protestantism. A Lutheran was elected Palatine of the kingdom in 1554, and soon after that favours had to be conceded to the Helvetic confession in the valley of Erlau. Transylvania completely revolted; ecclesiastical property was confiscated there in 1556, by a formal decree of the Diet; the princess even appropriated the greatest part of the tithes to herself.

And here we come to our fatherland (Germany), where the new form of the church had opened out from the original spirit of the nation, had preserved itself in the midst of protracted and hazardous wars, had won for itself a legal existence, and now entertained the idea of completely occupying the various territories into which the country is divided. Great progress towards such a result was already made. Protestantism not only absolutely predominated in northern Germany, where it had first originated, and in that district of upper Germany also where it had always maintained itself; it had made much more extensive acquisitions all round.

In Franconia the bishoprics opposed it in vain. In Würzburg and Bamberg by far the greater part of the nobility and episcopal functionaries, and at least the majority of the magistrates and corporations of the towns, together with the mass of

[1] Relatione di Polonia del Vescovo di Camerino, about 1555, MS. in the Chigi Library. "A molti di questi (who live at court) comporta che vivano come li piace, perchè si vede che S. Maestà è tanto benigna che non vorria mai far cosa che dispiacesse ad alcuno, ed io vorrei che nelle cose della religione fosse un poco più severa."—[Many of these (who live at court) are allowed to live as they please, for it is seen that his majesty is so benignant as never to have a mind to do aught unpleasant to any one, and I could wish that in the matters of religion he were a little more severe.

the peasantry, had gone over to it. In the province of Bamberg a Lutheran preacher might almost be named for each individual country parish.[1] The civil administration was conducted on protestant principles, although chiefly in the hands of the estates which had their own constitution, and on these were imposed even the taxes or rates; on these principles were the places in the courts of justice filled up, and it was remarked that the greater number of decisions ran counter to Roman catholic interests.[2] The bishops were of no great weight; even those persons who "with old Teutonic and Frankish loyalty" still revered them as princes, could not endure seeing them strutting along in their ecclesiastical adornments, and with their mitres.

This movement had assumed a no less animated aspect in Bavaria. The great majority of the nobility had adopted the protestant doctrines; a considerable number of the cities decidedly inclined that way; at his diets the duke, as for example, in the year 1566, had to make concessions such as had elsewhere sufficed for the full introduction of the Augsburg confession, and which here too seemed likely to have the same results. The duke himself was by no means so completely opposed to that confession, as not at times to attend a protestant preaching.[3]

But matters had gone much farther still in Austria. The nobility studied at Wittenberg; all the colleges in the country were filled with protestants; some would have it that probably not above the thirtieth part of the inhabitants remained Roman catholic; step by step there was formed a constitution for the different orders in the country, based on the principle of protestantism.

Shut in betwixt Bavaria and Austria the archbishops of Salzburg had been unable to preserve their territory in the old doctrine of the (Romish) church. It is true they allowed no protestant preachers; but the sentiments of the inhabitants were not the less distinctly expressed. In the capital mass was no longer attended; neither fasts nor holydays were observed; when the preachers in the Austrian territories were too remote, the

[1] Jäck has made this his special task in the 2d and 3d Parts of his History of Bamberg.

[2] Gropp: Dissertatio de statu religionis in Franconia Lutheranismo infecta. Scriptores Wirceb. I. p. 42.

[3] Sitzinger in Strobel: Beiträge zur Literatur, I. 313.

people found edification in their own houses by reading Spangenberg's comments on scripture. In the hills they did not think this enough. In Rauris and Gastein, in St. Veit, Tamsweg and Radstadt, the country people loudly insisted on the cup at the Supper; and as it was not granted, they ceased attending the sacrament altogether; they no longer sent their children to school; at church a peasant would rise and tell the preacher to his face that he lied; the peasants preached among themselves.[1] None can be surprised that while all divine worship not approved by the newly-rooted conviction, was rejected, opinions of a strange and fantastic kind should have assumed a definite shape in the solitude of the Alps.

What an advantage does it appear compared with this, that in the territories of the spiritual electors on the Rhine, the nobility were sufficiently independent to procure for their vassals an amount of freedom which the spiritual lord could not well grant to them. The Rhenish nobility had at an early period embraced protestantism, and allowed the prince to make no encroachments, not even of a spiritual kind, in their lordships. Already even in the towns, there was a protestant party every where. Its movements frequently appeared in Cologne, in repeated petitions; it was already so strong in Treves as to have obtained a preacher from Geneva, and to keep him in spite of the electoral prince; in Aix la chapelle it was struggling directly to obtain the supremacy; even the citizens of Maintz felt no scruples in sending their children to protestant schools; for example to those of Nürnberg. Commendone, who was in Germany in 1561, cannot find words enough to describe the dependance of the prelates on Lutheran princes and their readiness to give way to protestantism.[2] He thought he could observe that there were protestants of the most violent party in their privy councils.[3] He was amazed that time had done so little for Roman catholicism.

In Westphalia matters were found just as elsewhere. On St.

[1] Extract from a Report by the prebendary Wm. von Trautmannsdorf, dated 1555, in Zauner's Chronik von Salzburg, VI. 327.

[2] Gratiani: Vie de Commendon, p. 116.

[3] "De' più arrabbiati heretici.—Mi è parso che il tempo non habbia apportato alcun giovamento."—[Of the fiercest heretics.—It appears to me that time has not brought any good.] Commendone: Relatione dello stato della religione in Germania, MS. Vallicelli.

Peter's day all the peasantry were busy with the harvest; the commanded fast-days were in general observed no longer. In Paderborn the town council insisted with a kind of jealous zeal, on the profession of its protestant creed; more than one bishop in Munster passed for protestant, and the greater number of the priests had been formally married; duke William of Cleves held himself out on the whole as Roman catholic, but in his private chapel, nevertheless, he received the communion in both kinds; the greater part of his council were avowedly protestant; no real obstacle was opposed to evangelical worship.[1]

Enough, throughout all Germany, from west to east and from north to south, protestantism had a decided preponderance. The nobility had been devoted to it from the very beginning; the public functionaries, forming even at that time a numerous and respected class, had been drawn into the new doctrine; the common people would hear no more of certain articles of faith, such as that respecting purgatory, or of certain ceremonies, for example, of pilgrimages. No monasteries or convents could longer subsist; nobody would venture to bring forth sacred relics. A Venetian ambassador reckoned, in 1558, that in Germany not more than a tenth of the inhabitants remained true to the old faith.

No wonder, if the losses suffered by Roman catholicism in property and power, were constantly going on. In most of the cathedrals the prebendaries were either devoted to the improved doctrine, or lukewarm and indifferent; what was there to deter them, should it otherwise seem advantageous, and when an opportunity for actually doing so should occur, from applying for a protestant to be their bishop? It is true that by the Augsburg treaty of peace, it was ordained that a spiritual prince should forfeit his office and revenues on abandoning the old faith, but this, it was thought, in no way prevented a chapter that had be-

[1] Tempesti: Vita di Sisto V. from the Anonymo di Campidoglio, I. XXIII. "Da molt' anni si comunicava con ambe le specie, quantunque il suo capellano glien' havesse parlato inducendolo a comunicarsi così nella sua capella segreta per non dar mal esempio a' sudditi."—[For many years he communicated with both kinds, although his chaplain had spoken to him, inducing him to communicate thus in his secret chapel that he might not set a bad example before his subjects.] In a document to be found in Niesert's Münstersche Urkundensammlung, I. XXI. it runs equally significantly for the Bishop of Munster and the House of Cleves: "Wilhelmus episcopus (W. von Kettler) religionem semilutheranam hausit in aula Juliacensi."—[Bishop William (William von Kettler) imbibed the semi-lutheran religion in the court of Juliers.]

come evangelical, from electing an evangelical bishop; it being deemed enough that the benefice should not become hereditary. Accordingly, a Branderburg prince got the archbishopric of Magdeburg; a Laugenburg prince, that of Bremen; a Brunswick prince, that of Halberstadt. The bishoprics of Lubeck, Verden, Minden and the abbey of Quedlinburg fell likewise into protestant hands.[1]

Nor was there less progress made in the alienation of ecclesiastical property. What losses, for example, were within a few years sustained by the bishopric of Augsburg. In 1557, it lost all the conventual establishments in the Wirtemberg territory, followed in 1558 by that of the convents and parochial benefices of the county of Ottingen. It was not till after the Augsburg peace, the protestants in Dunkelsbuhl and Donauwerth rose to a parity, and in Nordlingen and Memmingen to the supremacy. Thereupon the convents in these cities, among others the rich preceptory dedicated to St. Anthony in Memmingen, and the parochial benefices, were irrevocably lost.[2]

Hence as matters now stood, Roman catholicism itself had but poor remaining prospects to look to for the future.

In institutions for learning, too, properly so called, and at the universities, protestant opinion proved victorious. Those old defenders of Roman catholicism who had entered into personal controversy with Luther, or who had put themselves forward at religious conferences, were either dead or far advanced in life. Young men fitted to take their places, had not yet grown up. Twenty years had passed at Vienna without a single alumnus of the university having been ordained to the priesthood. Even in Ingolstadt, so pre-eminently Roman catholic, no longer could there be found in that faculty any suitable candidates for important situations which had always hitherto been occupied by ecclesiastics.[3] At Cologne the city opened a Bursa;[4] on the arrangements coming to be made, it appeared that the new regent

[1] With respect to which, see likewise my Historical and Political Journal, I. II. 269, &c.

[2] Placidus Braun: History of the Bishops of Augsburg, vol. III. 533, 535, &c. here from good sources.

[3] Agricola: Historia provinciæ societatis Jesu Germaniæ superioris, I. p. 29.

[4] An educational establishment with foundations for the support of the scholars. Tr.

was a protestant.[1] For the express purpose of withstanding protestant opinions, cardinal Otto Truchsess established a new university in his city of Dillingen; for some years it flourished under a few distinguished Spanish divines; as soon as these had left the place, no Roman catholic doctors could be met with in Germany to take their places; protestants found their way even there. About this time the teachers throughout Germany were almost without exception protestants; the whole youth of the country sat at their feet and imbibed hatred of the pope with their earliest studies.

Thus did matters stand on the north and east of Europe. Roman catholicism in many quarters was quite set aside, and every where vanquished and stript of its property. While it was endeavouring to make efforts to defend itself, still more formidable enemies advanced against it farther into the west and south.

For there is no doubt that the Calvinistic views of doctrine stand in still more marked opposition to the Roman doctrines than Lutheranism does; and at the very epoch of which we speak, they were subjecting men's minds to their dominion with irresistible force.

These views first appeared on the frontiers of Italy, Germany, and France, and had from thence diffused themselves on all sides. In the east, in Germany, Hungary, and Poland, they formed a subordinate indeed, yet already proved an important element of protestant development; while in the west they now even rose into independent power.

As the Scandinavian kingdoms had become Lutheran, so the British had become Calvinistic; the new church had even fashioned itself in Great Britain into two distinct forms. In Scotland, where it had fought its way to power against the opposition of the government, it was poor, popular, and democratic; thereby only filling men's minds with a more resistless impetuosity. In England it had risen up in alliance with the civil government for the time being, and was wealthy, monarchical, and sumptuous; already, too, it was content if people merely ceased to oppose

[1] Orlandinus: Historia societatis Jesu, tom. I. lib. XVI. n. 25. "Hujus novæ bursæ regens, quem primum præfecerant, Jacobus Lichius, Lutheranus tandem apparuit."—[James Lichius, the regent, first appointed for this new endowed school, at length appeared a Lutheran.]

its ritual. The first naturally was infinitely more conformed to the pattern presented by Geneva, and infinitely more animated with the spirit of Calvin.

The French nation had, with all their natural vivacity, seized upon the doctrines of that countryman of theirs, and in spite of all their persecutions, the French churches regulated themselves according to the model of protestant Geneva. A Synod was held as early as in 1559. Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, in 1561, found no province free from protestantism, and three-fourths of the kingdom filled with it, including Brittany and Normandy, Gascogny and Lauguedoc, Poitou, Touraine, Provence, Dauphiny. "In many quarters," says he, "in these provinces people assemble together, preachings are held, rules of life are adopted, quite after the Geneva precedent, without any respect to the royal prohibitions. Every body has embraced these opinions; what is most remarkable, the very clergy have done so; not only priests, monks, and nuns, there were indeed few monasteries and convents that remained unaffected, but bishops themselves and many of the first prelates."[1] "Your excellency," says he to his Doge, "may be assured that with the exception of the common people, who still zealously frequent the churches, all the rest have fallen away, particularly the nobility, and young men under forty years of age almost without excep-

[1] The extent to which even those who remained in the Roman catholic church in France, desired to have it reformed, and the vast number of such discontented Romanists, may be learned from the "Remonstrances faictes au Pape Pie III. de la part du Roy Charles IX."—[Remonstrances made to Pope Pius IV. on the part of King Charles IX.] This singularly interesting document is by far too long to appear in a note. The points against which King Charles IX. remonstrates, are; 1st. The adoration of images as unknown in the primitive church, and expressly forbidden in the word of God, together with "the great and enormous abuses, falsehoods, impostures, and false miracles, which for some time have been discovered in this kingdom," &c. 2d. Abuses connected with the sacraments of Baptism and the Supper; in the former, exorcisms and prayers in an unknown tongue, &c.; in the latter, communion under one kind only, muttered prayers in Latin, and the procession called Fête Dieu in France, on what is called *Corpus Christi* day. 3d. The Mass, its being made a matter of sale by "ignorant, ill-living, and vagabond priests," its being represented as a real sacrifice to the disparagement of that offered on the cross, and the service being in Latin. 4th. That the priest prayed as for himself, and not in the name of all who have communicated, &c. This document forms one of a great many contained in the *first* volume of the Recueil des Choses Mémorables faites et passées pour le faict de la Réligion et éstat de ce Royaume, &c. a work of which the second and third volumes are often to be found, while the first, containing 883 close-printed pages, is so rare, that the Abbé Anquetil, in the researches he made for his "History of the League," thought at first that it never could have existed. I was fortunate enough to find a copy in an old book store in Paris. Tr.

tion. For notwithstanding that many still attend mass, yet this happens only for the sake of appearances and from fear; if they are sure that they are not observed, they shun both mass and church." On Micheli's arrival at Geneva, he was informed that immediately after the death of Francis II. fifty preachers went thence into different towns of France; he was confounded at the respect in which Calvin was held, and at the amount of money poured in upon him for the benefit of the thousands that had withdrawn themselves to Geneva.[1] He considers it indispensable that a religious freedom, at least an Interim, as he expresses it, should be conceded to the French protestants, if people would avoid deluging the country with blood. And, in fact, there followed shortly after the Edict of January 1562, which secured a legally recognised existence for protestantism in France, and forms the basis of the privileges which from that time forward it has generally enjoyed in that country.

All these changes occurring on all sides, in Germany, France, and England, must necessarily have had an effect on the Netherlands. The German influences were the first that predominated. Among other motives that led Charles V. to engage in the Smalkaldic war, it was one of the chief that the sympathy which the German protestants excited in the Netherlands, daily increased the difficulties attending the government of a province forming so important a member of his monarchy. By repressing the German princes, he at the same time warded off [2]an in-

[1] Micheli: Relatione delle cose di Francia l'anno 1561. "Da poi che fu conosciuto che col mettere in prigione e col castigare e con l'abbruciare non solo non si emendavano, ma si disordinavano più, fu deliberato che non si procedesse più contra alcuno, eccetto che contra quelli che andavano predicando, seducendo e facendo publicamente le congregationi e le assemblee, e gli altri si lassassero vivere: onde ne furono liberati e cavati di prigione di Parigi e di tutte le altre terre del regno un grandissimo numero, che rimasero poi nel regno praticando liberamente e parlando con ogn'uno e gloriandosi che aveano guadagnato la lite contra i Papisti: così chiamavano e chiamano li loro adversarii."—[Micheli's Account of the affairs of France in 1561. On its being perceived that with imprisonments, stripes, and burning there was not only no amendment, but that they became still more disorderly, it was thought best that there should be no further proceedings against any one, with the exception of such as went about preaching, seducing, and openly holding congregations and assemblies, and that the rest should be allowed to live: accordingly there were liberated and brought forth from the prisons of Paris and other towns of the kingdom a very great number who then remained in the kingdom, conversing freely and speaking to every body, and boasting that they had gained their cause against the papists: the name they have given and still give to their adversaries.]

[2] A very well founded view, as it seems to me, of the Florentine resident at that time, at the imperial court.

surrection of the Netherlands. Yet all his laws, although he enforced them with extraordinary severity, all the executions which, particularly in the first years of his successor, were denounced in almost incredible numbers, it being reckoned at that time that up to 1562, 36,000 persons, of both sexes, had been put to death,[1] proved incapable of arresting the progress of those religious opinions. The only effect was that these gradually took the French and Calvinistic rather than the German and Lutheran direction. In spite of the persecution, in the Netherlands too, as early as 1561, a formal confession was brought forward; churches were regulated according to the model of Geneva; and as the protestants made common cause with the local privileges and their defenders, they obtained a political footing from which they might look not only for deliverance, but even for an important future influence in the state.

Amid these circumstances, a new energy was aroused in the older oppositions to Rome. The Moravian brethren were formally acknowledged by Maximilian II. in 1562, and they availed themselves of this happy event to elect in their synods that same year a great many new clergy, some reckon a hundred and eighty-eight of them.[2] In 1561, the duke of Savoy saw himself obliged to consent to new franchises in favour of the poor Waldensian flocks in the mountains.[3] The protestant idea diffused its life-giving power even to the remotest and most neglected corner of Europe. What an immense territory was that which it had conquered in the space of forty years, extending from Iceland to the Pyrenees, from Finland to the heights of the Italian Alps! Even beyond these, as we know, analogous opinions once found their way; it embraced the entire circuit of the Latin church.

[1] In a dispatch respecting Spain in 1562, probably by Paul Tiepolo, in the Venetian Archives, we read, "Una grandissima parte de quei paesi bassi è guasta e corrotta da queste nuove opinioni - - e per tutte le provisioni che si abbiano fatte e per la morte data a molte migliara di homeni (che da sette anni o poco più in qua, per quel che mi è stato affermato da persone principali di que' paesi, sono stati morti di giustitia più di 36m fra homeni e donne) non solamente (non) si è rimediato, ma etc."—[A very great part of those Low countries are tainted and corrupted by these new opinions, and by all the measures that have been taken, and by the deaths inflicted on so many thousands (for during seven years or a little more, wherein, according to what has been stated to me by leading persons in those countries, more than 36,000 men and women have died by the hands of justice) not only has the evil not been remedied, but, etc.]

[2] Regenvolscii ecclesiæ Slavonicæ I. p. 63.

[3] Leger: Histoire des églises Vaudoises, II. p. 38, communicates the agreement then made.

It had made a conquest of by far the greater number of the higher classes, of those minds which took part in public life. Whole nations enthusiastically clove to it; it had altered the forms of states.[1] This was so much the more amazing as it was by no means simple opposition, perhaps a mere negation of the popedom, a bare renunciation of it, but something positive in the highest degree, a renovation of Christian sentiments and principles, governing men's lives even to the secrets of the soul.

THE POPEDOM'S RESOURCES FOR THE CONFLICT.

For a long while the popedom and Roman catholicism, however they might parry these advances, yet had passively to endure, and generally speaking, to give way before them.

But matters now assumed quite a different aspect.

We have considered that internal development by means of which Roman catholicism began to recover the footing it had lost. On the whole we may say, that it begot within itself anew a living force, that it regenerated dogmatic theology in the mind of the age, and called forth a reformation in manners such as generally responded to the demands of the world at that time. It did not suffer the religious tendencies which appeared in the south of Europe, to grow up into actual hostilities; it absorbed them into itself, took them under its control, and thus gave new life to its own energies. The protestant spirit alone had hitherto

[1] Such was the conception formed in Rome itself of the loss that had been sustained. Tiepolo: Relatione di Pio IV. e V. "Parlando solamente di quelli (popoli) d'Europa che non solo obedivano lui (al papa) ma ancora seguivano in tutto i riti e le consuetudini della chiesa romana celebrando ancora li officii nella lingua latina: si sa che l'Inghilterra, la Scotia, la Dania, la Norvegia, la Suetia e finalmente tutti i paesi settentrionali si sono alienati da lei: la Germania è quasi tutta perduta, la Bohemia e la Polonia si trovano in gran parte infette, li paesi bassi della Fiandria sono così corrotti che per rimedio che vi si sforzi dar loro il duca d'Alva difficilmente ritorneranno alla prima sanità, e finalmente la Francia per rispetto di questi mal humori è tutta ripiena di confusioni, in modo che non pare che sia restato altro di sano e di sicuro al pontefice che la Spagna e l'Italia con alcune poche isole e con quel paese che è dalla Ser^ta V^ra in Dalmatia et in Grecia posseduto."—[Speaking only of those (peoples) of Europe which not only obeyed him (the pope) but further followed in all things the rites and customs of the Roman church, and also celebrated the sacred offices in the Latin tongue; it is known that England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and finally all the northern countries, have alienated themselves from him. Germany may be said to be almost altogether lost, Bohemia and Poland are found in a great measure infected, the low countries of Flanders are so corrupted, that by means of the remedy which the duke of Alva endeavours to apply to them, they will hardly return to their first soundness, and, in fine, France, owing to these bad humours, is full of confusions, so that there does not seem to have remained any sound, and safe to the pontiff, but Spain and Italy, with some few islands, and with the country possessed by your serenity in Dalmatia and in Greece.]

filled the theatre of the world with results, and carried men's minds along with it; now there entered into the lists with it, from a more elevated point, a spirit that may perhaps be considered as of a like nature, but which was also utterly opposed to it, a spirit which now understood on its side, how to obtain the mastery over men's minds and to enflame their active energies.

The now renovated Roman catholic system first brought the two southern peninsulas under its sway. This it could do only by exercising extraordinary severity. The Spanish Inquisition co-operated with the revived Inquisition of Rome. All the movements of protestantism were violently suppressed. But at the same time the tendencies of the inner man, which the revived Roman catholicism speedily addressed and enchained, were particularly powerful in those countries. The princes, too, by whom they were governed, attached themselves to the interests of the church.

It was exceedingly important that Philip II., the most powerful of them all, took so decided a part on the side of the popedom. With all the haughtiness of a Spaniard who considered unimpeachable Roman catholicism as the mark of purity of blood and of a noble ancestry, he rejected all opinions that were opposed to it. Yet his political bearing was not altogether the mere dictate of his personal inclination. In Spain the royal dignity from ancient times, and particularly ever since the public arrangements of Isabella, had worn a spiritual aspect; in all the provinces the royal government was strengthened by the addition of the spiritual power; without the Inquisition that government would have been found impossible; even in his American possessions the king appeared chiefly in the light of a propagator of the Christian and Roman catholic faith; it was this idea that united all the countries subject to his sway in the bonds of a common obedience to him. He dared not have dispensed with it without manifest danger. The spread of the Huguenots in the southern provinces of France, caused the utmost concern in Spain; the Inquisition thought it was bound to exercise redoubled vigilance in consequence. "I assure your excellency," writes the Venetian ambassador to his prince on the 25th of August 1562, "for this country no great religious movement is

desirable; there are many that long for a change of religion."[1] The papal nuncio thought that to proceed with the council, which had then met, was a matter in which the royal government was no less interested than the papal. "For," says he, "the obedience which the king receives, his entire royal government, absolutely depends on the Inquisition. Were that to lose the respect it now commands, insurrections would necessarily follow."

Now, the circumstance of the Netherlands being subject to this prince, of itself gave the southern system a direct influence over the whole of Europe; but, besides, all was far from having been lost in the remaining kingdoms. The emperor, the kings of France and of Poland, and the dukes of Bavaria, all continued attached to the Roman catholic church; there still remained spiritual princes in all quarters whose lukewarm zeal might be animated anew; still had protestantism too, in many quarters, failed to penetrate as yet into the mass of the population. The greater number of the country people in France, and indeed in Hungary[2] and Poland also, held still by Roman catholicism. Paris, which even at that time exercised a great influence over other French towns, had not been carried away by the new spirit. A considerable part of the nobility and commonalty of England, and in Ireland the whole ancient Irish nation, remained Roman catholic. Protestantism had found no access into the Swiss and Tyrolese Alps. Even among the country people of Bavaria it had not yet been capable of making any great progress. Canisius at least compared the Tyrolese and Bavarians with the two tribes of Israel, "which alone remained faithful to the Lord." It were well worth a minuter inquiry, to what internal principles we are to ascribe this perseverance, this immovable attachment to established institutions and customs, in nations of such differ-

[1] Dispaccio Soranzo Perpignan 28 Maggio. "Essendo in questa provincia (Spagna) molti Ugonotti quasi non osano mostrarsi per la severissima dimostratione che qui fanno contra. Dubitano che non si mettano insieme, essendone molti per tutta la Spagna."—[There being in this province (Spain) many Huguenots who dare not show themselves in consequence of the extremely severe demonstrations against them. It is suspected that they might unite together, there being so many of them in Spain.]

[2] If here it was not rather ignorance, as at least Lazarus Schwendi states; "En Ungarie tout est confusion et misère; ils sont de la plus part Huguenots, mais avec une extrême ignorance du peuple." Schwendi au prince d'Orange. Archives de la maison d'Orange-Nassau, I. p. 288.—[In Hungary all is confusion and wretchedness; they are for the most part Huguenots, but with an extreme ignorance in the people.] Schwendi to the Prince of Orange. Archives of the House of Orange-Nassau, I. p. 288.

ent characters. We find another instance of the same thing in the Netherlands, in the case of the Walloon provinces.

And now the popedom again assumed a position in which it could anew subject all these favourable leanings to its sway, and attach them indissolubly to its own interests. Although it, too, had experienced revolutions in itself, yet it was benefited by the inappreciable advantage of having all the outward forms of the past, the settled habits of obedience in its favour. The popes succeeded in the council which they had prosperously closed, even in increasing that authority of theirs which it had been intended to diminish, and in obtaining a better established influence over the national churches. Moreover they abandoned that worldly policy through which they had hitherto troubled all Italy and Europe; with a confidence absolute and unreserved, they attached themselves to Spain and reciprocated the devotion which that country paid to the Romish church. The Italian principality, that now extended state, more than all else contributed towards the promotion of ecclesiastical enterprises; for a long while the whole Roman catholic church was benefited by the excess of its income over its expenditure.

Thus strong in themselves, and powerful from the alliance of attached potentates with whom they were connected by a common idea, the popes passed from that merely defensive attitude with which they had hitherto been obliged to be content, to that of attack; an attack the course and consequences of which it is the chief object of this work to review.

But here an immense scene opens out before us. The enterprise which we have to contemplate, was carried on in many places at once; so that we have to direct our attention to the most widely separated quarters of the world.

The active measures of the spirituality we find most intimately associated with political movements; combinations appear, embracing the entire world, and upon whose influence depended success or failure in every struggle for conquest. We shall fix our regards the more steadily on the grand alternations of secular events, inasmuch as they often directly co-incide with the results of the spiritual struggle.

Yet we must not confine our attention to general features only. Spiritual conquests, far less than secular, can be accom-

plished without corresponding secret sympathies. We must descend to the very root of the interests of various countries, in order to comprehend those internal movements by means of which Romish objects were promoted.

Altogether there is presented to us a fulness and a diversity of events, and of manifestations of life, of which we may almost fear that they can hardly by possibility be comprehended under one view. It is a development that rests on kindred principles at bottom, and sometimes embraces great movements, but that offers also an endless multiplicity of phenomena.

Let us begin with our own country (Germany) where, indeed, the popedom first suffered its great losses, and where even now the conflict of the two principles chiefly took place.

Here chiefly did that at once worldly-wise and religiously-zealous society of the Jesuits, penetrated as it was with the sentiments of modern Roman catholicism, prove of service to the Romish church. Let us first endeavour to represent to ourselves the nature and extent of its influence.

THE FIRST JESUIT SCHOOLS IN GERMANY.

At the first diet of Augsburg held in the year 1550, Ferdinand I. was attended by his father confessor, Bishop Urban of Laybach. The latter was one of those few prelates who had never allowed themselves to be shaken in their creed. Often when at home used he to ascend the pulpit, there to admonish the people in their mother tongue, to persevere in the faith of their fathers and to preach to them of the one sheep-fold and the one shepherd.[1] Now, there happened to be in Augsburg at that time also, the Jesuit Leo Jay who was exciting attention by some conversions. Bishop Urban made his acquaintance and first heard through him, of the colleges that had been founded by the Jesuits at various universities. While Roman catholic theology was in so declining a state in Germany, he advised his master to found a college of this kind in Vienna. Ferdinand went warmly into this project; in a letter addressed by him to Ignatius Loyola on the subject, he expresses his conviction that the sole means of maintaining in their integrity the declining doctrines of the church in Germany, lay in providing learned

[1] Valvassor: Ehre des Herzogthums Krain. Theil II. Buch VII. p. 433.

and pious Roman catholic teachers for the rising generation.[1] The terms were easily settled. In 1551, thirteen Jesuits arrived, among whom was Le Jay himself, and to these Ferdinand first of all assigned house accommodation, a chapel, and a yearly income, until he united them shortly afterwards to the university, and even charged them with the visitation of that establishment.

Soon after that they rose to importance in Cologne. They had already been there for some years, but without success; they had even been compelled to live apart. It was first in the year 1556, that that Bursa which was placed under the superintendence of a protestant regent, gave them the opportunity of obtaining a firmer settlement. For as there was a party existing in the city which was firmly determined that the university should retain its Roman catholic character, the patrons of the Jesuits found a hearing at last when they advised that the institution should be handed over to that order. Those who favoured them consisted of the prior of the Carthusians, the provincial of the Carmelites, and above all Doctor John Cropper, who occasionally managed to have a dinner party to which he invited the most influential citizens, and in good old German fashion, would, over a glass of wine, contrive to open the way for accomplishing whatever object he happened to have most at heart. Fortunately for the Jesuits there happened to be among the members of the order, a native of Cologne, John Rhetius, of a patrician family, to whose special care the Bursa might be committed. But this did not take place without strict limitations; the Jesuits were expressly forbidden to introduce conventual life into the Bursa, as was usually done in their colleges.[2]

At that very time they established for themselves a firm footing in Ingolstadt. The earlier attempts made there had misgiven, in consequence of the opposition that had been shown, chiefly by the younger members of the university, who were unwilling that any privileged schools should circumscribe the private instruction which they communicated. But in 1556, on the duke finding that he must consent to greater concessions in favour of the protestants, it appeared a matter of urgent neces-

[1] Printed in Socher's Historia provinciæ Austriæ Societatis Jesu, I. 21.

[2] Sacchinus: Hist. societatis Jesu, pars II. lib. I. n. 103.

sity to those of his councillors who held Roman catholic opinions, to do something effectual for maintaining the integrity of the old faith. The chief of these were the chancellor Wiguleus Hund, a man who went to work with no less zeal in maintaining than in investigating the ancient condition of the church, and the duke's secretary, Henry Schwigger. To these the Jesuits owed their recall. Eighteen of them entered Ingolstadt, on the 7th of July 1556, being Saint Wilibald's day; a day purposely selected by them, because St. Wilibald was revered as the first bishop of that diocese. Still they found they had many difficulties to struggle with in the city and university, but these they gradually succeeded in surmounting through the same favour to which they had owed their being called to the place.

From these three central cities the Jesuits now diffused themselves on all sides.

First, they spread from Vienna over the Austrian territories. Ferdinand I., as early as 1556, brought them to Prague, and there founded for them an academy for the education of youth, chiefly that of the nobility. He even sent his own pages thither, and the order found a welcome and support from at least the Roman catholic part of the Bohemian nobility, the Rosenbergs and Lobkowitzes. One of the most important persons at that time in Hungary, was Nicolas Olahus, archbishop of Gran. His name indicates his being of Wallachian origin. His father Stoia, terrified at the murder of a Waywode[1] belonging to his family, devoted him to the church, and in that calling he had had the happiest success.

Already under the last native kings, he filled the most important office of private secretary; and since that he had risen still higher in the service of the Austrian party. Amid the general decline of Roman catholicism in Hungary, he saw that the only hope lay in preserving it among the common people who had not yet altogether apostatized. But here, too, there was a want of teachers of Roman catholic sentiments. In order to form these, he founded, in the year 1561, a college of Jesuits in Tyrnau; he gave them a pension from his own revenues; and to that the emperor Ferdinand added an abbacy. Immediately on

[1] In the Ottoman empire the governor of a small town or province, also a musulman charged with the collection of taxes, or with the police of a place. Tr.

the arrival of the Jesuits there was held a convention of the diocesan clergy, whose first active endeavours were bestowed on an attempt to bring back these Hungarian priests and pastors from the heterodox doctrines to which they had a leaning. And by this time they had likewise received a call to Moravia. William Prussinowski, bishop of Olmutz, who had become acquainted with the order in the course of his studies in Italy, invited them to come to him. Hurtado Perez, a Spaniard, was the first rector in Olmutz. Soon we find them also in Brunn.

From Cologne the society spread over the whole of the country adjacent to the Rhine. Protestantism, as has been stated, had found adherents and caused ferment at Treves also. John von Stein, the archbishop, resolved to enact slight punishments only against the refractory, and to oppose the movements that were taking place, chiefly by doctrinal arguments. He appointed the two heads of the Jesuit schools in Cologne, to meet him at Coblentz, and represented to them that he wanted to have some members of their order, with a view, as he expressed it, to keep the flocks that had been committed to his care within the bounds of duty, rather by admonition and friendly instruction than by arms and threats. He directed his inquiries likewise to Rome, and an arrangement was soon made. Six Jesuits were dispatched from Rome; the remainder came from Cologne. They opened their college on the 3d of February 1561, with great solemnity, and undertook the preaching of the discourses to be delivered at the next fasts.[1]

Hence also the two privy councillors of the electoral prince Daniel of Maintz, Peter Echter and Simon Bogen, thought that in this employment of the Jesuits lay the only means of re-establishing the declining university of Maintz, and so, notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the prebendaries and the inhabitants of the country, they instituted a college for the order in Maintz, and a preparatory school in Aschaffenburg.

The society constantly spread higher and higher up the Rhine. It seemed particularly desirable to have a footing in Spires; just because so many distinguished men were united there as assessors of the supreme court, over whom it would be of the utmost importance to obtain an influence; as also to take up a position

[1] Browerus: Annales Trevirenses, tom. II. lib. XXI. 106—125.

in the neighbourhood over against the university of Heidelberg, which then enjoyed the highest celebrity for its protestant teachers.[1] They gradually forced their way.

Along the river Maine also, they lost no time in trying their fortune. Although Frankfort was wholly protestant, yet they hoped to accomplish something even there, while the fair was held. But this was not to be done without danger; and so to prevent discovery, they changed the inns they lodged at every night. So much the safer and the more welcome were they in Würzburg.[2] It would even appear that the admonition given by the emperor Ferdinand at the Diet of Worms, to the bishops, to put forth their utmost energies for the maintenance of the Roman catholic church, had much to do with this splendid progress of the order in the bishoprics. Proceeding from Würzburg they passed through Franconia.

Meanwhile the Tyrol, on another side of Germany, was opened to them. At the desire of the emperor's daughter they settled at Inspruck, and then at Hall in its neighbourhood. They made more and more progress in Bavaria. At Munich, where they arrived in 1559, they found themselves more at home than even at Ingolstadt, declaring that it was quite the Rome of Germany. And ere long there started up a new colony not far from Ingolstadt. In order to restore his university of Dillingen to its original object, Cardinal Truchsess resolved to dismiss all the professors who were still teaching there, and to commit the institution entirely to the Jesuits. A formal agreement was concluded to this effect at Botzen, between German and Italian commissioners, acting on the part of the cardinal, and of the order respectively. The Jesuits arrived at Dillingen in 1563, and took possession of the professors' chairs. They relate with great satisfaction, how the cardinal, who, soon after, on returning from a journey, made a solemn entrance into Dillingen, among all who had come forth to receive him, turned particularly to the Jesuits, held out his hand for them to kiss, greeted them as his brethren, nay, visited their cells and dined

[1] For instance, Neuser says in his famous letters to the Turkish emperor, there be teachers and preachers at Heidelberg, "at which place the most learned men of all the German territory now hold conferences." Arnold: Ketzerhist. II. 1133.

[2] Gropp: Wirzburgische Chronik der letzteren Zeiten. Th. I. p. 237.

with them. He promoted them to the best of his power, and soon instituted for them a mission in Augsburg.[1]

This was no ordinary progress for the society to make within so short a time. In the year 1551, they had not as yet obtained any firm footing in Germany; in 1566, they embraced Bavaria and the Tyrol; Franconia and Suabia; a great part of the Rhenish country, and Austria; while at the same time they had penetrated into Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia. Already was their influence perceptible; the papal nuncio in 1561, affirms, "that they had won many souls and done great service to the Romish see." It was the first effective anti-protestant impression that had been made on Germany.

They laboured most of all at the universities, being ambitious of rivalling the reputation of those that were protestant, and as all the learned accomplishments of that period were based on the ancient tongues, these they cultivated with fresh zeal, and in a short time people thought that here and there at least, the Jesuit teachers might be put on a level with the restorers of those studies. They cultivated other branches of knowledge also. Francis Koster lectured on astronomy at Cologne with equal acceptability and learning. But, as may be supposed, the theological courses continued to be the grand concern. The Jesuits read with the utmost diligence, even during the holydays; they again introduced those exercises in disputation, without which, as they said, all instruction was dead; the disputations which they held in public, were at once marked by decorum and good manners, and full of matter; they were the most brilliant that had ever been witnessed. People were persuaded at Ingolstadt that the university there had been brought to such a state, that in the department of theology at least, it might stand a comparison with any other in Germany. Ingolstadt came to possess, but in an opposite sense, an efficiency similar to what was held by Wittenberg and Geneva.

With no less assiduity did the Jesuits devote themselves to the conducting of Latin schools. One of the objects that Lainez held most in view was that the junior grammar classes should be occupied to good purpose. Man is most influenced during his whole life by the impression which he first receives. He

[1] Sacchinus: pars II. lib. VIII. n. 108.

sought out with a perspicacious judgment, men who, after having once taken up this limited department in teaching, meant to devote their whole lives to it. For it is with time first that proficiency in so difficult an employment is acquired, and that natural authority appears. Here the Jesuits succeeded to admiration. It was thought that young persons learned more in half a year with them than in two years with others. Even protestants recalled their children from distant gymnasia and handed them over to the Jesuits.

This was followed by schools for the poor, by the instruction of children and catechisation. Canisius composed his catechism which satisfied the wants of the learners by its well-connected questions and its suitable answers.

Now this instruction was communicated quite in that tone of fanciful devotion which so peculiarly characterized the Jesuit institute from the very beginning. The first rector at Vienna was a Spaniard, called John Victoria; one who had signalized his entrance into the society at a former period of his life, when in Rome, by walking through the Corso during the amusements of the Carnival, clothed in sacking, and scourging himself meanwhile without intermission, and so long that the blood ran down his body on all sides. The children that frequented the Jesuits schools in Vienna ere long distinguished themselves by their strict abstinence from forbidden meats on fast-days, although their parents partook of these without scruple. In Cologne it was again held to be an honour to wear the garland of roses. At Treves people began to worship relics, which nobody for many years past had ventured to bring forward. Even as early as the year 1560, the youth of Ingolstadt went from the Jesuit schools in pairs on pilgrimage to Eichstadt, in order to be strengthened at their confirmation "by the dew that dript from the grave of Saint Walpurgis." A sentiment this which was first implanted at school and afterwards diffused through the whole population, from the pulpit and confessional.

This was a result such as has never probably been paralleled in the history of the world.

When any new spiritual movement has carried mankind along with it, this has always taken place through personal qualities of a higher order, and through the overwhelming force of new

ideas. Here the effect was accomplished without any great spiritual production. The Jesuits might be learned, and in their own fashion pious; but none will say that their science rests on a free play of the mind, that their piety springs from the depth and ingenuousness of a simple nature. They are learned enough to have a reputation, to awaken confidence, to educate and retain scholars; they attempt nothing further. Their piety not only keeps itself free from moral blemishes, it is positively apparent and striking, and so much the more indubitable; this is enough for them. Neither their piety nor their learning moves in free, unconfined, untrodden paths. Yet there is one thing by which they are especially distinguished; namely, strict method. Every thing is calculated, for every thing has its object. Such a combination of sufficiency of learning and indefatigable zeal, of studies and persuasion, of pomp and voluntary chastisement, of diffusion over the world and unity in the leading points of view, the world has never witnessed either before or since. They were diligent and fanciful; worldly-wise and full of enthusiasm; pleasant persons whom people willingly approached; exempt from personal interests; mutually promoting each other. No wonder if success attended them.

We Germans must further add another particular observation. Among us, as has been remarked, the papal theology was as good as annihilated. The Jesuits appeared for the purpose of restoring it. Who were those Jesuits, when they arrived among us? They were Spaniards, Italians, Netherlanders; people were long ignorant even of the name of their order; they were called Spanish priests. They took possession of the professors' chairs, and found disciples who became attached to their doctrines. From the Germans they received nothing; their doctrines and constitution had been completed before they appeared among us. We might venture to regard the progress of their institute with us, in general, as a new effect produced by Roman upon German Europe. They vanquished us on our own soil, in our own homes, and snatched from us a part of our country. It is not to be doubted that this was likewise owing to the German divines not having been either agreed among themselves, or magnanimous enough to tolerate the most unessential differences of sentiment in one another. Extreme opinions had been em-

braced; people indulged mutual animosity with reckless fury, so that they distracted those who were not completely convinced, and thereby opened the way for these strangers who now, on their side, obtained the mastery over men's minds by a doctrine cleverly contrived, carried out into the minutest particulars, and excluding all uncertainty and doubt

COMMENCEMENT OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

WITH all this it is evident nevertheless, that the Jesuits would not have succeeded so easily, without the aid of the civil power, without the favour of the princes of the empire.

For what had happened with respect to theological questions, took place also with respect to political ones; nothing had been done towards adopting some measure by which the essentially hierarchical constitution of the empire might have come into harmony with the new religious bearings of the country. The real purport of the Augsburg treaty of peace, as understood from the very commencement, and as afterwards interpreted, was a fresh extension of the sovereign power. The several provinces of Germany obtained by it, even in respect of religion, a high degree of autonomy. It has solely depended ever since on the convictions of the princes, and on the common understanding between them and the estates, what ecclesiastical settlement any particular country should receive.

That peace was, in fact, a compact which seemed to have been schemed for the advantage of protestantism, but which really tended to promote Roman catholicism only. The former had already taken root on its coming into effect; the latter never showed any symptoms of recovery until it had it to lean upon.

This result first appeared in Bavaria, and from the immense effects that sprang from it, it is particularly worth our while to mark how it took place.

For a long time back we find the princes and estates at the Bavarian diets, engaged in contests. The duke was in perpetual embarrassment for want of money, oppressed with debts, led into new expenses, and continually obliged to call on his estates to assist him. The latter in return made demands for concessions, particularly of a religious kind. It seemed likely that matters must assume some such shape in Bavaria as that which had long

prevailed in Austria; namely, a legitimate opposition of the constituted estates, against its territorial sovereign, founded at once on religion and privileges, unless, indeed, the latter himself should pass over to protestantism.

Beyond a doubt this was the state of things, which, as has been stated, mainly led to the Jesuits being sent for. Their doctrines, indeed, may very possibly have made a personal impression on Duke Albert V.; he even declared afterwards, that he had learned whatever he understood of the divine law, from Hoffaus and Canisius, both Jesuits. But to this there was added yet another influence. Pius IV. not only made the duke observe that every religious concession would diminish the obedience shown him by his subjects,[1] an assertion which, as matters stood in a German principality, could not well be denied; he also backed this advice with testimonies of his good will, for he granted him a tithe of the revenues of his clergy. By thus rendering him so far independent of the grants that the estates might have consented to make, he showed him at the same time the advantages he might expect from the alliance with the church of Rome.

The question then came chiefly to be, whether or not the duke would find himself able to calm down again the religious opposition that had already taken root in the estates.

To this he directed his efforts at the Diet held at Ingolstadt in 1563. The prelates were already favourably disposed; he next began to work upon the towns. Whether it was that the doctrines of reviving Roman catholicism, and the activity of the Jesuits, who were now insinuating themselves every where, had gained an influence over the cities, and in particular over the leading members of their convention, or that other views interfered, it is enough to say that on this occasion the towns ceased to make those demands for new religious concessions which they had uniformly urged till now with much zeal, and proceeded to make their grants without pressing for new franchises. There-

[1] Legationes paparum ad duces Bavariæ. [Papal embassies to the dukes of Bavaria.] MS. in the Münich Library. Prima legatio 1563. "Quodsi Sua Celsitudo Illma absque sedis apostolicæ auctoritate usum calicis concedat, ipsi principi etiam plurimum decederet de ejus apud subditos auctoritate."—[First embassy in 1563. But if his Illustrious Highness should grant the use of the cup without the authority of the apostolic see, the prince himself would lose much of his authority with his subjects.] It was complained at the Diet that the prince had been blinded by the tithe (granted him).

after the nobility alone remained to be dealt with. These left the Diet, not chagrined merely, but even exasperated; the duke was informed of the threatening language which had been uttered by this and the other noble;[1] at last the most distinguished of them all, Count Ortenburg, who claimed for his county a disputed direct connection with the empire, resolved to introduce the evangelical profession without more ado into that territory. But by that very circumstance the duke obtained the best weapons he could have had. In particular, having found at one of the castles which he had seized, a correspondence that had been carried on among some Bavarian lords, containing the most pungent animadversions, in which he was spoken of as a hardened Pharaoh, and his council as a bloody council for poor Christians, together with some further expressions, supposed to indicate the existence of a conspiracy, he thus had an opportunity presented to him for compelling all the nobles that were opposed to him, to answer for themselves.[2] The punishment he denounced against them, cannot be considered severe, but it enabled him to effect his object. He excluded from the diets all who were implicated in this affair, and as they constituted the sole opposition that remained there, he thus became absolute master of the estates, with whom there never has been any dispute about religion since.

The importance of all this appeared forthwith. Duke Albert had for a long time and with much zeal pressed upon pope and council the granting of the cup to the laity: he appeared to rest the entire destiny of his country upon this concession; at length in April 1564, he obtained it; will it be believed? he now did not even publicly announce his having done so. Circumstances were altered; a favour so alien from strict Roman catholicism, now seemed rather hurtful than advantageous; he rebuked into silence by a vigorous exercise of his authority some parishes in Lower Bavaria that had re-urged with a stormy vehemence what had before been the desire of all.[3]

[1] Secret information and report in consequence of certain disloyal and insurrectionary discourses, in Freiberg's Geschichte der baierischen Landstände, II. 352.

[2] Huschberg: Geschichte des Hauses Ortenburg, § 390.

[3] Adlzreitter: Annales Boicæ gentis, II. XI. n. 22. "Albertus eam indulgentiam juris publici in Boica esse noluit."—[Albert would not have that indulgence made a matter of public right.]

In short, there was not a more decided Roman catholic prince in all Germany than Duke Albert. He proceeded with the utmost earnestness, to make his territory likewise altogether Roman catholic again.

The professors at Ingolstadt had to subscribe the confession of faith, the publication of which was one of the fruits of the Tridentine council. Generally speaking, all the ducal officials had to bind themselves by oath to an unequivocally Roman catholic confession. Refusal was followed by dismissal. Even among the common people Duke Albert would grant no toleration to protestantism. First in Lower Bavaria, whither some Jesuits had been sent for the conversion of the inhabitants, not preachers only but one and all of the inhabitants that attached themselves to the evangelical profession, had to sell their property and to leave the country.[1] Such was the course adopted thereafter in all quarters. It would not have been advisable for any magistrate to wink at protestants; he would thereby have drawn upon himself the severest punishment.

But with this renovation of Roman catholicism all its modern forms passed from Italy into Germany. An index of prohibited books was drawn up; they were picked out and removed from the libraries, and then committed to the flames in heaps. Such, on the contrary, as were strictly Roman catholic, were favoured; the duke took care that authors who wrote in that spirit should not fail to meet with encouragement; he had Surius's History of the Saints at his own expense translated into German and printed. The greatest devotion was paid to relics; St. Benno, though utterly discarded in another province of Germany, Meissen, was solemnly declared to be the patron saint of Bavaria. Architecture and music first appeared in Munich, adapted to the taste of the restored church. The Jesuit institution was promoted above all things, and by this the education of the rising generation in Roman catholic sentiments was brought to perfection.

The Jesuits, too, were at a loss for words to express the praises they bestowed on the duke for all this. He was called a second Josias, a new Theodosius.

Here one other question only remains.

The more important the extension of the sovereignty that

[1] Agricola: Ps. I. Dec. III. 116—120.

accrued to the protestant princes, in consequence of the influence they took it upon themselves to exercise in regard to religion, so much the more striking would it appear, had that of the Roman catholic territorial lords come to be circumscribed by the renovated authority of the ecclesiastical powers.

But care was taken to obviate this. The popes well saw that, first of all, it was only through the princes that they could succeed in upholding their declining power, or in reviving what had altogether disappeared. On this point they gave way to no illusion; they made their whole policy turn on an alliance between them and the princes.

In the body of instructions imparted by Gregory to the very first nuncio whom he sent to Bavaria, it was said without any circumlocution; "His Holiness's most earnest wish is to restore that church discipline which has fallen into decay, but at the same time he fully perceives that in order to his attaining so important an object, he must unite with the princes; by their piety religion must be upheld; only with their assistance could church discipline and morals be restored."[1] And so the pope charged the duke with the task of stimulating negligent bishops; of giving effect to the resolutions of a synod, that had been held in Salzburg, to urge the bishop at Ratisbon and his chapter to erect a seminary; in a word, he invested him with a kind of spiritual superintendence; he advised with him whether it were good to erect seminaries for the regular clergy, as there were seminaries for the secular priesthood. Into this the duke entered with great willingness. He only asked that now the bishops should not encroach too much on the princely prerogatives, whether those of ancient date or those more recently imparted, and that the clergy might be kept in discipline and subordination to

[1] Legatio Gregorii XIII. 1573. "S.S. in eam curam incumbit qua ecclesiastica disciplina jam ferme in Germania collapsa aliquo modo instauretur, quod cum antecessores sui aut neglexerint aut leviter attigerint, non tam bene quam par erat de republica christiana meritos esse animadvertit: adjungendos sibi ad tale tantumque opus catholicos principes sapientissime statuit."—[Embassy of Gregory XIII. 1573. His Holiness applies himself to this object of attention, how church discipline, now almost fallen to nothing in Germany, may be any how restored, by neglecting or carelessly attending to which, he remarks that his predecessors had not deserved so well of the Christian commonwealth as it was meet they should have done: he has most wisely resolved that for such and so great a work he should have the catholic princes conjoined with him.] The ambassador, Bartholom. Earl of Porzia, expressly engages; "Suam Sanctitatem nihil unquam prætermissuram esse quod est e re sua (ducis Bavariæ) aut filiorum."—[That his Holiness would never omit any thing that was to his (the duke of Bavaria's) advantage or that of his sons.]

their superiors. Edicts are to be met with, in which the prince considers the monasteries as exchequer property, and subjects them to a secular administration.

If the protestant principality assumed to itself ecclesiastical attributes in the course of the reformation, the same was now the case with the Roman catholic also. What with the former happened in opposition to the popedom, happened with the latter in union with that power. If the protestant princes placed their younger sons as extraordinary administrators in the neighbouring evangelical foundations, in those that remained Roman catholic the sons of Roman catholic princes were directly raised to the episcopal dignity. From the very first Gregory had promised to Duke Albert that he would neglect nothing that might seem for the best advantage of himself or his sons; we shortly see two of those sons in the possession of the most splendid benefices; one of them gradually rose to the highest dignity in the empire.[1]

But over and above all this, Bavaria, in consequence of the position it assumed, came to enjoy a high intrinsic importance. It fought out a great principle which rose even to fresh potency. The less powerful German princes of that persuasion, for a long period, looked upon Bavaria as their head.

For the duke, to the utmost extent in his power, zealously exerted himself in restoring the Roman catholic doctrines. Hardly had the county of Haag fallen into his hands when he caused the protestants, whom the last count had tolerated there, to be expelled, and the ritual and creed of Roman catholicism to be again introduced. The Margrave Philibert of Baden Baden having been left dead on the field of Moncontour, his son Philip, who was only ten years of age, was brought up, at Munich, under the guardianship of Albert, as a matter of course in the Roman catholic faith. Yet the duke did not wait for what the young

[1] Even Pius V. tempered the rigour of his principles with respect to the duke of Bavaria; Tiepolo: Relatione di Pio IV. e V. "D'altri principi secolari di Germania non si sa chi altro veramente sia cattolico che il duca di Baviera: però in gratificatione sua il pontefice ha concesso che il figliuolo, che di gran lunga non ha ancora l'età determinata dal concilio, habbia il vescovato Frisingense: cosa che non è da lui stata concessa ad altri."—[Of the other secular princes of Germany none was known to be truly catholic but the duke of Bavaria; therefore in order to gratify him the pontiff has granted permission for his son, who was far as yet from having attained the age fixed by the council, having the bishopric of Frisinge; a thing which he would not have conceded to another.]

duke might do on his coming himself to the government; he instantly dispatched Count Schwarzenberg, his chamberlain, and the Jesuit, George Schorich, who had already been labouring together at the work of conversion in Lower Bavaria, into the Baden territory, to employ the same measures to make it Roman catholic. True, the protestant inhabitants produced imperial orders in opposition to this; but no regard was paid to these; the plenipotentiaries went on, as the historian of the Jesuits expresses himself with delight, "to prepare the ears and minds of the multitude for the heavenly doctrine." That is, they removed the protestant preachers; they obliged those of the monks that had not remained quite orthodox to abjure doctrines of that description; they supplied both the higher and lower grades of schools with Roman catholic teachers, and banished the laity who would not go into their measures. In the course of two years, 1570 and 1571, the whole country was again made Roman catholic.[1]

While this was taking place in the secular territories, a like movement appeared, with a still more inevitable necessity, in the spiritual too.

The spiritual princes in Germany were at one time mostly all of them bishops, and the popes lost not a moment in giving effect in Germany, as well as elsewhere, to that augmented power over the bishopric which accrued to them from the Tridentine ordinances.

First of all Canisius was sent to the different spiritual courts with copies of the decrees of the council. He took them to Mainz, Treves, Cologne, Osnaburg and Würzburg.[2] The official honours with which he was received, he enlivened with a ready tact and activity. The matter then came to be discussed at the Diet held at Augsburg in 1566.

Pope Pius V. had dreaded that protestantism would here ad-

[1] Sacchinus pars III. lib. VI. n. 88, lib. VII. n. 67. Agricola I. IV. 17, 18. The pope gave due praise to the duke for this. "Mira perfunditur lætitia," it runs in that embassage, "cum audit ill. Ser^{tis} V^{ra} opera et industria marchionem Badensem in religione catholica educari, ad quod accedit cura ingens quam adhibuit in comitatu de Hag ut catholica fides, a qua turpiter defecerant, restituatur."—[He is marvellously delighted at hearing that by your illustrious Serenity's efforts and industry the margrave of Baden is educated in the catholic religion, to which must be added the immense care he has shown in the county of Hag, that the catholic faith, from which there had been a shameful revolt, might be restored.]

[2] Maderus de Vita P. Canisii lib. II. c. II. Sacchinus III. II. 22.

vance new demands and obtain new concessions. Already had he instructed his nuncio, in case of any pressing emergency, to step forward with a protest, which should threaten the emperor and the princes with deprivation of all their rights; nay, he thought that the moment for this was already come.[1] The nuncio, who had a nearer view of how the matter stood, did not deem this advisable. He saw that there was no longer any need to fear. The protestants were disunited; the Roman catholics held together. The latter often held meetings at the nuncio's, for the purpose of deliberating upon common measures; Canisius, irreproachable in point of character, orthodox in the highest degree, and shrewd, had an immense influence over them; no concession was to be thought of; on the contrary, the diet may rather be considered as the first in which the Roman catholic princes displayed an effective opposition. The pope's exhortations found a hearing; at a special meeting of the spiritual princes, the Tridentine decrees were provisionally accepted.

From this moment we may date the commencement of a new life in the Roman catholic church in Germany. These decrees came to be gradually published in provincial synods; seminaries were established at the episcopal sees; the first who gave effect to this arrangement, was, in so far as I can discover, the bishop of Eichstadt who founded the college of St. Wilibald;[2] the *professio fidei* was subscribed by high and low. It is a fact of the utmost importance that this was made imperative at the universities. This regulation had been suggested by Lainez and approved by the pope, and was now carried into operation in Germany mainly by the zeal of Canisius. Not only were no appointments to take place, no degrees were to be granted, not even in the faculty of medicine, without subscription to the *professio*. Dillingen, in so far as I can discover, was the first university where this was introduced; the rest followed by degrees. The strictest visitations of the churches commenced. The bishops, who had hitherto been very remiss, now showed zeal and devotion.

One of the most zealous of them unquestionably was James

[1] Catena: Vita di Pio V. p. 40, has an extract from the Instructions. Gratiani: Vita Commendoni lib. III. c. II.

[2] Falkenstein: Nordgauische Alterthümer, I. 222.

von Eltz, from 1567 to 1581, electoral prince of Treves. Brought up, moreover, in the ancient discipline of Louvain, he had long devoted literary efforts likewise to Roman catholicism, had himself compiled a martyrology and composed prayers for the hours, and, under his predecessor, had had the chief part in introducing the Jesuits into Treves. Now that he had come to the government himself, to these he even committed the visitation of his diocese. The very schoolmasters had to subscribe the *professio fidei;* among the clergy there was introduced strict discipline and subordination, in the methodical spirit of the Jesuits; the parish priest had to report once a month to the dean, and the dean at the end of every quarter to the archbishop; those who proved refractory were at once removed. One part of the regulations of the council of Trent was printed for the dioceses, and made known for every one's private consideration; with the view of removing all diversities of religious worship, a new church service was published. The spiritual jurisdiction obtained besides a new and strict constitution, by means in particular of Barth. Bodeghem of Delft. What seemed the archbishop's highest delight was to be informed who were returning again from protestantism. He never failed to administer the right of confirmation to such persons himself.[1]

But to this call of duty, arising from their office and their relation to Rome, there were now other motives to be added. The spiritual princes were, quite equally with the secular, open to the motives that urged these to bring back their provinces to their religion; nay, they felt the force of such motives in a still higher degree, inasmuch as a population having a leaning to protestantism, could not fail to present so much the more powerful an opposition to them on account of their sacerdotal character.

This important step in German history first meets us in that very city of Treves. There the archbishops were, like other spiritual lords, involved in controversies of old standing with their chief city. In the sixteenth century this was further conjoined with a protestant element; and the spiritual court in particular met with the most determined opposition. James von Eltz found himself compelled at last to lay formal siege to the city. He

[1] Browerus: Annales Trevirenses II. XXII. 25, is, generally speaking, our chief authority here.

came off victorious in arms; he then produced a judgment of the emperor's in his favour, and upon this compelled the citizens to secular and spiritual obedience.

Something else he further did which was followed by a general result. In 1572 he irrevocably excluded the protestants from his court. This was of great consequence, particularly for the nobility of the province, who had to look to the court for their success in life. All their prospects for the future were thus cut off; and too many may thus have been induced to go back to the old religion.

The neighbour of Treves, too, Daniel Brendal, electoral prince of Mainz, was a very decided Roman catholic. Against the general advice of those who were about him, he restored the procession of Corpus Christi day, and acted a part in it himself; never would he forget his Vespers; among the affairs that came before him he uniformly gave his first attention to the spiritual, and among his privy councillors showed himself most inclined to favour such as were the most zealous Roman catholics; the Jesuits speak highly of the favour they enjoyed at his hands; he even sent some pupils to the collegium Germanicum at Rome.[1] But he did not feel himself called upon to go such lengths as James von Eltz. His religious zeal was not without a certain tinge of irony. When he brought in the Jesuits, many of his landed proprietors made representations against that step; "how is it," said he, "that you bear with me who do not properly attend to my duties, yet wont tolerate people who discharge their duty so well?"[2] We are left in the dark as to the answer he may have returned to the Jesuits when they urged the complete extirpation of protestantism in the country. He continued at least to tolerate both Lutherans and Calvinists in the city and at court; in some quarters he even tolerated the evangelical ritual;[3] probably for this reason only, that he did not feel himself strong enough to suppress it. He took decisive measures however in some remote parts of his territory, where he was not threatened by any such powerful and warlike neighbours as the

[1] Serarius: Moguntiacarum rerum libri V., in the section upon Daniel, particularly cap. VIII. XI. XXII. XXIII.

[2] Valerandus Sartorius in Serarius, p. 921.

[3] Complaints of Robert Turner, who sought for a Boniface and found only "principem politicum"—[a political prince]. In Serarius, p. 947.

counts palatine on the Rhine. The restoration of Roman catholicism at Eichsfeld was his doing. There too protestantism had established itself by means of the favour of the nobility; it had likewise penetrated even into Heiligenstadt, under the eyes of the chapter which possessed the patronage of all the churches; there was a Lutheran preacher there; the communion was dispensed in both kinds; on one occasion no more than twelve respectable burgesses received the communion at Easter according to the Roman catholic usage.[1] At this very time, in the year 1574, the archbishop appeared in person at Eichsfeld, accompanied by two Jesuits, to hold a visitation of the churches. He did not proceed by external acts of power; yet the methods he adopted proved effectual. In Heiligenstadt he removed the protestant preacher and instituted instead a Jesuit college. He expelled no one from the council; but by means of a small addition to the oath of office, in virtue of which each of the lords of the council bound himself to obey his electoral Grace in spiritual and secular things, he prevented the entrance of any protestants for the future. The main affair after that, was his appointment of a decidedly Roman catholic high bailiff, Leopold von Stralendorf, who scrupled not, in the exercise of his own power, to enforce strictly the mild measures of his master, and in a consistent administration of twenty-six years, restored the Roman catholic doctrine to its ascendancy in town and country. Regardless of the opposition of the nobility, he expelled also the protestant preachers who were in the country, and put the pupils of the new Jesuit schools in their place.

Another spiritual prince in that quarter had already presented an example of this.

In the diocese of Fulda the evangelical worship had by this time been tolerated by six abbots, and the young abbot Balthasar von Dernbach, called Gravel, had engaged at his election in 1570, to allow matters to remain as they were. But whether it was that the favour shown him by the Romish court had enflamed his ambition, or that in the restoration of Roman catholicism he saw the means of augmenting his very insignificant power, or that his mind had really undergone a deep change of sentiment, he gradually showed himself not only averse to protestantism,

[1] Joh. Wolf: Geschichte u. Beschreibung von Heiligenstadt, p. 59.

but positively hostile to it. First, he sent for the Jesuits. He knew none of them; he had never seen a college; he was determined only by the common report, by the representations made to him by some students from the college at Treves, and probably by the recommendations of Daniel Brendel. The men of the order came with right good will; Mainz and Treves combined to form a settlement at Fulda: the abbot built a house and school, and appointed a pension for them; he himself, for as yet he was very unlearned, received instructions from them.[1]

In consequence of this, the abbot first of all came to be on a bad footing with his chapter, which in matters of that sort had something to say, and by no means approved of this application; but soon after he attacked the town also, having found a most desirable opportunity for doing so.

The minister of Fulda who had hitherto preached evangelical doctrine, had now relapsed into Roman catholicism, and again began to perform the baptismal service in Latin, and to dispense the Supper in one kind. The burgesses, long accustomed to the evangelical ritual, would not so willingly consent to this, and demanded the removal of the minister. As may be supposed, their representations were disregarded. Not only was the Roman catholic ritual strictly observed in the high church; the evangelical preachers were expelled by degrees from the other churches also, and Jesuits put in their place. The abbot soon changed his protestant councillors and public functionaries for Roman catholic ones.

It was in vain that the nobility made representations against this; these the abbot met with affected surprise; he hoped people did not pretend to prescribe to him how he ought to govern a country committed to him by God. Some powerful princes of the empire sent a deputation to him in order to induce him to put a stop to his innovations and to remove the Jesuits; but he was not to be moved from his purpose. Far from yielding, he already threatened the knighthood which claimed a kind of direct subordination to the empire, which would have been griev-

[1] Reiffenborg, Historia Societatis Jesu ad Rhenum inferiorem, I. VI. II., who at this place enlarges the notices of Sacchinus (III. VII. 68), from a tract composed for him by the Jesuit Feurer. On the protestant side, see complaints of the city of Fulda and of the nobility of that see, in Lehmann de pace religionis, II. IX. 257.

ously circumscribed had the spiritual sovereign ventured to extort religious obedience.

And so Roman catholicism, after being apparently vanquished, arose with renovated power in Germany.

Towards this motives the most manifold co-operated; religion and doctrine which again began to be diffused; ecclesiastical subordination renovated by the decrees of Trent; above all, motives of internal policy also, it being evident how much it enhanced a prince's power, to have his subjects of the same faith with himself. The ecclesiastical restoration, it is true, at first occupied individual points; still it presented a boundless prospect. It must have been of the utmost consequence in particular, that the procedure of the spiritual princes met with no effective opposition. An attempt had been made in the Augsburg peace, to give security to protestant flocks in the ecclesiastical territories, by a special imperial declaration; the spiritual princes now affected to know nothing of that declaration; at all events they troubled themselves little about it. The imperial power was not strong, not resolute enough to conceive, far less to give practical effect to a thorough-going determination to the contrary. Even at the meetings of the empire, there was neither energy nor unanimity enough, to make a stand upon it; the greatest changes took place without the smallest stir, without their being properly observed, without their being so much as objects of notice in books of history, just as if matters could not have been otherwise.

VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS IN THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE.

WHILE Roman catholic efforts were now so vigorously put forth in Germany, they appeared in the Netherlands and in France likewise, although indeed after a very different sort.

The fundamental difference lay in these countries being subject to strong central governments, which of themselves took part in every movement, conducted religious undertakings, and were directly affected by opposition on religious grounds.

The condition of things here is consequently marked by a greater unity; and enterprises have more connection and effect.

It is well known what a number of measures Philip II. adopted at the commencement of his government in the Netherlands, for

the purpose of reducing his subjects there to complete obedience. These measures, one after another, he had to relinquish; but he held with inexorable severity, to those which were directed to the maintenance of Roman catholicism and of religious unity.

By the erection of new archbishoprics and bishoprics, he completely altered the ecclesiastical constitution of the country; he allowed no remonstrance to disturb him in his course, no appeal to established rights which he thereby certainly violated.

These bishoprics had obtained an even double importance since the council of Trent had so expressly inculcated church discipline. After some brief hesitation Philip II. admitted the decrees of the council, and had them proclaimed in the Netherlands also. Social life, which had hitherto found means to exercise its movements without much restraint, was now to be watched with the keenest vigilance, and subjected with the utmost strictness to a form which it was engaged in the very act of throwing off.

To this there were now added the proclamations of punishment, so many of which had already appeared in the Netherlands under the previous government, and the zeal of the Inquisitors, stimulated from day to day by the new Roman tribunal.

The Netherlanders ceased not to urge the king to moderate his severity, and at times it looked as if he were disposed to do so: Count Egmont believed that he had received assurances to that effect at the period of his being in Spain. Nevertheless it was by this time what one could hardly expect. We have mentioned how much Philip II.'s sovereignty was based in all quarters on a spiritual principle; had he made concessions to the Netherlanders, these would have been demanded from him in Spain also, where he never could have granted them. Nor let us fail to acknowledge that he lay under a pressing necessity. Moreover these were the days in which the elevation of Pius V. to the popedom, and his first measures as pope, were infusing a new zeal into the whole of Roman catholic Christendom; Philip II. too, felt an unusual disposition to serve this pope, and gave an open ear to his exhortations. The attack of the Turks on Malta had just been repulsed, and the devotees, the enemies of the Netherlanders, might, as the prince of Orange suspected, have taken advantage of the impression produced by that victory, in

order to bring the king to some violent resolution.[1] Enough, towards the close of 1565, there followed an edict which surpassed all the preceding in severity.

The penal enactments, the decrees of the council, and of the provincial synods held since, were to be inviolably observed; the cognisance of ecclesiastical offences was to be committed to the Inquisitors alone. All subjects were enjoined to lend their aid towards this. A commissary was to be appointed for each of the provinces, who was to watch over the execution of this ordinance, and to report every three months on the subject.[2]

This, it is evident, must have led to the introduction of an ecclesiastical regimen, if not altogether like that of Spain, certainly like that of Italy.

The first result was that the people ran to arms, the image riots burst forth, and the whole country was in flames. A momentary crisis ensued when the government was even compelled to show a disposition to yield, but as usually happens, those acts of violence defeated their own object; moderate and peaceably disposed persons took alarm, and were induced to lend their aid to the administration; the governante triumphed; after she had taken possession of the insurgent districts, she already dared to venture on proposing an oath to the officials, nay, even to the king's vassals in general, by which they formally bound themselves to uphold the Roman catholic faith and to wage war with heretics.[3]

But to the king this did not yet seem to be enough. It was the unhappy moment when the catastrophe of his son Don Carlos occurred; never was he more severe, more unbending. Once more the pope admonished him to make no concession to the disadvantage of Roman catholicism, while the king assured his Holiness "that he would not suffer the root of a mischievous plant to remain in the Netherlands; he would either lose those provinces or maintain the integrity of the Roman catholic religion therein."[4] For the better accomplishment of his objects, after

[1] The prince suspected Granvelle. See his letter in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, I. 289.

[2] Strada according to a formula of 18th Dec. 1565, lib. IV. p. 94.

[3] Brandt: Histoire de la réformation des pays bas, I. 156.

[4] Cavalli Dispaccio di Spagna, 7 Aug. 1567. "Rispose il re, che quanto alle

the disturbances were composed, he further sent his best field officer, the duke of Alva, with a fine army, into the Netherlands.

Let us endeavour to comprehend the fundamental principles at least, to which Alva's procedure may be ascribed.

Alva was convinced that every thing might be set to rights in the case of a country agitated with violent and revolutionary movements, by getting rid of the chiefs. To the forbearance of Charles V. in sparing the enemies that fell into his hands, he ascribed that prince's having been, after so many and such important victories, as good as driven out of the German empire. Frequent references have been made to the alliance which was concluded in 1565, at the conference held in Bayonne between the French and the Spaniards, and to the measures that were discussed and determined upon there; and of all that has been said with regard to these, this only is certain, that the duke of Alva called upon the Queen of France, by any means whatsoever, to rid herself of the chiefs of the Huguenots. What he then advised, he now felt no hesitation in himself executing. Philip II. had given him some blank orders with the royal signature attached to them. The first use that he made of these was to arrest Egmont and Horn, whom he assumed to have been implicated in the previous movements. "Holy catholic Majesty," forms the beginning of the letter which he wrote on this subject to the king, and which seems to prove, notwithstanding, that he had received no positive orders to that effect, "after my arrival in Brussels, I made inquiries at the proper quarter, and thereupon assured myself of the count von Egmont, and ordered Count von Horn and some others to be apprehended."[1] Would the reader know on what account he condemned these prisoners

cose della religione S. Sta stasse di buon animo, che ovvero si han da perder tutti quei stati o che si conserverà in essi la vera cattolica religione, nè comporterà che vi rimanghi, per quanto potrà far lui, alcuna radice di mala pianta."—[Translated in the text.]

[1] Dispaccio di Cavalli, 16 Sett. The late governante complained to the Queen of the arrests. The king replied that he had not ordered them. In proof of this, he produced the letter from Alva, from which the passage containing the proof is hereupon communicated to us. It runs thus: "Sacra cattolica Maestà, da poi ch' io gionsi in Brusselles, pigliai le information da chi dovea delle cose di qua, onde poi mi son assicurato del conte di Agmon e fatto ritener il conte d'Orno con alquanti altri."—[Thus far is translated in the text; there follows a few words advising the king to apprehend Montigni (who was in Spain) and the groom of his chamber.] "Sarà ben che V. M. per bon rispetto ordini ancor lei che sia fatto 'istesso di Montigni (who was in Spain) e suo ajutanto di camera."—This was followed by Montigni's imprisonment.

to be executed the year thereafter? It was by no means from any proof of their guilt resulting from their being tried; they were blamed for having not prevented the movements, rather than for having caused them; so too it was not from any order on the part of the king, who on the contrary left it to the duke to carry the execution into effect or not, just as he might deem most serviceable; the real reason was as follows. A small protestant force had burst into the country, and although it had done nothing of much consequence, yet it had gained an advantage at Heiligerlee where a royal general of much repute, the duke of Arenberg, had been slain. In writing to the king, Alva now said: he had remarked that the people had been thrown into a ferment by this mischance and had become saucy; he had deemed it necessary to show the people that he was not afraid of them in any way; he had also wished to deprive them of any desire to effect the deliverance of the imprisoned by means of fresh disturbances; so he had come to the resolution of causing them forthwith to be executed. Accordingly, these noble persons were doomed to die, though their sole crime lay in defending the anciently acquired franchises of their fatherland, and though nothing could be discovered in them worthy of death; they fell a sacrifice rather to the momentary views of a perverse policy than to any principle of justice. At that very time Alva bethought him of Charles V., whose faults he did not wish to commit.[1]

We see that Alva was cruel on principle. Who could have found mercy at the hands of that terrible tribunal which he instituted, under the name of the council of disturbances? He governed the provinces by means of arrests and executions; he pulled down the houses of the condemned and confiscated their

[1] Cavalli communicates on the 3d of July this letter likewise in extracts. It is if possible still more remarkable than the above. "Capitò qui l'avviso della giustitia fatta in Fiandra contra di quelli poveri signori prigioni, intorno alla quale scrive il D. d'Alva, che havendo facoltà di S. M. di far tal executione o soprastare secondo che havesse riputato più espediente del suo servitio, che però vedendo li popoli un poco alterati et insuperbiti per la morte d'Arenberg e rotta di quelli Spagnoli, havea giudicato tempo opportuno e necessario per tal effetto per dimostar di non temer di loro in conto alcuno, e poner con questo terrore a molti levandoli la speranza di tumultuar per la loro liberatione, e fuggir di cascar nell'errore nel quale incorse l'imperatore Carlo, il qual per tener vivo Saxonia e Langravio diede occasione di nova congiura, per la quale S. M. fu cacciata con poca dignità della Germania e quasi dell'impero."—[The text being nearly an exact translation of the above, excepting the e. of Saxony and the Landgrave are expressly mentioned as having been foolishly spared by Charles, any farther translation seems needless.]

property. Nor did he forget political in pursuing ecclesiastical objects; the share in the government possessed from of old by the states, was now reduced to insignificance; the country was filled with Spanish soldiers, and a citadel was built for them in its most important commercial city. With an arbitrary obstinacy Alva insisted on the collection of the most hateful imposts; and in Spain, for he drew considerable sums from thence also, people wondered what he did with all the money. But true it is, the country was submissive; no malcontent dared to stir; every trace of protestantism disappeared; those who had been driven into the neighbouring districts, kept themselves quiet.

"Monsignor," said one of Philip II.'s privy councillors, during these events, to the papal nuncio, "are you now satisfied with the king's measures?" "Perfectly satisfied," replied the nuncio with a smile.

Alva himself thought he had succeeded in a master stroke, and it was not without a feeling of disdain that he contemplated the French government which never could obtain the mastery in its own territory.

Turning to France, we find that after that great rising of protestantism there which occurred in 1561, a powerful re-action against it appeared, chiefly in the metropolis.

What most damaged protestantism in France, was, without doubt, its forming so intimate an alliance with the factions of the court. For a long while the disposition to adopt its confession, seemed universal; but when its adherents, hurried along by their alliance with some of the grandees, ran to arms and perpetrated acts of violence, such as are always inseparable from war, they lost favour with public opinion. "What religion is this?" it was asked, "where has Christ commanded us to plunder our neighbours and to shed their blood?" When people were compelled at length to put themselves into a state of defence against the attacks of Conde, who appeared at the head of the Huguenots, all public proceedings assumed an anti-protestant colour. The population of the city capable of bearing arms, was organized as a military body; the officers entrusted with the command of it, had before all things to be Roman catholic. The members of the university, and of the parliament which included

the very numerous class of advocates, had to subscribe a confession of faith of a purely Roman catholic tenor.[1]

Under the influence of this tone of feeling the Jesuits established themselves in France. Their commencement was on rather a small scale; they had to content themselves with colleges in Billon and Tournon, opened for them by a few spiritual lords who revered them; but those were places far remote from the centre of the country where they never effected any thing of consequence. In the large towns, and particularly in Paris, they experienced at first the most determined opposition; from the Sorbonne, the parliament, the archbishop, who one and all dreaded being injured by the privileges and the spirit of the order. But as they conciliated the favour of zealous Roman catholics, and especially of the court, which then was always ready to commend them, "for their exemplary life, the purity of their doctrines, so that many who had departed from the faith, had by their means been brought back, and so that the east and west through their endeavours, owned the presence of the Lord;"[2] as the change in the general tone of feeling took this direction, they found admission at last, and succeeded in 1564, in obtaining the privilege of being allowed to teach. This had already

[1] It is easier to blame the proceedings of the French Reformed than to suggest better, which they who censure them uniformly decline. Their cause, like that of their co-religionists in England and Scotland and Holland, was that of constitutional liberty rather than of any faction. Toleration having been granted by the States General, the Crown, without any sanction from that higher authority, again and again abrogated the statutes of toleration. The real faction was that of the Guises, from whose oppression even Catherine herself on one occasion appealed to Condé. And as for public opinion, had it been either more enlightened or less intensely selfish in Paris, it would unquestionably have there, as elsewhere, favoured the Reformation on patriotic as well as religious grounds. But the Parliament there, a mere corporation of lawyers, was jealous of the States General, and wanted to supersede them as the guardian of the laws, and the Parisians preferred a despotism on the part of the church and crown united, which gave them a monopoly of civil and religious government, to a constitutional freedom and a Christian reformation that would have deprived them of that pride of place which has proved so detrimental ever since to the French provinces and to the country at large. The real faults of the French Reformed, and what eventually proved their ruin, was their being too content to have toleration for themselves, too little impressed with the importance of basing the constitution of the country on pure Christianity. Their loyalty to a crown, which was not loyal to Christ, was basely but naturally rewarded by unheard of treachery and persecution. All this appears very evident from the petitions and apologies of the French Reformed. Tr.

[2] In a manuscript of the Berlin Library, MSS. Gall. n. 75, there is to be found among other pieces the following: "Délibérations et consultations au Parlement de Paris touchant l'établissement des Jésuites en France,"—[containing in particular, the messages from the court in favour of the Jesuits:] "infracta et ferocia pectora," we find there, "gladio fidei acuto penetrarunt."—[They have pierced hard and ferocious hearts with the sword of the faith.]

been conceded to them at Lyons. Whether it were good fortune or desert, they were enabled directly to commence with some men of brilliant talents. The Huguenot preachers found an opponent in Edmund Augier, who had been born in France, but educated at Rome under Ignatius, and of whom the protestants themselves would say, that but for his Roman catholic trappings, there never would have been a greater orator; by his speaking and his writings he produced an extraordinary impression. At Lyons especially the Huguenots were completely vanquished; their preachers were expelled, their churches pulled down, their books committed to the flames; the Jesuits, on the contrary, had a splendid college erected for them in 1567. They had also a distinguished professor, Maldonat, whose Exposition of the Bible attracted and enchained the youth of the country in multitudes. And now from these central points they traversed the kingdom in all directions; they formed settlements in Toulouse and in Bourdeaux; in all quarters, wherever they appeared, there was an increase of Roman catholic communicants. Augier's catechism enjoyed uncommon popularity; 38,000 copies were sold within eight years, in Paris alone.[1]

It is very possible that this resumption of Roman catholic ideas, especially as it went to the greatest extent in the capital, also influenced the court. At least it secured for it one further support, when, in 1568, after having long wavered, it at last declared itself once more decidedly Roman catholic.

This arose especially from the fact that Catherine Medici, ever after her son's majority, had felt herself much stronger in the government than before, and no longer found it requisite as formerly to deal tenderly with the Huguenot grandees. Alva's example showed how much might be accomplished by a steady will; the pope, who was continually admonishing the court no longer to tolerate the impudent pretensions of the rebels to gather strength, or to connive at them a moment longer, followed up his admonitions at last with leave to alienate the possessions of the church, a source from which the exchequer was enriched to the amount of a million and a half livres.[2] And so Cather-

[1] These notices are to be found in Orlandinus and his continuators, Pars I. lib. VI. n. 30, II. IV. 84, III. III. 169, &c. Juvencius, V. 24, 769, gives us a biography of Augier.

[2] Catena: Vita di Pio V. p. 79.

ine Medici proposed to the French nobility, as the governante had done to the nobles of the Netherlands about a year before, an oath, by which they were to abjure every league that might be formed without the cognisance of the king;[1] she insisted on the removal of all magistrates in the towns that made themselves suspected of the new notions; she declared to Philip II. in Sept. 1563, that she would tolerate no religion but the Roman catholic.

This was a resolution, no attempt to enforce which in France could be made without recourse being had to arms. War instantly burst forth.

It was undertaken on the side of the Roman catholics with extraordinary enthusiasm. The king of Spain, at the pope's request, sent the French an auxiliary force of practised and well-commanded troops. Pius V. had collections made in the states of the church and subsidies brought in from the Italian princes; nay, he himself, the Holy Father, sent too, on his part, a small army across the Alps; the very army to which he gave the frightful injunction, to kill all the Huguenots that might fall into their hands, to grant no quarter.

The Huguenots also drew together; they too were full of religious zeal; in the papal soldiers they saw the host of antichrist, now rushing to attack them; they too gave no quarter; as little were they wanting in foreign aid; yet at Moncontour they were utterly defeated.

What was the joy with which Pius V. received the captured standards then sent to him, and hung them up in the church of St. Peter and St. John Lateran! He conceived the most sanguine hopes. Such were the precise circumstances under which he pronounced the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth. He once more flattered himself at times with the idea of an attempt upon England, which he was to conduct in person.

Matters, it must be allowed, did not now proceed thus far.

As it has often happened, an altered tone at this time manifested itself at the French court, and this change, which had its foundation in slight personal circumstances, produced a great alteration in concerns of the utmost importance.

The king was unwilling that his brother, the duke of Anjou,

[1] The oath is in Serranus, Comment. de statu religionis in regno Gall. III. 153.

who had commanded at Moncontour, should have all the honour of vanquishing the Huguenots and pacificating the kingdom. In this feeling he was strengthened by those around him; for they, too, were jealous of Anjou's circle. They dreaded lest political power should go hand in hand with the honour thus acquired. Not only were the advantages that had been gained followed up with the utmost dilatoriness; the strict Roman catholic party which rallied round Anjou, were soon opposed at court by another and a moderate one, which had adopted a directly contrary policy. It made peace with the Huguenots, and induced their leaders to come to the court. In 1569 the French, in alliance with the Spaniards and the pope, had endeavoured to subvert the queen of England; in the summer of 1572, we see them allied with that queen, for the purpose of wresting the Netherlands out of the hands of Spain.[1]

Meanwhile this was too sudden, and too little fore-prepared a revolution to last long. The most violent explosion followed, under which all things resumed at last their former course.

It is certainly true that Queen Catherine Medici, while she, not without a certain eagerness and warmth, entered into the policy and the plans of the dominant party, which so far at least, inasmuch as they seemed necessarily to promote the elevation of her youngest son, Alençon, to the throne of England, tended to advance her interests also, prepared notwithstanding all things beforehand for the execution of quite an opposite stroke. She did her utmost to prevail on the Huguenots to come to Paris; and numerous as they were, still they were surrounded and held fast there by a population far more numerous, having a military organization, and easily excited by fanaticism. Already had she plainly enough intimated to the pope beforehand what was her object in this. But had she still felt any hesitation, she must have been determined by the circumstances which at this moment intervened. The Huguenots had gained over the king himself; they seemed to overweigh and supplant the authority of the queen mother; and with her personal interests in this jeopardy, she cut short all delay. With that resistless and magical power which she exercised over her children, she roused all the latent

[1] There seems too much reason to believe that the latter alliance was only one of the many feints contrived to deceive the Reformed. Tr.

fanaticism of the king's character. It cost her but a word to arm the people; she spoke it out; each of the Huguenot chiefs was pointed out to his personal enemy. Catherine said she wanted only six men to be assassinated; with their deaths alone she charged her conscience; but about 50,000 were slain.[1]

And thus did the French out-do even the exploits of the Spaniards in the Netherlands. What the latter accomplished by degrees, with deliberate calculation and under the forms of law, the former effected in the heat of passion, dismissing all formalities, with the aid of fanaticised masses. The result was apparently the same. Not a single chief remained around whose name the dispersed Huguenots could rally; many fled; an immense number submitted; in one place after another people again attended mass; the voices of the preachers were silenced. Philip II. was delighted to see himself imitated and surpassed; he offered Charles IX. who now first had earned for himself the title of a most Christian king, the assistance of his arm, to complete this enterprise. Pope Gregory XIII. celebrated the great event by a solemn procession to the church of St. Louis. The Venetians, who seemed to have had no particular interest in the matter, in official letters directed to their ambassadors express their satisfaction "at this instance of God's favour."[2]

But can it indeed be possible that attempts of so bloody a kind should ever succeed? Do they not conflict with the deep mystery of human things, with those eternal principles in the order of the universe, which escape our grasp, yet exert an influence over our inmost souls, and are inviolable? Men may practise an illusion on themselves; but they cannot shake or weaken that law of the spiritual order of the world, on which their existence rests.[3] It governs with the necessity which regulates the course of the stars.

RESISTANCE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS, FRANCE, AND GERMANY.

MACCHIAVEL gives his prince this advice, to make the cruel-

[1] I may here refer, for brevity's sake, to my discourse on the St. Bartholomew massacre in the hist. polit. Zeitschrift, II. III.

[2] This singular unanimity in lauding one of the most barbarous massacres recorded in history, among parties who differed so much on other points, forms a striking comment on the unity of the Roman antichrist, while the no less unanimous indignation and sympathy of the Reformed and Protestant churches at the time, proves the essential unity of the Reformed at that period. TR.

[3] Say rather that men cannot nullify God's promises to his church. TR.

ties which he considers necessary follow each other in rapid succession, but afterwards gradually to allow mercy to succeed.

It seemed almost as if the Spaniards wished to give literal effect to this doctrine in the Netherlands. It appeared as if even they had at last discovered, that enough of goods had been confiscated, enough of heads struck off; that the time for mercy was come. In 1572, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, was convinced that the prince of Orange would obtain forgiveness, if he would ask it. The king received the Netherlands deputies who had come with a petition that he would repeal the impost of the tenth penny, with much good nature, and even thanked them for their endeavours; he had resolved to recall Alva and to send them a milder governor.

Already, however, it was too late. As a further consequence of the Gallo-Anglican alliance that had preceded the massacre, the insurrection burst forth.[1] Alva had flattered himself that he had fully attained his object; but the struggle now first properly began. Alva beat the enemy as often as he encountered him in the open field; on the contrary, in the towns of Holland and Zeeland, where the religious movement had taken the deepest hold of the people, and protestantism at the time had formed for itself the most vigorous organizations, he experienced a resistance which he found himself unable to overcome.

All things that could be applied to the support of life having been consumed in Haarlem to the very grass that grew between the stones, the inhabitants resolved nevertheless to burst through the ranks of their enemies with their wives and children; and although the dissensions of the garrison compelled them to accept of mercy, yet they had demonstrated that the Spaniards could be resisted. In Alkmaer the people resolved at first, on the spur of the moment, to attach themselves to the princes of Orange, when the enemy was already at their gates; the defence they made was as heroic as their resolution; none stirred from the place, unless he had been severely wounded; before those walls the attacks of the Spaniards first utterly failed. The land had a breathing time; fresh courage was infused into men's minds. The citizens of Leyden declared that before they would

[1] This is quite possible even although France had been insincere in that alliance. Tr.

surrender, they would eat off their left arms in order that meanwhile they might defend themselves with their right. They conceived the bold design of calling to their assistance against the besiegers the waves of the north sea, and opening their sluices. Already had their distress reached the utmost extremity, when a north-west wind, springing up just at the fitting moment, covered the land with the sea a few feet in depth and expelled the foe.[1]

Then, too, the French protestants recovered their courage. As soon as they perceived that their government, notwithstanding that barbarous onslaught (of St. Bartholomew's eve), wavered, procrastinated, and adopted contradictory measures, they resolved to defend themselves and war broke out anew. Sancerre and Rochelle defended themselves as Leyden and Alkmaer had done. The voice of the preacher of peace now called men to arms. Women fought along with men in the strife. It was the heroic age of western European protestantism.

All the atrocities committed or approved by the most powerful princes, encountered at nameless individual points an opposition which no authority was found powerful enough to repress, and whose mysterious origin can only be traced to profound religious conviction.

And now it cannot be our purpose here to review the course and alternations of the war in France and the Netherlands; this would remove us too far from our main object. Besides, the details may be found in many other books; enough, the protestants maintained their ground.

In France the government had, as early as 1573, and in the years following, repeatedly to conclude pacifications by which the old concessions to the Huguenots were renewed.

In the Netherlands we find the power of the civil government absolutely annihilated in 1576. In consequence of the Spanish troops, which had not received their pay, being in open insurrection, all the provinces had combined against them, those that stood true to the crown as well as those that had revolted, such as were for the most part Roman catholic as well as those that were altogether protestant. The states-general took the government into their own hands, appointed captains, general-gover-

[1] Allowing assistance and provisions at the same time to be brought in boats. Tr.

nors, and magistrates, and filled the fortified places with their own, not with the king's troops.[1] The league of Ghent was concluded, in which the provinces came under a mutual obligation to expel the Spaniards and to keep them at a distance. The king sent over his brother, who might be considered as a fellow-countryman and a Netherlander, to govern them as Charles V. had done. But Don John was not even acknowledged until he engaged to comply with the chief demands that were proposed to him; he had to accept of the pacification of Ghent, and to dismiss the Spanish troops; and hardly did he stir from the constrained position into which he had been forced, when all rose against him. He was declared to be an enemy to the country, and the chiefs of the provinces called for another prince of the family to take his place.

The principle of local government now obtained the ascendancy over the monarchical; the national came off victorious in its struggle with the Spanish.

Still further consequences necessarily followed. The northern provinces which had conducted the war, and thereby made this state of things possible, naturally obtained a preponderance in the concerns of the war and the civil administration; but from this it plainly followed that the reformed religion diffused itself over the whole of the Netherlands. It penetrated into Mechlin, Bruges and Ypres; in Antwerp the churches were already distributed according to the confessions, and the Roman catholics had at times to be content with the chancels of the churches which they just completely possessed; in Ghent the leaning towards protestantism mingled with a municipal movement and maintained a complete preponderance. In the pacification, the old condition of the Roman catholic church was on the whole guaranteed; the states-general now issued an edict on the subject of religion, which secured equal freedom to both confessions. Every where after that, even in the provinces that were chiefly Roman catholic, the protestant agitation advanced; and it was to be expected that protestantism would carry the day universally.

What a position did the prince of Orange now occupy; shortly before this he was an exile and much in need of mercy, now in

[1] This turn of affairs is rendered particularly evident in Tassis III. 15—19.

possession of a well-founded authority in the northern provinces, ruwart[1] in Brabant, and all powerful in the assemblies of the estates; owned as chief and leader by a great ecclesiastico-political party which was felt to be making progress; closely allied with all the protestants in Europe, but first of all with his neighbours, the Germans.

For in Germany, too, the attacks of the Roman catholics encountered a resistance on the side of the protestants, which ever continued to present great prospects.

We find this resistance manifested in general negotiations, at the meetings of the electors, and at the imperial diets, albeit that here, as might be expected from the nature of German affairs, it produced no adequate results. In the main, it threw itself, as did the attack which it opposed, into the individual territories, the different provinces of Germany.

It now appeared, as we have seen, in the spiritual provinces chiefly. There was hardly one of these the prince of which had not made an attempt to restore the Roman catholic principle to its former ascendancy. Protestantism, still conscious of its strength, met this with an attempt, unfolding no less extensive prospects, to make itself master of the spiritual principality itself.

In 1577, Gebhard Truchsess was advanced to the archi-episcopal see of Cologne. This was mainly to be ascribed to the personal influence of Count Nuenar with the chapter, and very well did that great protestant know who it was that he recommended for promotion to that dignity. In fact, there was no previous necessity, such as has been alleged, for Gebhard's acquaintance with Agnes von Mansfeld, in order to give him an anti-Roman catholic leaning. On the occasion of his solemn entrance into Cologne, when the clergy went out in procession to meet him, he did not dismount from his horse, according to custom, in order to kiss the cross; at church he appeared in a military coat; he had no wish to celebrate high mass. From the very first he attached himself to the prince of Orange; his chief councillors were Calvinists;[2] and as he now had no scruples about entering into mortgages, in order to raise troops, as he sought to assure himself of the attachment of the nobility, and

[1] Governor or Sheriff. Tr.

[2] Maffei: Annali di Gregorio XIII. tom. I. p. 331.

gave his favour likewise to a party among the incorporated trades of Cologne, which began to oppose Roman catholic usages, every thing seemed to indicate the purpose which he subsequently avowed, of converting the spiritual into a secular principality.

Gebhard Truchsess was up to this time, still outwardly at least, Roman catholic. The adjacent bishoprics on the other hand, in Westphalia and Lower Saxony, as we have already remarked, lay directly in protestant hands. The rise of Duke Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg was of special consequence. As yet in very early life, and although a good Lutheran, he was called to the archbishopric of Bremen, after that to the bishopric of Osnaburg, and in 1557, also, to the bishopric of Paderborn.[1] Already he had a large party even in Munster, including all the young members of the chapter, on his side, and his further aggrandizement was prevented only by a direct interference on the part of Gregory XIII. who declared a demission that had already taken place, to be null and void, and by the earnest opposition of the strict Roman catholics. But it must be added that people could not carry through the induction of another bishop there.

It is easily seen what a start protestant views must have taken in Rhenish-Westphalia with this disposition prevailing among the spiritual chiefs, having besides been extensively diffused there. All that was wanted was a happy combination, a well-directed stroke, to obtain for them a decided preponderance.

Nay, this must have wrought a great re-action on the whole of Germany. What had taken place in the bishoprics of Lower Germany, was equally possible in all respects in regard to those of Upper Germany too; still, even within the territories where the restoration had commenced, opposition was far from being extinct.

How keenly was it felt by that Balthasar, abbot of Fulda, whom we have mentioned! When the intercession of the neighbouring princes and the complaints of the diet availed nothing, when the abbot, regardless of all other considerations, was advancing with his restoration of the faith, and went about from place to place to carry it into effect, one day in the summer of 1576, happening to be for that very purpose in Hamelburg, he

[1] Hamelmann: Oldenburgisches Chronicon S. 436.

was assaulted by his nobility with arms in their hands, imprisoned in his own house, and as all were incensed against him, as the neighbours looked on with satisfaction, and as the bishop of Würzburg himself offered to assist, was compelled to abdicate the government of the country.[1]

In Bavaria, too, Duke Albert did not immediately attain his object in all quarters. He complained to the pope that his nobility preferred renouncing the sacrament altogether, to receiving it in one kind.

And of still more consequence was it, that protestantism in the Austrian territories was constantly advancing to legal power and recognition. Under the considerate guidance of Maximilian II. it not only, as has been stated, acquired a firm footing in Austria proper; above and below the Ens, it came to be diffused likewise through all the other territories. Hardly had this emperor, for example, redeemed the county of Glatz from its mortgagees, the dukes of Bavaria, (in 1567) than there, too, the nobility, public functionaries, cities, and at last the greater part of the people, passed over to the evangelical profession; Henry von Pubschütz, the captain general, established for himself with his own hand a protestant consistory, with which he often went farther than the emperor could have wished. The estates also gradually acquired here a high degree of autonomy; for, indeed, it was then, in general, the most prosperous epoch of the county, mining was in a thriving state, the towns were rich and respectable, the nobility accomplished; waste lands were cultivated in all quarters and studded with villages.[2] The church at Albendorf, which is to this day resorted to by multitudes of pilgrims, flocking thither to kiss an ancient statue of "the mother of god," was for sixty years during that period in the hands of protestant pastors;[3] in the capital, some decades of years afterwards, there

[1] Schannat: Historia Fuldensis pars III. p. 268. The Abbot's letter to Pope Gregory of 1st. August 1576, quoted there from the Archives of the Vatican, is particularly remarkable. Speaking of the threats of his enemies, he says: "Clamantes, nisi consentiam, ut administratio ditionis meæ episcopo tradatur, non aliter se me ac canem rabidum interfecturos, tum Saxoniæ et Hassiæ principes in meum gregem immissuros."—[Calling out that if I would not consent to the administration of my jurisdiction being handed over to the bishop, they would slay me as they would a mad dog, and then turn the princes of Saxony and Hesse upon my flock.]

[2] See Joseph Kögler's Chronicles of Glatz. Band I. heft 2, p. 72. The author was a Roman catholic parish priest, his work is very substantial and useful.

[3] From 1563 to 1623. See description of Albendorf, accompanied with documents (an earlier printed fragment of that Chronicle) p. 36.

were reckoned only nine Roman catholic, and on the other hand three hundred evangelical burgesses. This fully accounts for Pope Pius V. conceiving such an unutterable dislike to the emperor. On one occasion, the war in which the latter was engaged against the Turks happening to be spoken of, he said at once, that really he did not know which side he could wish to see victorious.[1] But under these circumstances protestantism advanced uninterruptedly into the inner-Austrian territories, which were not immediately subject to the emperor's commands. In 1568 twenty-four evangelical pastors were already to be found in Krain, and in 1571, there was but one Roman catholic councillor in the chief town of Steiermark. Not that that profession of faith found any support from the sovereign of the country, the archduke Charles; for that prince was much more favourable to the introduction of the Jesuits, and promoted them as far as he could; but the estates were protestant in their views.[2] They could carry matters their own way at the diets, where affairs of administration, and measures for the defence of the country, were taken into consideration along with religious affairs; they took care that all their concessions to the government should be compensated by religious concessions to them. In 1578, at the diet held at Bruck on the Muhr, the duke had to consent to the free use of the Augsburg confession, not only in the territories of the nobility and the landed proprietors, where besides he had no power to prevent it, but also in the four chief towns, Gratz, Judenburg, Klagenfurt, and Laybach.[3] Thereupon protestantism organized itself in these as well as the imperial territories. A protestant ecclesiastical administration (kirchen-ministerium) was instituted; a regular system of churches and schools was adopted after the model of that of Würtemberg; here and there as, for instance, at St. Veit, Roman catholics were excluded from

[1] Tiepolo. Relatione di Pio IV. e V. He adds: "In proposito della morte del principe di Spagna apertamente disse il papa haverla sentita con grandissimo dispiacere, perchè non vorria che li stati del re cattolico capitassero in mano de' Tedeschi."—[In speaking of the death of the prince of Spain, the pope openly said that he had felt it with the utmost pain, for he had no wish that the states of the catholic king should fall into the hands of the Germans.]

[2] Socher: Historia societatis Jesu provinciæ Austriæ, I. IV. 166, 184, V. 33.

[3] Supplication an die Rom. Kais. Maj. umb Intercession der dreien Fursten-thümer und Land, in Lehmann's de pace religionis, p. 461, a document which rectifies the representation given by Khevenhiller in Ann. Ferdinandei I. 6.

the municipal elections;[1] they were no longer admitted into the public offices of the province. Such were the circumstances, under whose favourable influence protestant sentiments first properly obtained the ascendancy in those regions so near Italy. Here a firm resistance was opposed to the impulse given by the Jesuits.

In all the Austrian provinces, whether the inhabitants spoke German, Sclavonic, or Hungarian, with the single exception of the Tyrol, protestantism may be regarded, in the year 1578, as still constantly predominating.

It is evident in short, that throughout all Germany, it met the advance of Roman catholicism with a successful resistance and a counter advance of its own.

ANTAGONIST PRINCIPLES IN THE REST OF EUROPE.

THIS was indeed a remarkable epoch, in which the two grand religious tendencies once more began to arouse themselves against each other, equally with the prospect of acquiring the ascendancy, the one over the other.

Already there was an essential alteration in the state of things as compared with what they had been some time before. At an earlier period there were attempts at mutual accommodation; a reconciliation was tried in Germany; the way was opened for it in France; it was called for in the Netherlands; it seemed for a long time to be feasible; here and there toleration was practised. But now the antagonist principles encountered each other with a more intense hostility. Throughout all Europe they, so to speak, challenged each other to the conflict. It is well worth our while to take a survey of the state into which things had been brought in the years 1578 and 1579.

Let us commence in the East with Poland.

The Jesuits had found their way into Poland also; the bishops there had endeavoured by means of them to strengthen themselves. Cardinal Hosius, bishop of Ermeland, founded a college for them at Braunsberg in 1569; they formed settlements also in Pultusk and in Posen with the aid of the bishop. It was of special importance to Bishop Valerian of Wilna, to anticipate the Lutherans of Lithuania, who wanted to found a university on

[1] Hermann in der Kärntnerischen Zeitschrift, V. p. 189.

their own principles, by establishing a Jesuit institution at his episcopal seat. At this time he was old and frail, and wished that his last days should be signalized with this meritorious work. The first members of the society arrived in 1570.[1]

Here too the consequence of these efforts was no more at first than that the protestants took measures for preserving their power. At the convocation-diet of 1573, they carried a law, by virtue of which no one was to be insulted or injured on account of his religion;[2] the bishops had to accommodate themselves to it; the example of the disturbances in the Netherlands was adduced to convince them how dangerous it would be to refuse it; it was to be sworn to by the kings of Poland in all time coming. In 1579 the payment of tithes to the clergy was totally suspended, and the nuncio would have it that by that alone 1200 parish priests were ruined. Just at that time a high court of justice was constituted, consisting partly of laymen, partly of clergymen, which was also to determine all ecclesiastical disputes. People in Rome were astonished at the Polish clergy submitting to this.

Not less than in Poland did the antagonist principles enter upon the scene in Sweden, and here, indeed, in the most peculiar manner. They directly affected the person of the prince, for that became an object of contention between them.

All the sons of Gustavus Wasa, "the brood of King Gustavus," as the Swedes said, were characterized by a singular mixture of depth of thought and wilfulness; of religion and violence of temper.

The most learned among them was John, who held a middle place in the family. Having been married to a Roman catholic princess, Catherine of Poland, who shared with him his imprisonment, and in whose circumscribed solitude he often received the consolations of a Roman catholic priest, he could not fail to take a special interest in the religious controversies of the day. He studied the fathers of the church with the view of acquiring an idea of its original condition; he liked the books that treated of the possibility of a religious union; he deeply pondered the

[1] Sacchinus: Historia societatis Jesu, pars II. lib. VIII. 114. Pars III. lib. I. 112. lib. VI. 103—108.

[2] Fredro: Henricus I. rex Polonorum, p. 114.

questions which the subject involved. On coming to the throne he in fact advanced some steps nearer to the church of Rome. He published a liturgy formed on the model of the Tridentine, in which the Swedish divines were amazed to perceive not only some of the usages, but some also of the distinguishing doctrines of the Romish church.[1] As the mediation of the pope, both with the Roman catholic powers in general in so far as respected his Russian war, and particularly with Spain in the matters relating to the maternal inheritance of his wife, might prove very useful, he felt no scruple in sending one of the grandees of his kingdom as ambassador to Rome. Secretly he even allowed a few Jesuit missionaries to come from the Netherlands to Stockholm, and committed an important educational institution to their charge.

This was a symptom which naturally gave rise to the most brilliant hopes at Rome; Anthony Possevin, one of the most adroit of the members of the company of Jesus, was selected for the purpose of making a serious attempt to convert King John.

Possevin appeared in Sweden in 1578. The king was not inclined to yield on all points. He required that the priests should be allowed to marry, that the cup should be given to the laity in the sacrament, that mass should be said in the vernacular tongue, renunciation by the church of confiscated church property and similar things. Possevin had no powers to make any concessions on these points; he only engaged to communicate the king's demands to the papal see, and hastened to the dogmatical questions in dispute. Here he was much more successful. After a few conferences and some time allowed to think upon the subject, the king said he had made up his mind to subscribe to the *professio fidei* according to the formula of the Tridentine confession. He did in fact subscribe to it; he confessed; once more Possevin inquired whether with respect to the communion under one kind he submitted to the judgment of the pope; John declared that he did so, whereupon Possevin solemnly granted him absolution. It seemed almost as if that absolution had been the grand object which the king felt he needed and which he longed to enjoy. He had caused his brother to be

[1] In the Judicium prædicatorum Holmenss. de publicata liturgia, in Baaz's Inventarium ecclesiarum Suegoth. p. 393, they are all to be seen.

assassinated, with the previous approval, it is true, of his estates, still it was an assassination, and that in the most frightful form! The absolution he received seemed to give peace to his soul. Possevin called aloud to God, beseeching him that he would quite convert the heart of this prince. The king rose and threw his arms around his confessor; "as I," he exclaimed, "now embrace you, so do I for ever embrace the Romish faith." He then received the supper according to the Roman catholic ritual.

After having thus succeeded in his object, Possevin hastened back; he communicated his news to the pope, and, under the seal of secrecy, to the most powerful Roman catholic princes; all that now remained was that the king's demands on which he made the restoration of Roman catholicism in his kingdom generally to depend, should be taken into consideration. Possevin was a very clever person, gifted with persuasive powers, and with much talent for negotiation; but he had too easily allowed himself to believe that his object was gained. According to his representation of matters, Pope Gregory, instead of deeming it necessary to make any concession, rather insisted that the king should come over frankly and unconditionally. He gave the Jesuit therefore, when proceeding on his second journey to Sweden, letters drawn up to that effect, and indulgences for all who should return to the Romish faith.

But the opposite party meanwhile was on the alert; warning letters were addressed to the protestant princes, for the news had instantly spread through all Europe; Chytræus dedicated to the king his work on the Confession of Augsburg; and made a certain impression by doing so on men of rank and learning. The protestants kept their eyes fixed upon him.

Possevin now arrived; no more, as on the previous occasion, in a civic dress, but in the usual attire of his order, and with a load of Roman catholic books. This appearance of his, of itself, made no favourable impression. He even hesitated for a moment to produce the papal answer; but at length finding longer delay impossible, in an audience, which lasted for two hours, he opened it to the king. Who shall attempt to scan the secrets of a soul in itself wavering and unsettled? The prince's self-respect might have felt offended at so flat a refusal of his requirements; he was convinced, too, that nothing could be at-

tained in Sweden without the concessions that were refused; and he had no idea of resigning his crown on account of his religion. Enough, that audience was decisive. From that very hour the king showed the pope's ambassador disfavour and displeasure. He insisted that the Jesuits who were employed as teachers at the school, should take the communion under both kinds; that mass should be celebrated in Swedish; and when they would not obey him, as, indeed, they could not, he refused to provide for them as he had hitherto done. When they left Stockholm soon after, it was undoubtedly not solely owing, as they may have pretended, to the plague being there. The protestant grandees, the king's younger brother, the earl of Sudermanland, who inclined to Calvinism, and the Lubeck ambassadors, neglected not to fan the flame of this growing disgust. In the queen alone, and after her death, in the next successor to the throne, did the Roman catholics preserve any stay that they could lean upon, any hope that they could cherish. For the time immediately before them the civil government in Sweden remained essentially protestant.[1]

In England this came to be more and more the case under Queen Elizabeth. But here there were points of attack of a different kind; the kingdom was filled with Roman catholics. Not only did the Irish population hold fast by the old faith and ritual; in England itself, half of the nation perhaps, if not, as has been maintained, even more, were attached to them. It must ever be thought strange that the English Roman catholics, for the first fifteen years at least of Elizabeth's reign, submitted to the protestant laws of that monarch. They took the oath required from them although it ran directly counter to the papal authority; they attended the protestant churches, and deemed it quite enough if in going and returning they kept together and avoided the company of protestants.[2]

[1] In all that I have related here I confine myself to those statements by the Jesuits, which in so far as I can find, have been neglected hitherto, as they may be read at full length in Sacchinus: Hist. societatis Jesu Pars IV. lib. VI. n. 64—76, and lib. VII. n. 83—111. I should like to know if the continuation of Theiner's Sweden and its position with respect to the Holy See, will really communicate any new facts worth notice; as yet it is a work so full of coarse invective as to excite compassion rather than attention. "It is to be hoped that they know not what they do."

[2] "Relatione del presente stato d'Inghilterra, cavata da una lettera scritta di Londra etc. Roma 1590,"—[Account of the present state of England, taken from a letter written from London, etc. Rome, 1590,] (a printed pamphlet), closely agrees on this head with a passage in Ribadeneira de schismate, which Hallam has already

Meanwhile people at Rome considered themselves sure of their being true to their church at heart. The idea prevailed that an opportunity, some small advantage only, was wanted, in order to enflame the whole Roman catholics of the country to resistance. Already had Pius V. expressed a desire to shed his blood in an attempt upon England. Gregory XIII., who never relinquished the idea of such an enterprise, thought to take advantage of the military ardour and elevated position of Don John of Austria in accomplishing it; and expressly for this purpose he despatched his nuncio Sega, then with Don John in the Netherlands, to Spain, in order to gain the concurrence of Philip II.

Notwithstanding this, at one time from the king's dislike to his brother's ambitious views and new political developments, at another from other hindrances, these extensive projects misgave. People had to be content with less magnificent attempts.

Pope Gregory first turned his regards to Ireland. It was represented to him that there was no more strict or more immovably Roman catholic nation than the Irish; but that they were maltreated by the English in the most arbitrary and violent manner, plundered, disunited, wilfully kept in barbarism, and coerced in their religious convictions, and accordingly they were at all times ready for war; all that was needed was but to assist them with a small military force; with 5000 men Ireland might be conquered; it had not a single fortress that could hold out above four days.[1] Pope Gregory was convinced without much

quoted (see the constitutional history of England, I. p. 162) and it is unquestionably the source whence it was taken. "Si permettevano giuramenti impii contra l'autorità della sede apostolica, e questo con poco o nissun scrupulo di conscienza. Allora tutti andavano communemente alle sinagoghe degli eretici et alle prediche loro menandovi li figli et famiglie; - - si teneva allora per segno distintivo sufficiente venire alle chiese prima degli eretici e non partissi in compagnia loro."—[They have allowed themselves to take impious oaths against the authority of the apostolic see, and that with little or no scruple of conscience. Then all have gone commonly to the synagogues of the heretics and to their preachings, taking their children and families with them there; - - it is held to be a sufficiently distinctive sign that they come to church before the heretics, and do not go away in company with them.]

[1] "Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda e della gente che bisogneria per conquistarlo, fatto a Gregorio XIII."—[Discourse on the kingdom of Ireland and the troops required for its conquest, written for Gregory XIII.] See Fugger MS. in the Vienna library. The Queen's government is declared to be a tyranny; "lasciando il governo a ministri Inglesi, i quali per arrichire se stessi usavano tutta l'arte della tirannide in quel regno, come trasportando le commodità del paese in Inghilterra, tassando il popolo contra le leggi e privilegi antichi, e mantenendo guerra e fattioni tra i paesani - - non volendo gli Inglesi che gli habitanti imparassero la differenza fra il viver libero e la servitù."—[leaving the government to English ministers, who in order to enrich themselves employ all the arts of tyranny in that kingdom, such as exporting the commodities of the country into England, taxing the people against

difficulty. There was then living at Rome an English refugee, called Thomas Stuckley, an adventurer by nature, but who possessed the art in a high degree of procuring introductions and acquiring confidence; the pope appointed him his chamberlain, made him marquis of Leinster, and laid out 40,000 scudi in furnishing him with a ship and troops. He was to have formed a junction on the French coast with a small force which Geraldine, an Irish refugee, had collected there, also by means of assistance from the pope. King Philip, who had no inclination for war, and yet was willing enough to see Elizabeth's hands occupied at home, contributed some money towards its success.[1] But Stuckley in a most unexpected manner suffered himself to be persuaded to take part with the troops destined for Ireland in King Sebastian's expedition to Africa, in which he himself was killed. Geraldine had to try his fortune alone; he landed in June 1579 and made in reality some progress. He captured the forts commanding the harbour of Smerwich; the Earl of Desmond had already revolted against the Queen; a general movement took place through the island. But this was soon followed by repeated ill-success; and worst of all, Geraldine himself was slain in a skirmish. Upon this the Earl of Desmond could no longer hold out. The papal aid proved inadequate to its object; the money that had been reckoned upon, never came. The English accordingly came off victorious. They punished the insurrection with the most frightful cruelty; men and women were thrust together into barns and burnt to death, children were strangled; the whole of Munster was devastated; the English colonies advanced to occupy the country after being thus reduced to a desert.

If Roman catholicism was ever to effect any thing in that kingdom, the experiment had necessarily to be made in England itself; and that, it must be confessed, could be done only under

the ancient laws and privileges, and keeping up wars and factions among the country people, - - the English having no wish that the inhabitants should learn the difference between living free and servitude.]

[1] According to the Nuncio Sega in his Relatione compendiosa (MS. in Berlin Library) 20,000 scudi; "altre mercedi fece fare al barone d'Acres, al signor Carlo Buono et altri nobili Inglesi che si trovavano in Madrid, ch'egli spinse andare a questa impresa insieme col vescovo Lionese d'Irlanda."—[He caused other rewards to be made to Baron Dacres, Lord Charles Buono and other English noblemen at Madrid, whom he urged to go on this expedition together with Bishop Lionese of Ireland.]

an alteration in the subsisting relations of Europe. But in order that as matters stood the Roman catholic population might not be completely revolutionized; in order that it might still be found Roman catholic, spiritual means had necessarily to be brought to bear upon it.

William Allen first formed the idea of collecting into one body those English youths of the Roman catholic confession who, in the pursuit of their studies, lived on the continent; it was particularly with the support he received from Pope Gregory that he succeeded in procuring for them the establishment of a college at Douay. This, however, did not strike the pope as sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case. He wished to procure for these refugees a quieter and less dangerous situation under his own eyes, Douay at that time lying in the Netherlands, then so much disturbed; so he founded an English college at Rome, bestowed a rich abbacy upon it, and committed it, in 1579, to the Jesuits.[1]

Now no one was admitted at this college who did not come under an obligation to return to England at the completion of his studies, there to preach the creed of the Romish church. For this alone were the pupils prepared. In the religious enthusiasm to which they were stimulated by the spiritual exercises of Ignatius, the missionaries that had been sent over of old by Pope Gregory the Great to convert the Anglo-Saxons, were presented to them as their example.

Attempts of this kind were made forthwith by some of the older students. In 1580, two English Jesuits, Person and Campian, went over to their native country. Subjected to incessant persecution and obliged to pass under feigned names and another dress, they reached the metropolis and traversed, the one the northern, the other the southern provinces. They confined themselves for the most part to the houses of the Roman catholic lords. Their arrival was announced beforehand; yet the precaution was adopted of always meeting them at the door as strangers. Meanwhile a domestic chapel was already fitted up in the most retired part of the house; to the which they were conducted, and there the members of the family were convened

[1] We may here compare the account given by the Jesuits in Sacchinus, Pars IV. lib. VI. 6, lib. VII. 10—30, with Camden's statements: Rerum Britannic. tom. I. p. 315.

and received their blessing. The missionary generally remained only a single night. In the evening there were preparatory exercises and confession; next morning mass was said and the Lord's supper dispensed; this was followed by preaching. All who still kept by the Roman catholic confession attended, sometimes amounting to a great number. The religion which had prevailed in the island for 900 years, was again proclaimed with the charm of mystery and novelty. Synods were held in secret; a printing press was set up first in a village near London; then in a lonely house in a neighbouring wood. Roman catholic writings suddenly re-appeared, written with all the tact that could be derived from continual practice in controversy, often not without elegance; and the impression they produced was so much the greater, the more inexplicable their origin. This was immediately followed by the Roman catholics ceasing to attend the protestant service and to observe the spiritual laws of the queen; while, on the other side, the doctrines of Rome were controverted with much more warmth, and persecution became more oppressive and severe.[1]

Universally, wherever the principle of the Roman catholic restoration had not strength enough to acquire the ascendancy, it at least urged its opposition with more keenness and implacability.

This might be observed in Switzerland also, though each of the cantons there had long ere now possessed a religious autonomy, and though the dissensions which had broken out from time to time on the concerns of the league and the interpretation of the religious articles agreed to as the basis of the public peace,[2] had been pretty well settled.

But now the Jesuits insinuated themselves here also. They came to Lucerne in 1574, at the instance of one of the commanding officers of the Swiss guard in Rome, and found, particularly in the Pfyffer family, sympathy and support.[3] Lewis

[1] From Sacchinus Campiani Vita et martyrium. Ingolstadt, 1584.

[2] The most important undoubtedly was that relating to the destiny of the evangelical party formed in Locarno, an authentic report upon which was made by F. Meyer in 1836. The protestant cantons agreed in 1555, to accept of that interpretation of the contested article, and yielded to the evangelical inhabitants being compelled to leave their native land. They had completely disappeared there first about the year 1580.

[3] Agricola, 177.

Pfyffer of himself gave probably 30,000 gulden to the establishment of the Jesuit college; Philip II. and the Guises are said to have contributed something; here too Gregory XIII. was not found wanting; he furnished the means for procuring a library. The citizens of Lucerne were extremely gratified. In a letter which they wrote for the purpose to the general of the order, they besought him never more to deprive them of the fathers of the society who had already arrived; "every thing for them depended on their seeing their youth properly brought up in good learning, and particularly in piety and Christian living;" in return they promised him to spare neither pains nor labour, property nor life, in rendering the society all the service it could desire.[1]

And they soon had an opportunity of manifesting their renovated Roman catholic zeal in a matter of no small importance.

The city of Geneva had passed into the special protection of Berne, and was now endeavouring to draw into this alliance Solothurn and Freiburg also, which had been wont to attach themselves to Berne, not indeed ecclesiastically, but politically. In fact it succeeded in the case of Solothurn. A Roman catholic city took the very focus of Western protestantism into its protection. Gregory XIII. was terrified and tried every resource to keep back Freiburg at least from such a step. Here it was that the Lucerners now lent him their aid. An embassy from them joined efforts with the papal nuncio. Freiburg not only renounced the alliance; it even sent for the Jesuits, and there too a college was organized with assistance from the pope.

Meanwhile Charles Borromeo began his operations. He had alliances chiefly in the Wald-cantons. Melchier Lussi, landamman of Unterwalden, was regarded as his particular friend. Borromeo first sent over Capuchin friars, who in the mountains especially, made an impression on the people by the strictness and simplicity of their lives. These were followed by the pupils of the Helvetic college which he had founded for this express purpose.

Traces of this influence were soon to be discovered in all public concerns. In the autumn of 1579, the Roman catholic can-

[1] Literæ Lucernensium ad Everardum Mercurianum, in Sacchinus Historia societatis Jesu, IV. V. 145.

tons entered into a league with the bishop of Basel, in which they not only engaged to defend him in his religion, but also to bring back "to the true catholic faith," as opportunity might occur, those of his subjects who had become protestant; resolutions which, from the very nature of the case, set the evangelical part of the cantons in commotion. The schism now proceeded with greater force than it had done for long. A papal nuncio arrived; in the Roman catholic cantons he received the highest demonstrations of respect; in the protestant he was mocked and insulted.

CRISIS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

SUCH then was the state of affairs. Restored Roman catholicism, in the forms which it had assumed in Italy and in Spain, had made a powerful assault on the rest of Europe. It had succeeded in making no insignificant conquests in Germany; it had made advances in many other countries; yet everywhere it had encountered a powerful opposition. In France the protestants were secured by comprehensive concessions and a strong position, partly political, partly military; they had the preponderance in the Netherlands; England, Scotland and the North were subject to their government; in Poland they had vindicated for themselves most effectual laws in their favour, together with an ample influence in the general affairs of the kingdom; in the Austrian territories, viewed collectively, they confronted the government with the strength derived from the ancient constitutional privileges enjoyed by the estates in the provinces; in Lower Germany the ecclesiastical institutions seemed on the eve of undergoing a decisive alteration.

In such a state of things it now became of infinite consequence how the scale was to turn, where the people were ever taking up arms anew; that is, in the Netherlands.

It is impossible that Philip could have thought of repeating those measures which had already once misgiven, neither was he any longer in a position to attempt it; it was his good fortune that he found friends, who came to him quite spontaneously, and that protestantism in its new career struck upon an unlooked-for and insurmountable obstacle. It is worth while to dwell for a moment longer on this important occurrence.

Be it observed that it was by no means agreeable to every one

in the provinces, to see the prince of Orange become so powerful there; least of all to the Walloon nobility.

Under the king's government, these noblemen, particularly in the French wars, had ever been the first to mount for the field; and the most distinguished military chiefs among them, men whom the people had been accustomed to follow, had acquired thereby a certain independence and power. Now, under the regimen of the estates they saw themselves placed on the back ground; their pay was not regularly provided; the army of the estates consisted mainly of Hollanders, English, and Germans, who, being unequivocally protestants, enjoyed most confidence.

When the Walloons concurred in the pacification of Ghent, they flattered themselves that they would obtain a leading influence in the general direction of the country's affairs. But it was much rather the contrary that followed. That power fell almost exclusively to the share of the prince of Orange and his friends from Holland and Zeeland.

But with the personal feelings of disgust thus drawn forth, there come to be a special concurrence of religious motives.

To whatever we may ascribe the fact, certain it is that the protestant movement found but little response in the Walloon provinces.

There the new bishops had been quietly received; almost all of them very active men. In Arras there was Francis of Richardot, who had imbibed to the full the restoration principles at the council of Trent, and whom his admirers have found it impossible to praise sufficiently for the strength and impressiveness he conjoined with ingenuity and polish in his preaching, and with zeal and worldly sagacity in his life;[1] in Namur, Anthony Havet, a Dominican, less shrewd perhaps, but an earlier member of the council and equally indefatigable in giving effect to its ordinances;[2] in St. Omer, Gerrard de Hamericourt, one of the richest prelates in all the provinces, at the same time abbot

[1] Gazet, Histoire ecclésiastique des pays-bas p. 143, finds him "subtile et solide en doctrine, nerveux en raisons, riche en sentences, copieux en discours, poly en son langage et grave en actions: mais surtout l' excellente piété et vertu, qui reluisoit en sa vie, rendoit son oraison persuasive."—[subtle and solid in doctrine, nervous in reasons, rich in sentences, copious in discourse, polished in his language and grave in actions; but most of all, of an excellent piety and virtue, which shed a lustre on his life, and made his prayer persuasive.] This seems to be Walsche French. I have translated *oraison* in the last clause by *prayer*, perhaps incorrectly. Tr.

[2] Havensius: De erectione novorum episcopatuum in Belgio, p. 50.

in St. Bertin, who now resigned himself to the ambition of promoting study amongst the young and establishing schools, and who was the first in the Netherlands to found a college with a fixed revenue for the Jesuits.[1] Under these and other heads of the church, Artois, Hainault, and Namur, while all the other provinces were in flames, were preserved free from the wild[2] fury of the image riots,[3] so that even the re-actions produced by Alva did not at that time appear so violently there.[4] The decrees of the council of Trent were without much delay discussed and admitted in provincial councils and diocesan synods. The influence of the Jesuits powerfully diffused itself from St. Omer, and still more from Douay. Philip II. had founded a university at Douay, in order that his subjects speaking French might have the means of study without leaving the country. This was of a piece with the close ecclesiastical constitution which he contemplated introducing generally. Not far from Douay lies the Benedictine abbey of Anchin. In the days when the image riots were raging in the greater part of the rest of the Netherlands, John Lentailleur, abbot of Anchin, together with his monks, went through the spiritual exercises of Ignatius. While the impression these had made was still fresh upon his mind, he resolved to apply part of the revenues of the Abbacy to the founding at the new university, of a college of Jesuits, which was opened in 1568, at once acquired a certain independence of the university authorities, and soon increased extraordinarily. Eight years after, the prosperous state of the university, and that, too, as regarded even literary studies, was mainly ascribed to the

[1] In these favourable representations of the papal chiefs, the author, as on many other occasions, allows himself to be carried away by the pro-papal current of his authorities. Let the reader never forget that these men were daily sinners against both tables of God's most holy law; that they were the patrons of that gross God-dishonouring idolatry which pollutes these provinces to this hour, though but for them at that critical period, the Reformation might have entered there and established the pure worship of God; and that the second table of the law they also violated, as persecutors and the abettors of persecution. Tr.

[2] The "wild fury" that destroyed the images was assuredly an infinitely more worthy passion than the avarice that created them or the blind idolatry that worshipped them. Every feeling of true piety as well as of pure patriotism must have been insulted by their presence, and the iconoclasts had at least no rich livings to secure, no spiritual or temporal power to preserve by their zeal. Tr.

[3] Hopper: Recueil et Mémorial des troubles des Pays-bas, 93, 98.

[4] According to Viglii commentarius rerum actarum super impositione decimi denarii in Papendrecht, Analecta I. 1, 292, the tenth penny was imposed on them, with the assurance that he would not be very strict in enforcing it.

Jesuits. Not only was their college filled with a pious and sedulous body of young men; the other colleges rose likewise in consequence of their endeavours to rival it. Ere long even the higher schools were furnished from it with eminent divines, and all Artois and Hainault with clergymen.[1] This college gradually came to be a central point of modern catholicism for all the regions round about. In 1578 the Walloon provinces passed, at least among those who lived at that time, as one of them expresses it, for being Roman catholic in the highest degree.[2]

But these religious features in the condition of the country, were now, equally with its political claims, threatened by the preponderance of protestantism.

In Ghent protestantism had assumed a form which we should at the present day designate as revolutionary. Here the ancient franchises of the country which Charles V. had violated in 1539, had not been forgotten; here Alva's malpractices had begot a peculiar exasperation of feeling; the populace was naturally violent, disposed to engage in iconoclast tumults, and furiously opposed to the priests. Two eager ringleaders, Imbize and Ryhove, took advantage of all this fermentation. Imbize thought of founding a new republic, and dreamt that Ghent was to become another Rome. They began their undertaking with the imprisonment of their governor, Aerschot, together with some bishops and Roman catholic leaders from towns in the neighbourhood, and with whom he was holding a conference at the time. They then restored the ancient constitution, understood of course with some modifications, which secured for them the possession of the government. Thereafter they seized the property of the church, dissolved the bishopric, confiscated the abbeys and made barracks of the hospitals and monasteries. Finally they endea-

[1] Testimonium Thomæ Stapletoni (Rector of the University) dated 1576, in Sacchinus IV. IV. 124. "Plurimos ex hoc patrum collegio—called the collegium Aquicintense—Artesia et Hannonia pastores, multos schola nostra theologos optime institutos et comparatos accepit."—[Testimony of Thomas Stapleton, &c. &c. Artois and Hainault have had many pastors from that college of the fathers, and our university has received from it many excellently instructed and accomplished divines.] Many still higher eulogies follow which we may the more omit, as Stapleton himself was a Jesuit.

[2] Michiel: Relatione di Francia. "Il conte (the governor of Hainault) è cattolichissimo, come è tutto quel contado insieme con quel d'Artoes, che li è propinquo." —The count is most catholic, as is also all that country together, with that of Artois, which is adjacent to it.]

voured by force of arms to extend these proceedings among their neighbours.[1]

Now some of the leading men that had been arrested, belonged to the Walloon provinces; forthwith the troops of Ghent made an incursion into the Walloon territory; all persons there that might be of protestant views, began to move; popular passions were, from the example of Ghent, brought into immediate connection with religious excitement. In Arras there broke out a tumult against the council. Even in Douay the Jesuits were banished by a rising of the people against the will of the council, and though it lasted but a fortnight, still it was a great success; in St. Omer they maintained their footing only through the special protection of the council.

The magistrates in the cities, the nobility in the country, and the clergy, all were at once endangered and coerced. They found themselves threatened with a development, such as had taken place in Ghent, and of an evidently destructive character. No wonder if while in this jeopardy they endeavoured to defend themselves by every means in their power, that first they sent their troops into the field, where these made dreadful havoc in the Ghent territory, and thereafter looked about for some other more stable bond of union among the states which might secure to them their relationship to the Netherlandish estates in general.

Forthwith Don John of Austria availed himself of this determination of theirs.

On casting a glance at Don John's whole proceedings in the Netherlands in general, it seems indeed as if he had effected nothing at all, and as if his entire existence had passed away, leaving as utter an absence of any traces of his having been there as he left of any personal regard for him. But if we look into the matter more narrowly and mark how he stood, what he did, and what were the consequences of his undertakings, we must ascribe to him above all, if to any one, the founding of the Spanish Netherlands. He long tried to adhere to the pacification of Ghent; but from the independent position assumed by the estates, from the relative situation of the prince of Orange, who was a far more powerful person than he, the stadtholder-general, was,

[1] See Vander Vynkt's History of the Netherlands, vol. II. book II. sect. 2. That section may be reckoned perhaps as the most important of the whole book.

and from the mutual suspicion with which the parties regarded each other, it was evident that matters must come to an open breach. Don John resolved to commence war. This he did no doubt against the king's will, but it was unavoidable. Thereby alone could he succeed, and did succeed too, in gaining a territory which again owned the Spanish sovereignty. He still preserved Luxembourg; he occupied Namur; the battle of Gemblours had made him master of Louvain and Limburg. If the king wished again to be sovereign of the Netherlands, it was what was no longer to be attained by an agreement with the states-general, for that was manifestly impossible, but by gradually reducing individual provinces to subjection, either by the way of entering into terms with them or by force of arms. This course Don John adopted, and already it opened up the largest prospect. He aroused the old attachment of the Walloon provinces to the race of Burgundy. What was of special importance, he brought over to his side two powerful persons, Pardieu de la Motte, governor of Gravelines, and Matthew Moulart, bishop of Arras.[1]

These were the very men who, after the early death of Don John, conducted, with great zeal and a happy dexterity, the negotiations on which the crisis depended.

De la Motte took advantage of the growing hatred felt towards the protestants. He succeeded in effecting the removal from many fortified places, of the garrisons placed there by the estates, for this very reason that they might be protestant, and in inducing the nobility of Artois first to resolve upon, and then to accomplish as early as November, the removal of all the Reformed from that country. Upon this Matthew Moulart sought to effect a complete reconciliation with the king. He began with a formal procession in the town and prayers for the divine assistance. And indeed, it was no easy task he had undertaken; he had at times to unite persons whose pretensions directly con-

[1] That they were gained over while Don Juan was still in life, appears from the following two passages. 1. Strada II. 1. p. 19. "Pardiæus Mottæ dominus non rediturum modo se ad regis obedientiam sed etiam quamplures secum tracturum jampridem significarat Joanni Austriaco."—[Pardieu lord of la Motte had already signified to John of Austria that not only he himself would return to the obedience, but that he would bring many along with him.] "2. Tassis; Episcopum Atrebatensem, qui vivente adhuc Austriaco se regi conciliarat."—[The bishop of Arras, who while the Austrian was yet alive, had reconciled himself with the king.]

flicted with each other. He showed himself indefatigable, subtile and pliable, and met with corresponding success.

Alexander Farnese, who succeeded Don John, possessed the important faculty of convincing the understandings, and acquiring the attachment and confidence of others. He could at all times command the assistance of Francis Richarbot, nephew to the bishop of that name, "a man," says Cabrera, "of much insight in various matters, experienced in all of them, who knew how to manage any affair, whatever the nature of it might be;" and of Sarazzin, abbot of St. Vaast, whom the same Cabrera describes as a great politician under the appearance of calm indifference, very ambitious under the guise of humility, and who contrived to acquire and preserve universal deference.[1]

Shall we now describe the course of negotiations as they gradually advanced to the attainment of their object?

It is enough to remark that on the side of the provinces the interests of self-preservation and of religion pointed to the king, while on the king's side nothing remained unattempted that could be done by priestly influence and adroit negotiation, combined with the returning favour of the sovereign. In April 1579, Emanuel de Montigny, the acknowledged leader of the Walloon army, passed over into the king's pay. Upon this the Count de Lalaing followed his example; his doing so was absolutely indispensable to the gaining of Hainault. At last on the 17th May 1579, the compact was concluded in the camp at Maestricht. But severe were the conditions to which the king had to submit! It was a restoration of his power indeed, yet one effected only under the strictest limitations. He engaged not only to dismiss all foreigners from his army, and to serve himself with Low-country troops alone; he also confirmed in their appointments to public offices, all who had received them in the course of the disturbances; the inhabitants even pledged themselves not to receive any garrison of which no previous notice had been given to the estates of the province; two-thirds of the council of state were to consist of persons who had been implicated in the disturbances. The remaining articles are all of a like purport.[2] The provinces obtained such an independence as they had never had before.

[1] Cabrera: Felipe segundo, p. 1021.

[2] Tassis gives us this compact at full length, lib. V. 394—405.

All this implied a turn in the tide of events which was of general importance. Throughout the whole of Western Europe hitherto, every attempt to maintain or re-introduce Roman catholicism, had been made through the public force being brought to bear upon it; the sovereign power had under this pretext striven completely to suppress provincial privileges. Now it saw the necessity of pursuing another method. If it would restore Roman catholicism and preserve itself, this could be accomplished only by a coalition with the estates and their privileges.

Grievously, however, as the sovereign power had been circumscribed, it had gained immensely notwithstanding. Those provinces on which the grandeur of the house of Burgundy was founded, had returned to their allegiance. Alexander Farnese now carried on the war with Walloon troops, and protracted as it was, still he was constantly making progress. In 1580 he took Courtray; in 1581 Tournay; in 1582 Oudenarde.

But these successes did not bring the matter to a decision. It may have been the union of the Roman catholic provinces with the king that directly drove the northern and altogether protestant provinces, not only to league themselves intimately together, but at last absolutely to renounce their allegiance to the king.

Here let us take a survey of the history of the Netherlands as a whole. There might be found in all the provinces a conflict of old standing, betwixt the provincial rights and the sovereign power. The latter, in Alva's time, had obtained a preponderance, such as it had never before possessed; but this it could not for any length of time preserve. The pacification of Ghent demonstrated how completely the states had won for themselves the ascendancy over the administration. In this the northern provinces had no advantage over those of the south; had all been united on the subject of religion, they would have established one common Netherlandish republic. But, as we have seen, their differing in religion involved their disruption. The first result was that the Roman catholic provinces went back under the protection of the king, their grand reason for coalescing with whom was precisely that the Roman catholic religion might be upheld, whereupon, as a second result, it followed that the protestant

after having so long maintained the struggle, finally cast off the very name of subjection and revolted altogether from the king. Now, though the former were called the subjected provinces, and the latter distinguished by the name of a republic, it must not be supposed that the difference essentially was at first very great. Even the subjected provinces maintained all the privileges of their estates, with the utmost zeal. The republican provinces, too, by which they were confronted, could not dispense with an institution, that of the stadtholder, which had an analogy with monarchical government. The main difference lay in religion.[1]

Through this did the struggle first reveal itself, in its pure antagonist principles, and events ripen towards their completion.

It was at this time precisely that Philip II. conquered Portugal, and as he felt himself stimulated by the success he had had in making so important an acquisition, to proceed to new enterprises, even the Walloon states allowed themselves at length to feel disposed to permit the return of the Spanish troops.

Lalaing and his wife, who had all along been a great adversary of the Spaniards, and to whom their exclusion had been mainly ascribed, were gained over, and they were followed by the whole Walloon nobility. They persuaded themselves that the return of Alva's despotisms and deeds of violence was no more to be dreaded. The Spanish-Italian army, already withdrawn once, brought back again, and once more sent off, arrived anew in the country. With none but the Netherlands troops the king must have protracted the war interminably; but those veteran, well-disciplined and altogether superior troops, hastened the crisis.

As in Germany, colonies of Jesuits, consisting of Spaniards, Italians, and some Netherlanders, restored Roman catholicism in the way of doctrinal divinity and instruction, so did the Italian-Spanish arms appear in the Netherlands, in order when combined with Walloon elements, to secure a preponderance in arms for Roman catholic opinions.

[1] This reasoning powerfully supports those evangelical patriots of our own day in Holland, who insist that the old glories of the Dutch commonwealth were the results of its high religious character, much more than of any peculiarities in the civil constitution of the Seven United provinces. In so far as respects civil and municipal franchises, there seems to have been nothing to prevent the fullest development of national energy in the rival provinces. But superstition has been the curse of every country it infects. Tr.

At this point it is impossible not to think of the war. It became at the same time the advance of religion.

In July 1583, Dunkirk, both town and harbour, and within six days thereafter, Nieuport and all the coast as far as Ostend, Dixmunde and Furnes, were taken.

Here the character of the war at once displayed itself. The Spaniards showed themselves forbearing in all political matters, but inexorably severe in those that concerned the church. They could not endure the idea of granting the protestants the use of a church, or even liberty to worship in private; the preachers that were taken, were hanged. The war was carried on with the full consciousness of its being a religious one; and in a certain sense this was even the most rational view of the matter, considering the state in which people found themselves. The protestants had never succeeded in completely subjecting the country; on the other hand, by this resolute procedure, their enemies stirred up on their own side the elements of Roman catholicism, which still existed throughout the land. These put themselves in motion quite spontaneously. Baillia Serves van Steeland delivered up the district of Waes; Hulst and Axel surrendered; Alexander Farnese soon found himself strong enough to think of making an attempt upon the larger cities; he commanded the land and the coasts; one after another, first Ypres in April, then Bruges, at last Ghent also, where Imbize himself now took part with the advocates for a reconciliation, had to surrender. To the communes as such, very tolerable conditions were granted; their privileges were in a great measure left to them; only the protestants were mercilessly expelled; it was uniformly the principal condition, that the Roman catholic clergy should return, and that the churches should again lapse to the Roman catholic ritual.

Notwithstanding all this, nothing seemed to be permanently attained, no security won, as long as the prince of Orange was still in life, that prince who gave support and effect to the resistance, and who prevented even the conquered from resigning themselves to despair.

The Spaniards had set a price of 25,000 scudi on his head, and in the wild excitement that agitated men's minds, there could not be wanting persons capable of availing themselves of

the offer. They were impelled to it at once by avarice and fanaticism. I know not that there was ever an instance of grosser blasphemy than that found in the papers of the Biscayan Jaureguy, who was apprehended for an attempt on the prince's life. He carried about with him, as a kind of amulet, prayers in which the merciful Godhead, who appeared to mankind in the person of Christ, is besought to favour murder, and in which, in the event of his accomplishing the deed, part of the reward is, as it were, promised to Christ, a garment, lamp, and crown to the "Mother of God" at Bayonne, a crown to the mother of God at Aranzosu, and a rich curtain to the Lord Christ himself![1] This fanatic was fortunately apprehended, but meanwhile another was already on the way. At the time of the (prince's) outlawry being published at Maestricht, Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian residing there at the time, felt himself seized with the idea of carrying it into effect.[2] The hopes he entertained of the earthly fortunes and honour which awaited him in case of success, and of the renown of a martyr to be derived from it, should he perish in the attempt, in which views he had been fortified by a Jesuit at Treves, would allow him no peace by day or night until he set about its accomplishment. Having represented himself to the prince as a refugee, he by this means secured admission to his presence and a favourable moment for effecting his purpose; in July 1584, he killed Orange by shooting him dead. He was seized; but none of the tortures inflicted

[1] "Contemporary Copy of a vow and of certain prayers found in the form of an amulet upon Jaureguy," in the Collections of Lord Egerton. "A vos, Senor Jesus Christo, redemptor y salvador del mundo, criador del cielo y de la tierra, os offrezco, siendo os servido librarme con vida despues de haver effectuado mi deseo, un belo muy rico."

[2] "Relatione del successo della morte di Guilielmo di Nassau principe di Orange e delli tormenti patiti del generosissimo giovane Baldassare Gerardi Borgognone." —[Account of what followed on the death of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, and of the tortures suffered by that most generous youth Balthasar Gerard of Burgundy.] Inff. politt. XII. contains some notices differing from the usual accounts. "Gerardi, la cui madre è di Bisansone, d'anni 28 incirca, giovane non meno dotto che eloquente."—[Gerard, whose mother was from Besançon, was about eight and twenty years of age, and was a youth of no less learning than eloquence.] He had had the design in his head for six years and a half. "Offerendosi dunque l'opportunità di portar le lettere del duca d'Alansone al Nassau, essendo già lui gentilhuomo di casa, alli 7 Luglio un hora e mezzo dopo pranso, uscendo il principe della tavola, scargandoli un archibugetto con tre palle gli colse sotto la zinna manca e gli fece una ferita di due diti, colla quale l'ammazzò."—[An opportunity then offering of taking letters from the duke of Alençon to Nassau, being now a gentleman of his household, on the 7th of July, an hour and a half after dinner, as the prince was retiring from the table, by discharging a pistol with three balls, he hit him under the left breast and produced a wound two inches long, with which he killed him.]

on him, could extort from him a sigh; he uniformly declared that had he not done it, he would still do it. At the time that he was expiring amid the execrations of the people at Delft, the prebendaries at Bois-le-duc held a solemn *Te Deum*, as a thanksgiving for what he had done.

All the passions were now wildly fermenting; the impulse they communicated to the Roman catholics proved the more powerful of the two; it effected its object and triumphed accordingly.

Had the prince lived, it is believed he would have found means to fulfil his engagement to relieve Antwerp, which was already besieged. No one now could be found capable of supplying his place.

The measures undertaken against Antwerp, were of so comprehensive a character as directly to menace all other towns of any importance in Brabant. The prince of Parma cut them all off at once from the means of obtaining supplies. Brussels first surrendered. Being a town that usually had a superabundance of provisions, on seeing itself threatened with want, factions broke out and these led to its being given up. Mechline fell next; finally, on the failure of a last attempt to open the sluices and effect a communication over the land, Antwerp also was compelled to surrender.

The mildest conditions, moreover, were granted to these cities in Brabant as well as to those in Flanders. Brussels was exempted from the contribution; Antwerp obtained a promise that the city should never be garrisoned by Spaniards, and that the citadel should not be renewed. One obligation stood for all, namely, that churches and chapels should be restored, and the expelled priests and members of the religious orders recalled. In regard to this the king was immovable. In all agreements, he said, that must be the first and last condition. The only favour he would condescend to grant was that those who had settled in that country should be allowed two years, during which they should either become converts to Roman catholicism, or sell their property and leave the Spanish territory.

How completely had the times now become altered. Philip II. himself had once entertained scruples about granting fixed settlements to the Jesuits in the Netherlands, and often since

had they been exposed to peril, attacked and banished. The events of the war now brought them back, and that too under the decided favour of the government. The Farneses, besides, were special well-wishers to that order; Alexander had a Jesuit for his confessor; he looked on the order as the chief means of fully restoring to Roman catholicism the half protestant country which he had conquered, and thus accomplishing the grand object of the war.[1] The first quarter in which they re-appeared, was the first also that was conquered, Courtray. The parish priest of the town, John David, had become acquainted with the Jesuits during his exile at Douay; he now returned, but only to enter the order forthwith; and in his farewell sermon to exhort the inhabitants no longer to allow the spiritual aids of the society to be withheld from them; and they readily permitted themselves to be persuaded. Old John Montagna who had first introduced the society into Tournay, and had more than once to take to flight, now returned for the purpose of giving it a permanent establishment there. Thus too, as soon as Bruges and Ypres went over to the other party, the Jesuits arrived in those cities; the king willingly made a grant to them of some monasteries that had been deserted during the disturbances. In Ghent the house of the great demagogue Imbize, from which the destruction of Roman catholicism had been proclaimed, was put in order for the society. At the time of their capitulation, the Antwerpers wished to stipulate that they should only again receive those of the Order that had been there in the time of Charles V., but this was not conceded; they had to allow the Jesuits to march in, and had to restore to them the buildings they had formerly possessed. The historian of the order relates this with no small satisfaction, and notices as a special mark of

[1] Sacchinus: "Alexandro et privati ejus consilii viris ea stabat sententia, ut quæque recipiebatur ex hæreticis civitas, continuo fere in eam immitti societatem debere: valere id tum ad pietatem privatam civium tum ad pacem tranquillitatemque intelligebant."—[Alexander and the members of his privy council were fully of opinion that as soon as any city was taken from the heretics, the society ought almost immediately to be sent into it; they were aware that this would avail at once in promoting the private piety of the citizens, and public peace and tranquillity.] (Pars V. lib. IV. n. 58.) According to the "Imago primi seculi"—[Image of the first age], this was also the king's desire, "qui recens datis de hoc argumento literis ducem cum cura monuerat ut societatis præsidio munire satageret præcipuas quasque Belgii civitates" —[who by letters recently presented on this subject had carefully admonished the duke that he should exert himself in giving the society the safeguard of his protection]. Assertions which were sufficiently proved by deeds.

the divine favour, that property that had been left burthened with debt, was recovered free from debt; it had meanwhile passed through several successive hands, and was without more ado restored. Nor could Brussels escape the general fate; the council of the city declared its readiness; the prince of Parma granted a provision from the royal chest; and very soon the Jesuits were established there likewise in the best manner. The prince had already solemnly invested them with the right of possessing real property under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and freely to avail themselves in those provinces of the privileges of the apostolic see.

Nor was this patronage confined to the Jesuits alone. Some Capuchin friars in 1585 came to enjoy it also; by means of a special letter to the pope he contrived to obtain permission for them to remain with him;[1] he then bought for them a house in Antwerp. They even made a great impression on the connections of the order. Other Franciscans had to be debarred, by special command of the pope, from adopting the reform of the Capuchins.

But all these preparatory arrangements gradually produced the utmost effect. They made Belgium, after being half protestant, to become one of the most Roman catholic countries in the world. Nor, too, can it well be denied that in the earlier part at least of this period, they gave their aid to the re-establishment of the royal authority.

In consequence of these successes the opinion became more and more deeply rooted, that only one religion should be tolerated in a state. It forms one of the chief principles in the political system of Justus Lipsius. In religious matters, says Lipsius, there must be no admittance given to mercy or forbearance; here true mercy consists in being merciless; in order that many may be saved, there must be no hesitation shown in removing one and another out of the way.

This principle was no where admitted more thoroughly than in Germany.

PROGRESS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATIONS IN GERMANY.

WERE not the Netherlands always considered one of the circles of the German empire? From the very nature of things,

[1] The Capuchins were at this time confined by the rules of their order to Italy. TR.

the occurrences there must have exercised a great influence on German affairs. As one of their immediate consequences the affairs of Cologne were brought to a decision.

The Spaniards had not as yet returned, far less had the great advantages on the side of Roman catholicism been achieved, when the electoral prince Truchsess of Cologne resolved, in November, 1582, to make a public profession of the reformed doctrine, and to take a wife, yet without meaning to resign his archbishopric. The greater part of the nobility were in his favour, including the counts von Nuenar, Solms, Wittgenstein, Wied, Nassau, the whole dukedom of Westphalia, all of them evangelical. With a book in one hand and a sword in the other, the electoral prince entered Bonn; Casimir von der Pfalz took the field with no inconsiderable force, for the purpose of coercing the city of Cologne, the chapter, and the archbishopric, all of which were opposed to him.

In all the transactions of that time we find this Casimir von der Pfalz ever ready to mount horse and draw his sword, and always with warlike squadrons, protestants in opinion, at his beck. But he seldom brought matters to a right result. He carried on war neither with the devotedness required by a religious cause, having on all occasions had some particular advantage of his own in his eye; nor with the energy or the science that were opposed to him. On this occasion too he ravaged, indeed, the fields of his adversaries; but in the main affair, on the other hand, what he accomplished amounted to nothing;[1] he made no conquests; nor did he know how to procure for himself further aid from protestant Germany.

The Roman catholic powers, on the contrary, combined their whole resources. Pope Gregory did not trust the affairs to the delays of a process before the Curia; he considered a simple consistory of the cardinals, from the urgency of the circumstances, to be sufficient for the decision of so weighty a case, as that of depriving a German electoral prince of his archiepiscopal dignity.[2] Already had his nuncio, Malaspina, hastened to Cologne; and there he succeeded, particularly with the co-operation

[1] Isselt: Historia belli Coloniensis, p. 1092. "Tota hac æstate nihil hoc exercitu dignum egit."—[That whole summer he did nothing worthy of such an army.]

[2] Maffei: Annali di Gregorio XIII. II. XII. 8.

of the learned members of the establishment, not merely in excluding all the less decided from the chapter, but also in raising to the archiepiscopate a prince from the only remaining entirely Roman catholic family, Duke Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Freisingen.[1] Upon this a German Roman catholic army appeared on the field, brought together by the duke of Bavaria, and not without papal subsidies. The emperor delayed not to threaten the Count palatine Casimir with the ban and re-ban[2] of the empire, and to send dissuasive letters to the troops of the count, which in fact led at last to the dissolution of the palatinate army. When matters had proceeded thus far the Spaniards likewise appeared. In the summer of 1583, they had only taken Zutphen; three thousand five hundred Belgian veterans now burst into the archbishopric. Gebhard Truchsess was overwhelmed by so many enemies; his troops would not serve in the face of an imperial mandate; his principal fortress surrendered to the Bavarian Spanish army; he himself had to flee and seek an asylum for mercy's sake from the prince of Orange, at whose side he had hoped to take his place as one of the champions of protestantism.

As is self-evident, this must have had the utmost influence on the complete and solid establishment of Roman catholicism in the country. At the first blush of the disturbances, the clergy of the see had allowed the dissensions that existed among themselves to subside; the nuncio expelled all suspicious members; a Jesuit church was organized amid the tumult of arms; so that when the triumph was achieved, it needed only to be continued. Truchsess too had expelled the Roman catholic clergy from Westphalia; they all now returned, as did other refugees, and were held in high honour.[3] The evangelical prebendaries continued to be excluded from the cathedral, and never even received their revenues again, which was a thing unheard of. It is true that the papal nuncios had to deal tenderly even with the Roman

[1] Malaspina's letter to Duke William of Bavaria, in Adlzreitter II. XII. 295. "Quod cupiebamus," he says in it, "impetravimus."—[We obtained what we desired.]

[2] Acht und Aberacht—in Latin, bannum et bannum reiteratum, or rebannum, for if the person denounced did not within a year and day, prove his innocence and clear himself of the ban, on a fresh application from his accuser, the second strict or complete ban was pronounced against him. See Conversations Lexikon, 9th Ed. art. Acht oder Bann. Tr.

[3] "The electoral Prince Ernest," says Khevenhiller, "has established anew the temporal government as well as the catholic religion according to ancient usage."

catholics; well was Pope Sixtus aware of this; among other injunctions to his nuncio he told him not to commence reforms which he might deem necessary, as long as he was uncertain how far all were disposed to adopt them; but it was just by these prudent methods that the object aimed at was attained without its being noticed; the prebendaries, however distinguished they might have been in point of ancestry, again began to discharge their duties in the cathedral. Roman catholic views found a powerful support in the council of Cologne, which had an opposition party, adopting protestant sentiments, in the city.

This great turn of affairs could not but speedily produce an effect upon all the other spiritual territories; and in the neighbourhood of Cologne this was helped on by a singular accident. That Henry of Saxe Lauenburg, who would have followed Gebhard's example had it succeeded, bishop of Paderborn and Osnabruck, and archbishop of Bremen, rode one Sunday, in April, 1585, to church from his home at Vohrde; on his way back he fell with his horse, and although a young and powerful man, and not seriously injured, yet he died that same month from the effects of his fall. The elections that followed now ran greatly in favour of Roman catholicism. The new bishop in Osnabruck subscribed at least the *professio fidei;*[1] but Theodore von Furstenberg, the new bishop of Paderborn, was a decided Roman catholic zealot. He had already some time before this, as a prebendary, offered opposition to his predecessor, and as early as in 1580 effected the passing of the statute that in future Roman catholics only should be admitted into the chapter;[2] already too he had authorized some Jesuits to come, and to these he had committed the preaching in the cathedral as well as the instruction of the upper classes in the gymnasium; this last under the condition that they should not wear any dress peculiar to their

[1] According to Strunck, Annales Paderbornenses, p. 514, Bernard von Walbeck had been previously inclined to protestantism, had shown himself neutral during the Cologne disturbances, and now abjured the Roman catholic profession. Chytræus (Saxonia 812) does not contradict him.

[2] Bessen: Geschichte von Paderborn, II. 123. In Reiffenberg, "Historia provinciæ ad Rhenum inferiorem, lib. VIII. c. I. p. 185, we find a letter of Pope Gregory XIII. "dilectis filiis canonicis et capitulo ecclesiæ Paderbornensis,"—[to his beloved sons, the canons and chapter of Paderborn church,] 6 Feb. 1584. in which he praises this spirit of resistance: "Thus it is right; the more a man is assaulted, the stronger resistance ought he to offer; even he, the pope, carried the fathers of the society in his heart."

order. But how much easier did it become for him to carry out measures of this nature, after he had himself been raised to the bishopric. The Jesuits needed not now any longer to conceal their presence; the gymnasium was openly handed over to them; to preaching there was added catechising. Here they found enough to occupy them. The town-council was altogether protestant; hardly any Roman catholics remained among the burgesses. Nor in the country around, were matters otherwise. The Jesuits likened Paderborn to a barren field, which cost extraordinary trouble and yet would produce no fruits. At last, as we shall have yet to touch upon, about the commencement of the seventeenth century, they attained their object notwithstanding.

For Munster, too, that accidental death proved an important occurrence. There the younger prebendaries had been in favour of Henry, the older had been opposed to him; so that it was found as yet that no election could take place. Now Duke Ernest of Bavaria, electoral prince of Cologne and bishop of Luttich, was also postulated to be bishop of Munster. This was brought about by Dean Raesfeld, the most decided Roman catholic in the see, and besides this, he from his own funds set apart a legacy of 12,000 rix dollars for a college of Jesuits to be erected at Munster, after which he died. The first Jesuits arrived in 1587. They met with opposition from the prebendaries, the preachers, and the burgesses; but the council and the prince gave them support; their schools gave scope for their extraordinary merit (as teachers); in three years they already reckoned a thousand scholars; and by that time, in 1590, they acquired quite an independent position by means of a liberal grant of church property on the part of the prince.[1]

The electoral prince, Ernest, possessed also the bishopric of Hildesheim, and here too, although his power was much more circumscribed, he gave his aid towards the reception of the Jesuits. The first of these that came to Hildesheim, was John Hammer, a native Hildesheimer, who had been reared in the Lutheran creed; his father was still in life, but now the son was animated with all the zeal of a new convert. He preached with remarkable plainness; effected some splendid conversions, and

[1] Sacchinus: pars V. lib. VIII. n. 83—91. Reiffenberg: Historia provinciæ ad Rhenum inferiorem, L. IX. VI.

gradually secured a firm footing. In 1590 the Jesuits obtained in Hildesheim a place of residence and a pension also.

We remarked of what consequence the Roman catholicism of the house of Bavaria had now become to Lower as well as Upper Germany. A Bavarian prince appeared in so many dioceses at once, as its only stay.

Yet we must not believe that this prince was himself very zealous or devout. He had natural children, and it was at one time supposed that he would do at last as Gebhard Truchsess had done. It is curious to observe the cautiousness shown by Pope Sixtus in dealing with him, and how carefully he guarded against letting him perceive that he was aware of his irregularities, however well he knew all about them. That would have made exhortations and demonstrations necessary, which might readily have driven the self-willed prince to such a determination as was not at all to be wished for.[1]

German affairs, accordingly, were long before they could be handled as those of the Low-countries were. They required the most delicate regard to be paid to personal feelings.

Although Duke William of Cleves held externally by the Roman catholic confession, his policy nevertheless was wholly protestant. To protestant refugees he was happy to grant reception and protection; and he kept his son John William, who was a zealous Roman catholic, removed from all participation in public affairs. People at Rome might easily have been tempted to allow symptoms of displeasure and irritation to escape them on this account, and to favour opposition to that prince. But Sixtus V. was too shrewd a person to act thus. It was only when the prince urged the matter so warmly, that it could no longer be avoided without giving offence, that the nuncio ventured on holding a conference with him at Dusseldorf; and even then he exhorted him above all things to be patient. The pope did not wish him to obtain the golden fleece; it might awaken suspicion; nor would he apply directly to the father in favour of the son; every tie maintained by the latter with Rome would have been offensive; it was only through an intercession on the part of the emperor, brought about by him, that he sought to obtain for the prince a position more suitable to his birth; he

[1] Tempesti: Vita di Sisto V. tom. I. p. 354.

directed the nuncio to act with regard to some things, as if he did not notice them. Here, too, this caution, so full of forbearance on the part of an authority which had never ceased to be recognised, failed not to produce its effect. The nuncio gradually acquired influence; when the protestants at the diet moved for some favours being granted them, it was he who by his representations chiefly led to their receiving an unfavourable reply.[1]

And so Roman catholicism through a great part of Lower Germany, if not instantly restored, was yet, when in great jeopardy, maintained, confirmed, and fortified; it acquired a preponderance which in course of time might mature itself into an absolute supremacy.

A kindred development immediately appeared in Upper Germany.

We touched on the situation of the Franconian bishoprics. A bishop possessing determination of character, might well have entertained the idea of taking advantage of it for the purpose of acquiring a hereditary power.

In all probability it was really about this that Julius Echter of Mespelbronn, who in 1573, while as yet very young and naturally enterprising, became bishop of Würzburg, hesitated for a moment which policy he should adopt.

He took an active part in the expulsion of the abbot of Fulda, and it is impossible that it could have been any very avowed Roman catholic opinion that brought the chapter and orders of Fulda into connection with him. It was the very restoration of Roman catholicism that was the main complaint raised by them against their abbot. The bishop, too, on this account was in bad odour with Rome. Gregory XIII. imposed on him the restitution of Fulda. This he did at the very time that Truchsess avowed his revolt (from Rome). In point of fact Bishop Julius on that occasion prepared to betake himself to Saxony, and to call in the aid of the chief of the Lutherans against the pope: he stood in closer relation with Truchsess, and the latter at least entertained the hope that the bishop of Würzburg would follow his example. This is mentioned with satisfaction by the deputy of that Lauenberg who was archbishop of Bremen, his lord superior.[2]

[1] Tempesti: Vita di Sisto V. tom. I. p. 359.

[2] Letter of Hermann von der Decken (for Becken would seem to be a false read-

Under these circumstances it is hard to say what Bishop Julius would have done had Truchsess kept his ground in Cologne. But after so complete a miscarriage, not only could he never think of imitating him; he came, on the contrary, to quite an opposite determination.

Shall we say that his utmost wish was only to be sovereign in his own country? Or was he actually and at heart a man of strict Roman catholic conviction? He was at all events a pupil of the Jesuits, and had been brought up at the *collegium Romanum* in Rome. Enough; in the year 1584 he began an ecclesiastical visitation on Roman catholic principles, and such a visitation as there had never been seen the like of in Germany. He carried it into effect in person, with all the energy of a resolute will.

He traversed the country attended by some Jesuits. First, he went to Gmünden; from thence to Arnstein, Werneck and Hassfurt; and so on, from district to district. In each town he came to, he called the burgo-master and council before him, and made known to them that it was his intention to extirpate protestant errors. The preachers were removed and their places filled with persons who had been reared by the Jesuits. In case of a public functionary hesitating to attend the Roman catholic worship, he was dismissed without mercy; already there were other persons of Roman catholic sentiments, waiting to receive the vacant places. But all private persons even were held bound to adhere to the Roman catholic service; they had but to choose betwixt the mass and expatriation; whoever should hold the prince's religion in abhorrence, was also to have no part whatever in his land.[1] The neighbours interceded against this course in

ing) of 6th December 1582, in Schmidt-Phiseldeck's Historical Miscellanies, I. 25. "Auf des Legaten Anbringen und Werbunge hat Wirzburgensis ein klein Bedenken gebetten, und hat zur Stunde seine Pferde und Gesinde lassen fertig werden, wollen aufsitzen und nach dem Herrn Churf. zu Sachssen reitten und Ihre Churf. G. über solliche des Papsts unerhorte Importunitet—klagen—auch um radt, hulff und Trost anhalten - - - - Der Herr Churfürst (v. Cöln) hatt grosse Hoffnung zu hochgedachten Herrn Bischoffen, dass I. F. Gn. verhoffentlich dem Papste werden abfallen."—[Upon (receiving) the Legate's proposals and applications, the bishop of Würzburg asked for some small time to think, and had his servants and horses instantly ready; and he would mount and ride off to the Elector of Saxony and—complain—to his electoral grace of such unheard-of importunity on the pope's part, also to obtain advice, assistance, and comfort - - - - The Elector (of Cologne) has great hopes of highly esteemed Lord bishops, that their princely graces will, as is expected, revolt from the pope.]

[1] See Biography of Bishop Julius in Gropp's Chronik von Würzburg, p. 335;

vain. Bishop Julius used to say that it was not what he was now doing that excited any doubts in his mind, but that he was too late in doing it. He was most zealously abetted by the Jesuits. Father Gerhard Weller was particularly noticed; he used to go alone from place to place on foot without any baggage, and preached. In the single year 1586, fourteen cities and market towns, above two hundred villages, and about sixty-two thousand souls were brought back to Roman catholicism. The metropolis of the see was now all that was left remaining, and in March 1587 the bishop took that also in hand. He made the town council appear before him; he then appointed for each quarter and each parish a commission, which judicially examined each of the burgesses. On this it was found that the half of them cherished protestant opinions. Many were but weak in their faith; they soon yielded, and the communion solemnities which the bishop held at Easter in the cathedral in which he himself bore office, were already very numerous; others were longer in complying; and others still preferred selling their property and expatriating themselves. Among these were the members of the council.

This was an example, which, most of all, the bishop of Bamberg, who was nearest ecclesiastical neighbour to Würzburg, felt himself challenged to imitate. We all know Gösweinstein looking over the vale of Muggendorf, whither to this day people from all the vales in the neighbourhood proceed on pilgrimages, by lonely and steep paths, leading through the most beautiful wolds and glens. There is there an ancient sanctuary dedicated to the Trinity itself; at this time it was forsaken and desolate. When the bishop of Bamberg, Ernest von Mengersdorf, went there on one occasion in 1587, this grieved him to the heart. Inflamed by the example of his neighbour, he too declared he would again turn his subjects "to the true catholic religion; no danger should deter him from discharging this his duty." We shall see how earnestly his successor set about it.

But while people as yet were only taking preparatory steps towards this in the Bamberg country, Bishop Julius proceeded

"it was notified to them that they should resign their offices and commands, and seek their homes beyond the bishopric." I avail myself of this biography here as elsewhere, particularly along with it, Christophori Mariani Augustani Encænia et Tricenalia Juliana in Gropp's Scriptt. Wirceb. tom. I.

completely to revolutionize that belonging to Würzburg. All the ancient institutions were renewed. The devotions paid to the mother of God; pilgrimages; the fraternities dedicated to the ascension and nativity of the Virgin Mary, and those of all the other denominations, revived and were established anew. Processions passed through the streets; the sound of the church bells called in the whole country at set times to Ave Maria.[1] People began anew to collect relics, and deposited them with great pomp at the places where they were to be worshipped. The monasteries and convents were again occupied; churches were built in all quarters; we are told of three hundred being founded by Bishop Julius; the traveller recognises them by their high spired towers. People after a few years perceived this alteration of things with amazement. "What at first was even thought superstitious," exclaims one of the bishop's eulogists, "nay, disgraceful, is now accounted holy; that in which people saw nothing short of a gospel, is now declared to be a cheat."

Success so great as this had not been expected even in Rome. Bishop Julius's undertaking had already been some time in progress before Pope Sixtus V. heard any thing about it. After the autumn holydays of 1586, the general of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, appeared before him, for the purpose of making him acquainted with the new conquests of his order. Sixtus was in ecstasy. He hastened to testify his acknowledgments to the bishop. He imparted to him the right to fill up vacant benefices, even within the reserved months; in as much as he himself must, even better than any other, know whom he had to reward.

But the pope's satisfaction was much enhanced in consequence of what had been mentioned by Aquaviva coinciding with like reports from the Austrian provinces, and especially from Styria.

Still in the same year in which the evangelical states in Styria acquired so much independence by means of the decrees of the diet of Bruck, that they might well stand a comparison with the estates of Austria which also had their council for religious affairs, their superintendents and synods, and an almost republican constitution, the change had already appeared.

[1] Julii Episcopi statuta ruralia. Gropp: Script. tom. I. His idea is, that the spiritual movement, which proceeds from the supreme head of the church of Christ, communicates itself from above to below, through all the members of the body. S. p. 444 de capitulis ruralibus.

When Rudolph II. received the oath of allegiance, it was remarked how totally different he was from his father. He practised devotional exercises in all their strictness; people were amazed to see him take his place in processions, even in the severest winter, without any covering for his head, and with a torch in his hand.

This tone of sentiment on the part of the sovereign, together with the favour which he conferred upon the Jesuits, had not only already roused people's apprehensions, but in conformity with the character of those times, led to vigorous counter-movements also. In the Landhaus,[1] at Vienna, for a proper church had not been conceded to the protestants in the metropolis, there preached the Flacianer, Joshua Opitz, with all the violence peculiar to his sect. While he regularly thundered against the Jesuits, the priests, and all "the abominations of popery," he did not so much produce conviction as rouse indignation in his hearers, so that as a contemporary says,[2] on their coming out of church, "they could have torn the papists with their hands." The consequence was that the emperor formed the design of abolishing the meetings at the Landhaus. When this was perceived, opinions on both sides began to be passionately expressed, and when the nobility to whom the Landhaus belonged, were already giving vent to their feelings in threats, Corpus Christi day for the year 1578 came round. The emperor had resolved to celebrate this festival in the most solemn manner. After hearing mass in St. Stephen's church the procession began, being the first that had been seen for a long time; priests, monks, and friars, corporations, and the emperor and princes in the midst: thus was the holy sacrament[3] accompanied through the streets. But symptoms soon manifested what an extraordinary excitement prevailed throughout the city. On arriving at the corn market, some booths had to be removed to allow room for the procession to pass. Nothing more was required in order to produce a general uproar; cries were heard: "We are betrayed; to arms." Choristers and priests abandoned the Host. Halberdiers and

[1] The house in which the states of the various provinces held their meetings. Tr.

[2] D. George Eder, who, it must be acknowledged, was an adversary: Extract from his Warnungsschrift in Raupach's Evang. Oestreich II. 286.

[3] That is, the consecrated wafer, believed by Roman catholics to be the body, soul, and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Tr.

body-guards[1] dispersed in all directions. The emperor saw himself in the midst of a raging mob; he dreaded a personal assault and laid his hand on his rapier; the princes came round him with their swords drawn.[2] It may be believed that this occurrence could not fail to make the greatest impression on the serious mind of the prince, who loved Spanish dignity and majesty. The papal nuncio took the opportunity it presented, of pressing upon him the danger which in such a state of things impended over him; that God himself in this intimated to him how necessary was his fulfilment of promises, which moreover he had made to the pope. The Spanish ambassador seconded all he said. Magius, the provincial of the Jesuits, had oftentimes admonished the emperor to adopt some decisive measure, now at last he was listened to. On the 21st of June 1578, the emperor issued his commands to Opitz, together with his assistants in church and school, on that very day "before sunset" to quit the city, and within fourteen days to leave the whole hereditary territory of the emperor. The emperor was almost afraid of a riot, and in the critical position of matters, kept a number of persons whom he could depend upon, under arms. But how could people have risen against the prince who had the letter of the law on his side? They contented themselves with convoying the banished on their departure and giving vent to their sympathy in affecting condolences.[3]

From that day forward a Roman catholic re-action began in Austria, which year after year acquired more and more strength and efficiency.

The plan was conceived of proceeding next to expel protestantism from the imperial cities. The cities under the Ens which had separated twenty years before from the order of nobles and knights, could in fact oppose no resistance. The evangelical clergy were in many quarters banished and replaced by

[1] Hartschirer or hartschierer—mounted body-guards of the emperor, peculiar, it would appear, to Vienna. Tr.

[2] Maffei: Annali di Gregorio XIII. tom. I. p. 281, 335, without doubt from the reports of the nuncio.

[3] Sacchinus: pars IV. lib. VI. n. 78. "Pudet referre, quam exeuntes sacrilegos omnique execratione dignissimos prosecuta sit numerosa multitudo, quotque benevolentiæ documentis, ut vel inde mali gravitas æstimari possit."—[I am ashamed to relate what a numerous multitude followed those who went away, sacrilegious as they were, and most worthy of all execration, and with how many proofs of their good will, so that hence even the gravity of the evil might be estimated.]

Roman catholic priests; a severe inquisition was suspended over private persons. We have a formula according to which the suspected were examined. One article runs as follows: "Believest thou that all is true which the Romish church establishes in doctrine and life?" "Believest thou," adds another, "that the pope is the head of the only apostolic church?" No room was to be left for doubt.[1] Protestants were removed from civil offices; no persons were any longer admitted as burgesses who were not found to be Roman catholics. At the university in Vienna too, every candidate for a doctorate had first to subscribe the *professio fidei*, A new ordinance respecting schools, prescribed Roman catholic formularies, fasts, church attendance, and the exclusive use of the catechism of Canisius. Protestant books were removed from the bookshops at Vienna, and taken in huge piles to the episcopal palace. Searches were made at the water-customhouses, into the boxes, and books and paintings not considered purely Roman catholic were confiscated.[2]

With all this, the object was not fully attained. In a short time, indeed, there were thirteen cities and market towns reformed in Lower Austria; and possession was obtained of the public property and of the mortgaged benefices; but the nobility still displayed a powerful opposition; the cities above the Ens were closely allied with them and would not allow themselves to be disturbed.[3]

Not the less, however, as may readily be admitted, had many of those measures a general influence which no one could escape. They exerted a direct effect on Styria.

Here the archduke Charles had to agree to concessions, at the moment when in so many quarters the Roman catholic re-action was already in progress. This was what his kinsmen could not forgive. His brother-in-law, Duke Albert of Bavaria, represented to him that the Peace of religion justified him in compelling his subjects to adopt the religion which he himself professed. His advice to the duke was three-fold; at once to fill all his public offices, particularly those at the court and privy council, with Roman catholics; after that, to separate from one another the

[1] Papal, Austrian and Bavarian articles of Confessions of Faith in Raupach: Evang. Oestreich, II. 307.

[2] Khevenhiller: Ferd. Jahrb. I. 90. Hansitz: Germania Sacra, I. 632.

[3] Raupach: Kleine Nachlese Ev. Oestr. IV. p. 17.

different estates at the diets, so as to be able to succeed better with each individually; finally, to enter on friendly terms with the pope, and to apply to him for a nuncio. Gregory XIII., indeed, of his own accord offered to assist. Being perfectly aware that it was mainly the want of money that had induced the archduke to make his concessions, he adopted the best method of relieving him from dependence on the inhabitants of his territory; he himself sent him money, still in the year 1580, to the amount of 40,000 scudi, for that time by no means an insignificant sum. In Venice he deposited a still more respectable capital, which was to be at the archduke's service, in the event of disturbances breaking out in the country, in consequence of his Roman catholic efforts.

Thus animated by example, admonition, and actual assistance, the archduke Charles assumed quite a different attitude ever after the year 1580.

In that year he gave an explanation of the concessions he had previously granted, which might be considered as amounting to a revocation of them. The states prostrated themselves before him, and for a moment so supplicatory a prayer might have exercised some influence over him;[1] but, on the whole, he kept to the measures which he had publicly announced; soon here too the evangelical preachers began to be expelled.

The year 1584 brought matters to a decision. The papal nuncio Malaspina appeared at the diet which met that year. Already had he succeeded in separating from it the prelates who had uniformly adhered at other times to the secular states; between them, the ducal functionaries, and all the Roman catholics in the country, the nuncio established an intimate union which found its centre in himself. Hitherto it had seemed as if the whole country had been protestant; the nuncio proposed to form a strong party around the prince also. By this means the archduke became quite immovable. He held fast to the resolution that he would extirpate protestantism from his cities; the Peace of religion, he said, still gave him very extensive rights, even over his nobility, and by further resistance people would bring him to the determination of enforcing these; in that case he would see who

[1] "Seinem angeborenen mildreichen landsfürstlichen deutschen Gemüth nach,"—[agreeably to his innate, benevolent, patriotically princely German spirit,] says the supplication of the three provinces.

they were that wished to exhibit themselves as rebels. Decidedly anti-protestant as was now the tenor of those declarations, still such was the position of affairs that he had all the success that he formerly derived from his concessions. The estates could not refuse grants, the urgency of which sprang from a regard to other causes.[1]

After that counter-reformations commenced throughout the whole territory of the archduke. The parochial cures and town councils were filled with Roman catholics; no burgess dared attend any but the Roman catholic churches, or send his children to any but the Roman catholic schools.

Matters did not always proceed quite quietly. The Roman catholic priests and the prince's commissaries were sometimes insulted and chased away. Even the archduke himself was once in danger when out a hunting. The report had been spread through that quarter that a preacher in the neighbourhood had been apprehended; the people ran together in arms, and the poor harassed preacher had himself to go into the midst of them and to defend the angry prince from the peasantry.[2] But in spite of all this, matters took their course. The severest measures were put in practice; the papal historian recapitulates them in a few words; confiscation, says he, exile, severe chastisement for all that proved refractory. Such spiritual princes as had any possessions in those regions, came to the assistance of the secular magistracy. The archbishop of Cologne, who was also bishop of Freisingen, changed the council of his town Lack, and subjected the protestant burgesses to imprisonment or fines. The bishop of Brixen wished directly to set about a new distribution of land in his lordship of Veldes. This disposition spread over the whole Austrian territories. Although the Tyrol remained Roman catholic, yet the archduke Ferdinand in Inspruck did not neglect to preserve strict subordination among his clergy, and thereupon to see that every one received the sacrament. Sunday schools were established for the common people. Cardinal Andrew, the son of Ferdinand, had catechisms printed

[1] Valvassor, in his "Ehre des Herzogthums Krain," presents us with good and copious information on all these things. But here Maffei in the Annali di Gregorio XIII. lib. IX. c. XX. lib. XIII. c. I. is of particular importance. He had, no doubt, the information communicated by the nuncio.

[2] Khevenhiller: Annales Ferdinandei II. p. 623.

which he distributed among children attending school, and the unlearned.[1] But in districts into which protestantism had in any degree penetrated, they did not confine themselves to such mild measures. In the Margraviate of Burgau, although only lately acquired, and in the bailiwick of Schwaben, although the question of jurisdiction there was disputed, they went on just as the archduke Charles had done in Styria.

All this afforded Pope Sixtus matter of endless commendation. He praised the Austrian princes as the firmest pillars of Christianity. To the archduke Charles in particular, he sent the most obliging letters.[2] The acquisition of a county which at that time lapsed to the lord superior, was regarded at the court at Gratz as a divine reward for so much good service rendered to Christianity.

Although the Roman catholic order of things had mainly owed its re-establishment in the Netherlands to its accommodating itself to the privileges of the people there, this was not also the case in Germany. The result in the latter country was that the provincial sovereignties rose in point of rank and power, in proportion as they succeeded in favouring the ecclesiastical restoration (of the church of Rome). But the most remarkable example of the closeness of this connection between ecclesiastical and political power, and of the extent to which it was carried, is presented by the archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau.

The old archbishops who had witnessed the movements that took place during the time of the Reformation, contented themselves with now and then publishing an edict against the innovations, denouncing a punishment, and making an attempt at conversion, but only, as Archbishop James would say, "by mild, paternal, and loyal measures."[3]

Very different were the sentiments of the young archbishop Wolf Dietrich of Raittenau, who in 1587 entered upon the see of Salzburg. He had been brought up at the *collegium Germanicum* at Rome, and was still possessed with the ideas of the

[1] Puteo in Tempesti: Vita di Sisto V. tom. I. 375.

[2] Extract from Letters; in Tempesti I. 203.

[3] A sever mandate was certainly published in the name of James, but it first appeared after his having had to resign the administration to a coadjutor.

ecclesiastical reformation in all their freshness; there he had further seen the brilliant commencement of Sixtus V.'s administration, had conceived an intense admiration for him, and, in addition to this, was particularly stimulated by his uncle being a cardinal, Cardinal Altemps, in whose house he had been reared at Rome. In 1588, on his return from a journey which had once more taken him to Rome, he now proceeded to give effect to the projects he had formed under those impressions. He required all the burgesses of his capital to make a solemn profession of Roman catholicism. Many held back from this; he allowed them some weeks' consideration; after that, on the 3d of September 1588, he commanded them to leave town and bishopric within one month. Only that month and, after urgent petitions to that effect, at last another was allowed for selling their property. They were obliged to send an estimate of all they possessed to the archbishop, and even then they durst not make it over to any persons who might be disagreeable to him.[1] A few only yielded so far as to renounce their faith; in that case they had to do public penance in the church with lighted tapers in their hands; by far the greatest number, and those, too, the most thriving burgesses in the city, expatriated themselves. The prince was not much troubled at losing them, believing that he had discovered in other measures the means of maintaining the splendour of the archbishopric. He had already greatly augmented the taxes, raised tolls and customs, laid a new impost on the salt of Halle and Schellenberg, the Turkish aid was enlarged and made a regular provincial tax, and an excise on wine, and a property and land tax, were introduced. He had no respect whatever to any established franchise. The dean of the cathedral killed himself, it was believed, in a fit of melancholy, caused by the loss of the rights of the chapter. The object of the archbishop's regulations respecting the working of the salt, and the whole mining department, was to bring down the independence of the manufactory, and to incorporate it wholly with the exchequer. Germany presents no similar example in all that century, of such perfect fiscality. The young archbishop had brought across the Alps with him the ideas of an Italian princi-

[1] Reformationsmandat in Goeckingk: Vollkommene Emigrationsgeschichte von denen aus dem Erzbisthum Salzburg vertriebenen Lutheranern, I. p. 88.

pality. How to possess money seemed to him the first problem of all political economy. He proposed to himself Sixtus V. as his model; like him he wished to have in his hands a submissive, entirely Roman catholic, tributary state. The removal of the burgesses from Salzburg, seeing that he looked on them as rebels, even gave him satisfaction. He caused the deserted houses to be pulled down and had palaces, in the Roman style, erected in their stead.[1]

Above all things he was fond of splendour. He never refused the usual entertainment to strangers;[2] on one occasion he was observed to attend the diet with a following of four hundred men. In 1588 he was only twenty-nine years of age; he was full of buoyancy of spirits and of ambition; already he fixed his eyes on the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.

And now the same course of things that we have seen in the spiritual and secular principalities, took place when it became any wise possible in the cities also. How bitterly did the Lutheran burgesses of Gmünden complain of having their names erased from the roll of the council-chamber. In Biberach the council that had been placed there by the commissary of Charles V., on the occasion of the Interim, still maintained its ground; the whole city was protestant, the council alone Roman catholic, and it kept every protestant carefully excluded.[3] What oppressions were experienced by the evangelical inhabitants of Cologne and Aix-la-chapelle! The council of Cologne declared that it had engaged to the emperor and elector to tolerate no religion but the Roman catholic; it punished those who attended a protestant preaching, occasionally with imprisonment and fines.[4] Also in Augsburg the Roman catholics obtained the ascendancy; dissensions broke out on the occasion of the introduction of the new calendar; in 1586, first the evangelical superintendent, then eleven of the clergy all in a body, and finally a number of the most unbending of the citizens, were expelled from the city. Something similar followed at Ratisbon in 1587, on account of

[1] Zauners Salzburger Chronik Siebenter Theil,—[Zauner's Salzburg Chronicle, Seventh Part,] is our most important source of information for this. That part has even been made up from a contemporary biography of the archbishop.

[2] Ritterzehrung, that is, the assistance given to poor knights-errant. Tr.

[3] Lehmann de pace religionis, II. p. 268, 480

[4] Lehmann, 436, 270.

some kindred reasons. The cities, too, already made claims to the rights of the Reformation; nay, individual counts and barons even, and individual knights of the empire, who might perhaps have been converted merely by a Jesuit, thought themselves entitled to take advantage of those rights, and in their petty territory would set about the restoration of Roman catholicism.

There was an immense re-action. As protestantism had advanced, so was it now driven back. Preaching and teaching had their share in this, but it was far more owing to external arrangements, commands, and the public force.

Just as the Italian protestants had once on a day fled into Switzerland and Germany, so now did German refugees, and in still larger bodies, migrate from western and southern Germany to the north and east. Thus, also, did those of Belgium withdraw into Holland. It was a great Roman catholic triumph which, like a wave, rolled along from one country to another.

To promote and extend its progress now became the endeavour most of all of the nuncios, who at that time began regularly to reside in Germany.

There is still extant a memorandum of the nuncio Minuccio Minucci, dated in 1588, and from it we learn what were the precise objects which were contemplated, and which dictated the course that was pursued.[1]

A pre-eminent regard was paid to instruction. People had wished that the Roman catholic universities had only been better endowed, so as to attract distinguished teachers to them; Ingolstadt alone was provided with adequate means. As matters stood, every thing depended on the Jesuit seminaries. Here it was the wish of Minuccio Minucci, that provision should be made, not so much for the forming of learned and profound theologians, as of good and efficient preachers. A man of moderate acquirements, not aiming at the very summit of learning, and who had no thought of acquiring renown thereby, would probably be the most universally serviceable and the most useful. This view he recommended to the institutions in Italy intended for the use of German Roman catholics.

[1] Discorso del molto illustre e rev^mo Monsignor Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la cattolica religione in Alemagna, 1588. MS. Barb.—[Discourse of the very illustrious and most Reverend Monsignor Minuccio Minucci, on the means of restoring the catholic religion in Germany. Barberini MS.]

In the collegium Germanicum there was a difference originally made in the treatment received by youths of burgess rank and those of the nobility. Minuccio Minucci considered the doing away with this difference as censurable. Not only were the nobility now eager to go thither; even in the burgess class there was aroused an ambition, which afterwards nothing could satisfy, a striving for high appointments which proved detrimental to the right administration of the lower ones. Moreover, endeavours were made at that time to bring forward a third and middle class; the sons of the higher public functionaries, who in the natural course of things were destined one day to have a share in the administration of their native provinces. Gregory XIII. had already adopted some arrangements for such youths in Perugia and Bologna. Thus we clearly see that the distinctions of rank which now prevail in German society, were clearly defined even then.

Most depended at all times on the nobility, and to them chiefly the nuncio ascribed the maintenance of Roman catholicism in Germany. For as the German nobility had an exclusive right to the cathedral appointments, they defended the church as their patrimony. On this very account they now set themselves to oppose the emancipation of religion in that department;[1] they dreaded the great number of protestant princes, who in that case would engross all the benefices to themselves. Precisely on this account was it necessary to shield these nobles and to treat them tenderly. The law against the plurality of benefices durst not be enforced against them; besides, changes of residence had its use, by uniting the nobility of different provinces for the protection of the church. Neither were the ecclesiastical appointments to be given away to persons of burgess rank; a few learned men were of great use in a chapter, as was remarked in

[1] Particularly in Upper Germany. "L'esempio della suppressione dell'altre (the Lower German) ha avvertiti i nobili a metter cura maggiore nella difesa di queste, concorrendo in ciò tanto gli heretici quanto li cattolici, accorti già, che nell'occupatione delli principi si leva a loro et a' posteri la speranza dell'utile che cavano dai canonicati e dagli altri beneficii, e che possono pretendere del vescovato mentre a' canonici resti libera l'elettione."—[The example of the suppression of the others (the Lower German) has warned the nobility to pay more attention to the defence of these, both heretics and catholics concurring in this, being already aware that in the occupation of the princes there was taken from them and their posterity the hope of the advantages to be had from the prebends and other benefices, and what they might pretend to from the episcopate, while the election remained free to the canons.]

Cologne; but to have carried out this practice further would have proved the ruin of the German Roman catholic church.

The question now arose, in how far it was possible to bring back to Roman catholicism, those territories which had passed entirely over to protestantism.

The nuncio was far from advising that recourse should be had to open force. The protestant princes seemed by far too powerful for that. But there were some means at hand which might gradually effect the object in view.

He considered it above all things necessary that the good understanding between the Roman catholic princes, and particularly between Austria and Bavaria, should be sincerely maintained. The league of Landsberg still subsisted; it should be renewed and extended, and King Philip of Spain might also be admitted as a party to it.

And was it not possible to gain over even some protestant princes? Long had it been supposed that a leaning to Roman catholicism might be observed in the electoral prince, Augustus of Saxony. An attempt to gain him over had, indeed, been made occasionally, through the intervention of Bavaria in particular; but it could be accomplished only with great prudence; and from the elector's wife, Anne of Denmark, strictly adhering to Lutheran convictions, every such attempt had proved in vain. In 1585 Anne died. That was not only a day of deliverance for the oppressed Calvinists, the Roman catholics too endeavoured again to make approaches to the prince. It appears as if people in Bavaria, where they had constantly been making efforts, now felt themselves urged to make an advance; already Pope Sixtus held himself ready to send absolution to the elector, into Germany.[1] Meanwhile the elector Augustus died before any

[1] As early as in 1574, Gregory XIII. urged Duke Albert V. "ut dum elector Saxoniæ Calvinistarum sectam ex imperii sui finibus exturbare conabatur, vellet sermones cum principe illo aliquando habitos de religione catholica in Saxonia introducenda renovare."—[that while the elector of Saxony was endeavouring to expel the sect of the Calvinists from his territories, he would renew the conversations he had once held with that prince about introducing the Roman catholic religion into Saxony.] He thought that perhaps it were well to send an agent thither. The duke was directly opposed to this; in that case the matter would reach the elector's privy council, "ad consiliarios et familiares; a quibus quid exspectandum aliud quam quod totam rem pervertat?"—[his councillors and familiar friends; from whom what was to be expected but that they would spoil the whole affair?] He goes on to say; "Arte hic opus esse judicatur, quo tanquam aliud agens errantem pie circumveniat."—[Here it is thought art will be necessary, in order that while apparently

thing was effected. But attention was turned forthwith to other princes; such as Lewis count palatine of Neuburg, in whom it was thought there might be observed a desire to have nothing to do with ought that might prove hostile to Roman catholicism, and also a particular forbearance towards the Roman catholic priests who might casually touch on his territory;—William the IV. of Hesse, who was at once learned and pacific, and had occasionally accepted the dedication of Roman catholic books. Nor were men of the higher north German nobility left out of account; hopes were entertained of Henry Ranzau.

But if the successful result of these endeavours was now remote and not to be calculated upon, still there were other projects, in executing which more depended on sheer determination and strength of will.

The majority of assessors in the supreme imperial court[1] still continued, according to the nuncio's assertion at least, to be protestant in their sentiments. These were men of an earlier period, when in most even Roman catholic countries, secret or avowed

busied about something else he may piously circumvent the erring (prince).] "Uxor, quo ex sexu impotentiori concitatior est, eo importuniora suffundet consilia, si resciscat hanc apud maritum rem agi."—[His wife, who the more vehement she is from being of the weaker sex, will pour in the more inopportune counsels, should she come to know that this matter is treated of with the king.] See the Legationes paparum ad duces Bavariæ. MS. in the Munich Library. Minucci relates that the first disclosures were made as early as in the time of Pius. The whole passage is remarkable. "Con duca Augusto di Sassonia già morto trattò sin a tempi della s. m. di Papa Pio V. il duca Alberto di Baviera, che vive in cielo, e ridusse la pratica tanto inanzi che si prometteva sicura riuscita; ma piacque a Dio benedetto di chiamarlo, nè d'opera di tanta importanza fu chi parlasse o pensasse, se non ch'a tempi di Gregorio di gl. mem. il padre Possevino s'ingegnò di fabricare sopra quei fundamenti: et in fine nel presente felicissimo pontificato di Sisto, sendo morta la moglie d'esso duca Augusto, fu chi ricordò l'occasione esser opportuna per trattare di nuovo la conversione di quel principe: ma la providentia divina non li diede tempo di poter aspettare la benedittione che S. Beat^ne pur per mezzo del signor duca Guilielmo di Baviera s'apparecchiava di mandarli sin a casa sua."—[With Duke Augustus of Saxony, now deceased, Duke Albert of Bavaria, who lives in heaven, treated ever since the time of h. m. Pius V. and brought the matter to such a length that there was a likelihood of certain success; but it pleased the blessed God to call him away, nor was there any one that spoke or thought about a work of such importance, except that at the time of Gregory, of glorious memory, father Possevino endeavoured to construct something on those foundations; and finally, in the present most felicitous pontificate of Sixtus, the wife of the said Duke Augustus being dead, some thought it a favourable opportunity for treating anew of the said prince's conversion; but the divine providence did not give him time to be able to wait for the benediction which his Beatitude was moreover preparing to send him in his own country."] It will be seen how early this line (of princes) was prepared beforehand to become papists.

[1] Kammergericht. Imperial court of appeal, instituted by Maximilian I., and consisting of three presidents and fifteen assessors, chosen by different provinces of the empire. Tr.

protestants sat in the councils of the princes. The nuncio thought such a state of things fitted to throw the Roman catholics into despair; and pressed for some remedy. It seemed a ready way to him to compel the assessors of Roman catholic countries to give a solemn adhesion to the confession of faith, and all newly appointed members to swear either not to change their religion, or to resign their offices, that in all justice the preponderance in that court ought to belong to the Roman catholics.

He does not even abandon the hope of again obtaining possession of the lost bishoprics, without the employment of force, if people would but discharge their functions with effect. All connection betwixt those bishoprics and Rome was not as yet broken off; the old right vested in the Curia, of presenting to benefices falling vacant in the reserved months, was not yet absolutely repelled; even the very protestant bishops still believed at bottom that they required the papal sanction, and Henry of Saxe Lauenburg, already mentioned, had an agent always at Rome for the purpose of procuring that sanction for him. If the papal see had hitherto been unable to take advantage of this, it arose from the emperor having by means of indults, remedied the defect caused by the want of the papal sanction, and from the presentations to those benefices that might be attempted to be procured from Rome, either arriving too late, or having other faults besides in respect of form, so that the chapter uniformly had a legal pretext for acting without restraint. Upon this Minucci now became urgent for the emperor's never more granting an indult; an object easily obtained in the existing tone of sentiment at the court. Duke William of Bavaria had already proposed that the patronage of benefices should be entrusted to the nuncio, or to some German bishop who could be relied upon. Minucci thought that it would be necessary that a Dataria, expressly for Germany, should be instituted at Rome. No chapter would dare to repel Romish candidates lawfully nominated. And what authority, what influence, must not this procure for the Curia?

We see well how warmly people entered into the idea of a complete restoration of the old government. To gain over the nobility; to allure into the Romish interests the higher ranks

among the burgesses; to educate the young in these sentiments; to restore the ancient influence exercised over the dioceses, even though these might have become protestant; to recover a preponderance in the imperial court of justice; to convert powerful electors; to engage the leading Roman catholic power to take part in the German league affairs, thus many were the projects conceived simultaneously.

Nor have we any reason to believe that these suggestions were neglected. No sooner were they proposed at Rome than persons were employed in Germany to carry them into effect.

The efficiency and good order of the imperial court of justice mainly rested on the annual visitations always undertaken by seven different estates of the empire, according to their successive ranks at the diet. In these visitations the majority was often Roman catholic; in 1588, it was once protestant; the protestant archbishop of Magdeburg among others had a part in it. On the side of the Roman catholics it was resolved that this should not be permitted. As the elector of Maintz was proceeding to summon the estates, the emperor on his own responsibility ordered him to put off the visitation for this year. But the omission of one year did not suffice. The order of succession still remained as before; for a long time a protestant archbishop of Magdeburg was still to be dreaded; so it happened that these prorogations were repeated year after year; nay, the result was that no regular visitation was ever held again; which led accordingly to the infliction of an irreparable injury to the noble order of that supreme imperial court.[1] We soon meet with the complaint that unlearned Roman catholics were preferred there to learned protestants. The emperor too ceased granting indults. In 1588 Minucci advised that people should think about the conversion of protestant princes, and in 1590, we find the first of them already pass over to the other side. That was James of Baden, who took the lead in a long succession of them.

[1] Minucci wrote specially about the supreme imperial court also. It may be conjectured on good grounds that his representations led to that inhibition. As we have said he held the protestant majority in abhorrence; "non vole dir altro l'aver gli eretici l'autorità maggiore e li più voti in quel senato che un ridurre i catolici d'Alemagna a disperatione,"—[the fact of the heretics having most authority and most votes in that senate was enough to reduce the catholics of Germany to despair.]

THE LEAGUE.

WHILE this great movement engrossed Germany and the Netherlands, it invaded France also with resistless force. The affairs of the Netherlands had long been most intimately bound up with those of France; for how often had the French protestants come to the assistance of those in the Netherlands, and the Roman catholics of the Netherlands come to the assistance of their brethren in France; the ruin of protestantism in the Belgium provinces was a direct loss for the Huguenots in France.

But now, in addition to this, the restoration tendency of Roman catholicism was constantly making more and more progress in France as well as other countries.

We have already noticed the commencement of the Jesuits; they had constantly extended themselves farther and farther. The Lorraine family, as may readily be supposed, above all others, took an interest in them. Cardinal Guise founded for them in 1574 an academy at Pont-au-mousson, which was attended by the princes of that house. The duke erected a college at Eu in Normandy, which at the same time was destined for the exiles from England.

But they found many others besides these to patronize them. Sometimes it was a cardinal, a bishop, an abbot, sometimes a prince, or a functionary high in office, that undertook to furnish the cost required for a new establishment. In a short time they had settled themselves in Rouen, Verdun, Dijon, Bourges and Nevers. Their missions might be traced in the most manifold directions through the kingdom.

But they found auxiliaries in France, which at least in Germany they had as yet to dispense with.

The cardinal of Lorraine had brought with him from the council of Trent some Capuchin friars; he gave them house accommodation in his palace at Meudon; but after his death they went away again. The order was still restricted by its statutes to Italy. In the year 1573 the chapter-general sent a few members across the mountains, in order first merely to explore the country. As the result was thought propitious, so that on their return they promised "the richest harvest," the pope made no scruple of abolishing that restriction. In the year 1574, the first

colony of the Capuchins set out across the mountains, under Friar Pacifico di S. Gervaso, who had selected his companions himself.

They were all Italians. From the nature of the case they had of necessity to attach themselves to their country-people in the first instance.

Queen Catherine gladly received them, and directly founded a monastery for them in Paris. As early as 1575 we find them also in Lyons. On the queen's recommendation they there obtained the support of some Italian bankers.

From these points they now extended themselves farther into the country; from Paris into Caen and Rouen; from Lyons to Marseilles, where Queen Catherine purchased a site for a building. New colonies settled in 1582 at Toulouse, and in 1585 at Verdun. Very soon they succeeded in effecting the most splendid conversions, as in 1587, that of Henry Joyeuse, one of the first men at that time in France.[1]

But in one sense at least, this religious movement had in France a still greater effect than in Germany. It already produced free imitations in peculiar forms. Jean de la Barriere, who in conformity with those strange abuses which had become prevalent in France, had obtained in commendam the Cistercian abbey of Feuillans, not far from Toulouse, when only in his nineteenth year, caused himself in 1577 to be consecrated as regular abbot, and received novices with whom he endeavoured not merely to renew, but even to surpass the severity of the original institution of Citeaux. Solitude, silence, and abstemiousness were carried to the utmost extent. These monks never left their monastery except for the purpose of preaching in the neighbouring districts; within its walls they neither wore shoes nor had any covering for their heads; they denied themselves not only flesh and wine, but even fish and eggs; they lived on bread and water, and at most a little vegetables.[2] This strictness failed not to command respect and to call forth imitation; Don Jean de la Barriere was soon called to the court of Vincennes. With sixty-two companions he, without neglecting any part of the monastic exercises, passed through a great part of France:

[1] Boverio: Annali dei frati Capuccini, I. 546, II. 45, f.
[2] Felibien: Histoire de Paris, tom. II. p. 1158.

soon after that his institute was sanctioned by the pope and spread over the country.

But it seemed as if a new zeal had begun to pervade the whole body also of the secular clergy, although the livings were unjustifiably given away. The secular priests again sedulously applied themselves to the care of souls. In the year 1570 the bishops not only called for the council of Trent being received, but even for the annulling of the concordat, to which they themselves owed their existence; and from time to time they renewed and reiterated these propositions with greater urgency.[1]

Though it is impossible minutely to particularize the successive impulses by which clerical life was impelled in this direction, yet this much is certain, that the greatest alteration was remarked as early as the year 1580. A Venetian assures us that the number of protestants had diminished about 70 per cent; the common people had again become altogether Roman catholic. Fresh excitement, novelty, and impulsive force were again to be found on the side of Roman catholicism.[2]

But in this development it acquired a new position in reference to the royal government.

Already the court lived in pure contradiction to itself. There can be no doubt that Henry III. was a good Roman catholic; no one who did not attend mass, was well received by him; he would have no more protestant magistrates in the towns, notwithstanding all which he still continued to confer appointments to ecclesiastical offices, according to the conveniences of court favour, without any respect to worth and talent, to appropriate to himself church property, and to squander it. He was fond of religious exercises and processions, nor did he spare himself chastisement; but this did not prevent him from indulging him-

1 "Remontrance de l'assemblée générale du clergé de France convoquée en la ville de Melun, faite au Roi Henri III. le 3 Juillet 1579. Recueil des Actes du clergé tom. XIV."—[Remonstrance of the General Assembly of the clergy of France, convoked in the city of Melun, made to King Henry III. 3d July, 1579. Collection of the Acts of the Clergy, vol. XIV.] Thuanus too gives an extract.

2 Lorenzo Priuli: Relatione di Franza 5 Giugno 1582. "Dovemo maravigliarci, umanamente parlando, che le cose non siano in peggiore stato di quello che si trovano: poichè per gratia di Dio, con tutto il poco pensiero che li è stato messo e che se li mette, è sminuito il numero degli Ugonotti 70% et è grande il zelo et il fervor che mostrano cattolici nelle cose della religione."—[We ought to wonder, humanly speaking, that matters are in no worse state than we find them, since by the favour of God, with all the little thought that has been and still is bestowed upon it, the number of the Huguenots has diminished 70 per cent, and the zeal and fervour shown by the catholics in the concerns of religion, are great.]

self, and permitting others to indulge in the most scandalous profligacy. An abominable dissolution of morals was the order of the day at court. The extravagances of the carnival excited the wrath of the preachers; Christian burial was even refused at times to the courtiers, owing to the manner in which they had died and their last expressions; even the king's favourites were amongst the number.

Hence it happened, that the strict Roman catholic spirit, although favoured by the court in various ways, yet remained essentially opposed to it.

But, moreover, the king did not abandon that old line of policy, the leading feature of which was animosity to Spain. At another time there would have been nothing to make this of importance. But as matters stood, the religious element even in France was stronger than any regard for the national interests. Just as the Huguenots felt with respect to the protestants in the Low countries, so did the Roman catholics feel themselves naturally allied with Spain and the Farneses. The Jesuits, who were of so much service to the latter in the Netherlands, could not quietly look on while they saw the very enemies whom they fought against there, receiving favour and assistance in France.

But to this was now added the death of the duke of Alençon in 1584, and by that event, as the king had neither heirs nor any hope of having them, the next expectant of the crown was Henry, king of Navarre.

Perhaps anxiety about the future has more influence over men than a present misfortune. This prospect threw the Roman catholic French, one and all, into great commotion;[1]—above all others, those ancient opponents and antagonists of Navarre, the Guises, who already dreaded the influence which he must obtain as next in succession to the throne, and how much more the power he was yet likely to possess. No wonder that they sought to find a support in King Philip.

But nothing more opportune than this could befall that mon-

[1] There was composed at that time in Rome a paper on the desirableness of having a Guise to succeed to the throne: "della inclinatione de'cattolici verso la casa di Ghisa e del servitio che riceverà la christianità e il re cattolico della successione di uno di quei principi."—[Of the leaning of the (Roman) catholics towards the house of Guise, and the great service that would be done to Christianity and the catholic king from the succession of one of those princes.] It was sent to Spain, and was ascribed to Cardinal Este. Dispaccio Veneto 1584 1mo Dcbr.

arch, taking his whole political position into view. He felt no scruple in entering into a formal alliance with the subjects of a foreign kingdom.

The only question was whether in Rome likewise, where an alliance between monarchs and the church was so often spoken of, the insurrection of powerful vassals against their king would in this case be approved.

Yet there can be no doubt that it was so approved. Among the Guises there were still some disquieted consciences that had scruples about the step proposed to be taken. The Jesuit Matthieu repaired to Rome to procure from thence a declaration on the part of the pope, by means of which those scruples might be silenced. Upon the representations made by Matthieu, Gregory XIII. declared that he fully approved of the object of the French princes in taking up arms against the heretics; he reremoved every scruple that might have been entertained in the matter; assuredly the king himself would approve of their design; but should that not be the case, still they would have to prosecute their plan, in order to achieve the grand object, the extirpation of heretics.[1] Already was the process against Henry of Navarre commenced. When it was closed, Sixtus V. had ascended the papal throne. Sixtus pronounced the excommunication of Navarre and Conde, and by so doing subserved the intentions of the League more than he could have found it possible to do, by any other act whatever of his good will.[2]

Already had the Guises had recourse to arms. They endeavoured to secure to themselves as many provinces and places of importance as they possibly could.

In the very first movement they made, they took cities of such importance as Verdun and Toul, Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, and Mezieres, without drawing a sword. The king, to escape from the necessity of at once succumbing to them, adopted a measure which had once before been tried, and declared their

[1] Claude Matthieu au duc de Nevers, 11 Feb. 1585; perhaps the most important of the whole four volumes of Capefigue; Réforme, &c. p. 173.

[2] Maffei: Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII. lib. I. p. 10. "Infinitis fœderatorum precibus et regis Philippi supplicatione hortatuque haud ægre se adduci est passus ut Hugonotas eorumque duces cœlestibus armis insectaretur."—[By infinite prayers on the part of those engaged in the league, and by the entreaty and exhortation of King Philip, he allowed himself without much difficulty to be induced to attack the Huguenots and their leaders with celestial weapons.]

cause to be his own. But in order to his being received by them, he had to sanction and extend their acquisitions by a formal compact; he relinquished to them Burgundy, Champagne, a great part of Picardy, and a number of places in other parts of the kingdom.[1]

Upon this the king and the Guises undertook the war against the protestants in common. But what a difference! All the king's measures were half and resultless; the Roman catholics even believed that he wished for success to the protestant arms, in order that he might be enabled, compelled apparently by the threatened dangers of their power, to conclude a peace to the disadvantage of the Roman catholic party. Guise, on the contrary, swore that should God make him victorious, he would never dismount from horseback again, until he had for ever established the Roman catholic religion in France. With his own, not with the king's troops, he surprised the Germans who had come to the assistance of the Huguenots, and on whom these had built their hopes, at Auneau, and completely annihilated them.

The pope compared him to Judas Maccabeus. He was a man of a lofty character, who commanded the willing homage of the people, and carried them along with him. He was, in short, the idol of the Roman catholics.

The king, on the other hand, found himself in a completely false position. He knew neither what to do nor even what to desire. The papal ambassador, Morosini, looked upon him as being, one would think, two persons in one. He wished the Huguenots to be subdued, and yet he dreaded it at the same time; he dreaded the defeat of the Roman catholics, and yet he also desired it. In consequence of this internal strife, matters were come to that pass that he no longer purposed his own inclinations, no longer trusted his own thoughts.[2]

This was a state of mind which necessarily deprived him of the confidence of all men, and led straight to ruin.

[1] Cardinal Ossat's Reflections on the operations of the League in France; in the Life of Cardinal Ossat, I. 44.

[2] Dispaccio Morosini in Tempesti: Vita di Sisto V. p. 346. "Il re, tutto che sia monarca si grande, è altrettanto povero: e quanto è povero, è altrettanto prodigo: dimostra insigne pietà, e nel stesso tempo aborrisce la sagra lega: è in campo contra gli heretici, e pure è geloso de'progressi catolici."—[The king, albeit he is so great a monarch, is as much more poor; and poor as he is, he is still more prodigal; he shows signal piety, and at the same time he abhors the sacred league; in the camp he is opposed to the heretics, and yet is jealous of the catholic successes.]

The Roman catholics, instead of that confidence, held that the very man who was at their head, was secretly opposed to them. Every transient act of intercourse with Navarre's people, every insignificant favour that might be done to any protestant whomsoever, was reckoned against him. Instead of trusting him, they held that the most christian king himself was hindering the complete restoration of Roman catholicism; and they hated his favourites, and especially Epernon, so much the more heartily, in that the king opposed him to the Guises, and confided the most important governments to his care.

Amid these circumstances there was formed by the side of the League among the princes, an association of burgesses in the Roman catholic interest. In all the towns of France the people were wrought upon by the preachers who united a wild opposition to the government, with a vehement zeal for religion. Matters went beyond this in Paris. There the idea of forming a popular union for the defence of Roman catholicism first began with three preachers and one influential citizen.[1] They first of all bound themselves mutually by oath, to devote the very last drop of their blood to the cause. Each then named a few trusty friends. With these they met for the first time in an ecclesiastical cell in the Sorbonne. Soon they saw that they might embrace the whole city in their scheme. A more strictly selected body was appointed to guide the movement, and if necessary to collect money. One member was charged with the superintendence of each of the sixteen quarters of the city. The enrollment of members was carried on with the utmost speed and secrecy. The newly adopted members were first subjected to a careful scrutiny by the select council, and no farther communications were made to such as were not approved. There were members for all the corporate bodies; one for the audit office, one

[1] The Anonimo Capitolino, on the life of Sixtus V., has some original notices on this subject. He calls the founder Carlo Ottomani, "cittadino onorato,"—[an honourable citizen,] who opened his mind first to the preachers. At their very first meeting, Ottomani proposed that they should unite with the princes, at the second, held 25th January 1587, it was resolved that sixteen persons should be nominated, one for each quarter, "a cui si riferisse da persone fidate quanto vi si facesse e dicesse appartenente a fatti publici;"—[to whom should be related at the houses of trusty persons, how much was done or said pertaining to public affairs;] at a third, held on Candlemas day, a council of ten persons was appointed, with power to impose assessments, and a deputation was at the same time sent to Guise. This informs us of some further particulars of importance in addition to all that we find in Cayet, from Manaut and Maheutre, in Poulain, De Thou, and Davila.

for the procurators of court, one for the clerks, one for the recorders, and so forth. Thus the city of Paris, which had moreover received a Roman catholic military organization, was soon embraced by this more secret and more effective league. Nor was it thought enough that Paris should be thus organized; the association extended itself to Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Bourdeaux and Rouen; and there appeared deputies in those cities from the association in Paris. They all bound themselves to tolerate no Huguenots in France, and to do away with the abuses in the government.

This is what was called the League of the Sixteen. As soon as it saw itself in some measure grown strong, intelligence was sent to the Guises. In the most profound secrecy Mayenne, the duke's brother, came to Paris, and the princes and the citizens concluded their union.[1]

Henry III. already felt the ground shaking under his feet. Word was brought to him from day to day of the movements of his opponents. Already were the leaguers as daring as to propose in the Sorbonne the question, how far it is right to withdraw from allegiance to a prince who does not do his duty. The affirmative was maintained in a council of from thirty to forty doctors. The king was in the utmost wrath, threatening to do as Pope Sixtus had done, and to rivet the refractory preachers with iron to the galleys. But he had not the pope's energy to execute his purposes; all he did was to have the Swiss that were in his service pushed forward to the neighbourhood of the capital.

Alarmed at the threat involved in this, the citizens sent to Guise, imploring him to come and protect them. The king let him know that such a step would not be agreeable to him. Guise came notwithstanding.

All was now ripe for a huge explosion.

It broke out on the king causing the Swiss to march in. In a moment the city was barricaded. The Swiss were forced back; the Louvre was threatened; the king had to make up his mind to fly.[2]

[1] "Nel palazzo di Rens dietro alla chiesa di S. Agostino - - giurarono tutti una scambievol lega non solo defensiva ma assoluta."—[In the palace of Rens, within the church of St. Augustine, they all swore mutually not only to a defensive but to an absolute league.]

[2] Maffei censures Guise for suffering this: "Inanis popularis aurse et infausto

Guise had already thus large a portion of France in his power; but now he became master of Paris also. The Bastille, the arsenal, the Hotel de Ville, and all the places around, fell into his hands. The king was completely overpowered. In a short time he had to submit so far as to proceed to a prohibition of the protestant religion, and to give up to the Guises still other places besides what they already had. The duke of Guise might be regarded as absolute master of the one half of France. The high office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, bestowed on him by Henry III., gave him a legitimate authority over the other. The States-general were convened. There could not be a doubt that Roman catholic opinions would predominate at that assembly. The most decisive steps towards the ruin of the Huguenots, and in favour of the Roman catholic party, were to be expected from it.

SAVOY AND SWITZERLAND.

It is evident that this preponderance of Roman catholicism in so powerful a kingdom could not fail to exercise a kindred influence over the neighbouring territories.

The Roman catholic cantons of Switzerland, in particular, attached themselves ever more and more closely to the ecclesiastical principle and the Spanish alliance.

It is curious to observe the extraordinary effects with which the regular establishment of *nunciaturas* was followed in Switzerland as well as in Germany.

Immediately upon this being brought to a bearing, in 1586, the Roman catholic cantons joined the so called Golden or Borromean league, in which they bound themselves and their successors for ever, "to live and to die in the true, undoubted, ancient, apostolic, Romish faith."[1] Thereupon they received the host from the hand of the nuncio.

Had the party, which in 1587 made itself master of the government at Mühlhausen, really gone over to the Roman catholic faith, as it affected to do, and done so also at the right

potentiæ ostentatione contentus Henricum incolumem abire permittit."—[Content with the mere show of popular favour and luckless power, he allows Henry to depart in safety.] (l. l. 38.)

[1] "Ihre ewigen Nachkommen,"—[their aftercomers for ever,] as it runs in the record of the league: see Lauffer's "Beschreibung helvetischer Geschichte."—[Account of Helvetic History.] Bd. X. S. 331.

time, it would without doubt have been supported by the Roman catholics. Conferences on the subject had been already held in the nuncio's house at Lucerne. But the Mühlhausen people took too much time for consideration; the protestants on the other hand, conducted with the utmost rapidity the expedition whereby they restored the old government, which was chiefly attached to them.[1]

But at this crisis the three forest cantons, together with Zug, Lucerne and Freiburg, took a new and important step. After a long negotiation, on the 12th of May 1587, they formed a league with Spain, in which they engaged themselves to perpetual friendship with the king, empowered him to enlist men in their territory, and allowed him a free passage through the mountains; while Philip II. made corresponding concessions on his part. The main object of their mutual engagement was that in the event of their being involved in a war on account of the holy apostolic see, they should mutually assist each other with all their resources.[2] The six cantons excepted none from this stipulation, not even their confederates. Quite to the contrary, it was against them precisely that the league was unquestionably directed; there was no other power which they needed care about going to war with on account of religion.

Here too, how much stronger was the religious than the national element! Community in the faith now united the old Swiss and the House of Austria! The confederation was for the moment left on the back ground.

Yet it fortunately happened that there was no occasion given for instantaneous hostility. The influence of these alliances was felt in the first instance by Geneva only.

Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, a prince distinguished during his whole life for a restless ambition, had often ere now signified his being disposed to avail himself of some favourable opportunity of again making himself master of the city of Geneva, considering himself as its rightful sovereign. But his views had uniformly come to nothing, directly owing to the resistance of

[1] The religious crisis in the Mühlhausen business comes out particularly in the account given by Anomino Capitol., founded on the nuncio's reports, and to which we shall return in criticizing Tempesti.

[2] Traité d'alliance fait entre Philippe II. etc. Dumont: Corps diplomatique V. I. p. 459.

the Swiss and French, and the protection which these powers had furnished to the Genevese.

But circumstances were now altered. In the summer of 1588, Henry III. under the influence of the Guises, engaged to refrain from disturbing any future enterprise against Geneva. At least the Roman catholic cantons of Switzerland had now nothing to oppose to it. In so far as I can discover, they only required, that on Geneva being taken it should not be allowed to remain a fortified place.

Upon this the duke made preparations for the attack. The Genevese did not lose heart; they even made occasional incursions into the duke's territory. But this time Berne afforded them only very doubtful aid. The Roman catholic party had extended its alliances into the very midst of that city, intimately bound up as it was with all protestant interests; there was a faction in it which would have been nowise unwilling to see Geneva fall into the hands of the duke.[1] Hence it was that the advantage came very soon to be on his side. He had possessed the counties that lay next to the Swiss frontiers hitherto, only under the most trammeling conditions, imposed on him by previous pacifications with Berne; but he now first of all seized the opportunity of making himself completely master in these. He expelled the protestants whom he had hitherto tolerated there, and made the whole region exclusively Roman catholic. Hitherto he had been prohibited from erecting fortresses on that part of his territory. He now founded these at points where they would serve not only for purposes of defence, but also for distressing Geneva.

But ere these things had proceeded further, other enterprises were in progress which led to the expectation of far more important results, and to a complete revolution in the relations of Europe.

EXPEDITION AGAINST ENGLAND.

THE Netherlands were now for the most part subdued, and negotiations were already on foot for the voluntary submission

[1] The fifth article of the compact drawn up on the occasion, leaves no doubt on the subject, even although a certain obscurity hangs over the proof of a juridical crime being committed by Wattenwyl. Some extracts from pamphlets written on both sides, and from the acts of the council of Berne, may be found in Gelzer's "Die drei letzen Jahrhunderte der Schweizergeschichte."—[Three last centuries of Swiss History.] Bd. I. p. 128, 137.

of the remainder. In Germany the Roman catholic movement had obtained the mastery in so many territories, and a project was conceived for overpowering those that were still awanting. What with conquests, the occupation of strong places, the attachment of the people and the authority of law, the champions of French Roman catholicism were proceeding in a career that seemed likely to lead to their sole ascendancy. Even that old metropolis of protestant doctrine, the city of Geneva, came to be no longer shielded from danger by the alliances she had hitherto maintained. Such was the moment when the plan was formed to lay the axe to the root of the tree and to assault England.

The centre of the whole protestant power and policy was without doubt to be found in England. The still unconquered provinces in the Netherlands, as well as the Huguenots in France, had their chief stay in Queen Elizabeth.

But already in England also, as we have seen, an internal struggle revealed itself. Urged at once by a religious enthusiasm which had been fostered for this very object, and by love of home, there were ever coming over new pupils of the seminaries and more and more Jesuits. Queen Elizabeth opposed them with severe laws. In 1582 she caused it forthwith to be declared high treason to attempt to seduce any of her subjects from the religion established in her kingdom to the Roman catholic.[1] In 1585 she commanded all Jesuits and priests of the seminaries to leave England within forty days, under the penalty of being treated as traitors to the country; much the same as protestant preachers had to withdraw from so many territories belonging to Roman catholic princes.[2] In this sense she at that time caused the high commission to bestir itself; a court expressly intended to take cognisance of violations of the acts of supremacy and conformity, not only in the usual legal forms, but also by whatever means and ways might seem advisable; even to the extorting of a solemn oath; a kind of protestant inquisition.[3] Elizabeth therewithal would fain have ever avoided the appearance of doing any

[1] Camden: Rerum Anglicarum annales regnante Elizabetha, I. p. 349.

[2] Ibid. p. 396.

[3] "As well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men as also by witnesses and all other means and ways you can devise." It must have run at least as follows; "lawful means and ways." Neal: History of the Puritans, vol. I. p. 414.

thing prejudicial to liberty of conscience. She declared that it was not the restoration of religion that the Jesuits had at heart; that their sole object was to seduce the country into a revolt from the government, and to open the way for the entrance of foreign enemies. The missionaries protested; "before God and the saints," as they said, "before heaven and earth," that their object was purely religious, and did not affect the royal majesty.[1] But what intellect was capable of discriminating between these principles. The queen's inquisitors did not allow themselves to be put off with a simple protestation. They insisted on having a declaration whether the curse pronounced by Pius V., on the queen, was lawful and binding on an Englishman; the prisoners had to say what, in the event of the pope absolving them from their oath of allegiance and attacking England, they would do, and on which side they would range themselves. The poor excruciated creatures knew not how to extricate themselves from such a dilemma. They gave for answer indeed, that they would render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and unto God the things that were God's, but this very subterfuge was taken by their judges for a confession. And so the prisons were filled; execution followed upon execution; Roman catholicism too had her martyrs; they have been reckoned under the reign of Elizabeth at about 200.[2] Naturally the zeal of the missionaries was not thereby suppressed; with the severity of the laws here was an increase in the number of the refractory, the recusants as they were called; and their feelings too, became more embittered. Pamphlets representing what Judith did to Holofernes, as an example of piety and heroism worthy of all imitation, even reached the court. The eyes of

[1] Campiani vita et martyrium, p. 159. "Coram Deo profiteor et angelis ejus, coram cœlo terraque, coram mundo et hoc cui adsto tribunali, me nec criminis læsæ majestatis nec perduellionis nec ullius in patriam conjurationis esse reum," etc.—[Life and Martyrdom of Campian, p. 159. I profess before God and his angels, before heaven and earth, before the world and this court before which I stand, that I am guilty neither of the crime of leze majesty, nor of treason, nor of any conspiracy against my countrymen.]

[2] A marvellously small number surely, when we consider that Elizabeth's was a long reign, that simple toleration never would have satisfied the Roman catholics, nor have put a stop to their treasons, but, above all, when we recollect that in the countries lying opposite to England, that terrible power, the Papacy, had caused the deaths, often in a horrible manner, of hundreds of thousands of victims. If fear be naturally cruel, what cruelties might not have been naturally suggested in England by Alva's atrocities in the Netherlands, and by the single Bartholomew massacre in France, not to speak of her own bloody Mary? Tr.

the greater number were constantly turned to the imprisoned queen of Scotland, who, according to the decisions pronounced by the papal see, was indeed the lawful queen of England; and they constantly cherished the hope of a general revolution of affairs, as likely to follow upon an attack by the Roman catholic powers. In Italy and Spain there were circulated the most exasperating representations of the cruelties to which the orthodox in England were exposed, representations which could not but revolt every Roman catholic heart.[1]

In this Pope Sixtus, more than all others, sympathized. It is quite true that he felt a certain esteem for so magnanimous and brave a personage as Elizabeth proved herself, and he at one time actually sent her a proposal for her return to the bosom of the Roman catholic church. Most singular proposal! As if she had been able to choose; as if her previous life, all that gave consequence to her very being and position in the world, even although her convictions had not been completely formed, had not tied her down to protestant interests! Elizabeth sent no reply, but she laughed, on hearing which the pope said he must seriously think of wresting the kingdom from her by force.

Hitherto he had only hinted this. But early in the year 1586 he openly proceeded to his purpose. He boasted that he would support the king of Spain in an invasion of England, very differently from the manner in which Charles V. had been supported by earlier popes.[2]

In January 1587, he loudly complained of the dilatoriness of the Spaniards. He enumerated the advantages which a victory over England offered them for the recovery of the rest of the Netherlands![3]

[1] "Theatrum crudelitatum hæreticorum nostri temporis."—[Theatre of the cruelties of the heretics of our time.] It begins with a "peculiaris descriptio crudelitatum et immanitatum schismaticorum Angliæ regnante Henrico VIII."—[particular description of the cruelties and outrages of the schismatics of England under the reign of Henry VIII.] and closes with "Inquisitionis Anglicanæ et facinorum crudelium Machiavellanorum in Anglia et Hibernia a Calvinistis protestantibus sub Elizabetha etiamnum regnante peractorum descriptiones."—[Descriptions of the English Inquisition and of the cruel Machiavellian crimes perpetrated in England and Ireland, by Calvinistic protestants, under Elizabeth, now reigning.]

[2] Dispaccio Gritti 31 Maggio 1586: "accresciuto quatro volte tanto. Il papa vorria che si fingesse d'andar contra Draco e si piegasse poi in Inghilterra."—[Gritti's dispatch 31 May 1586: "augmented four-fold. The pope wished him to feign proceeding against Drake, and then turn against England."]

[3] Dispaccio Gritti 10 Genn. 1587.

Ere long he was exasperated at these delays. When Philip II. published a pragmatica, by which the titulars in general, and consequently those even that were claimed by the Romish curia, were circumscribed, the pope was in a flaming passion. "How?" he exclaimed, "against us will Don Philip act thus impetuously, while he tamely submits to maltreatment from a woman?"[1]

In fact, the king was not spared. Elizabeth openly interested herself in the Netherlands; Drake made all the American and European coasts insecure. What Pope Sixtus uttered, was in truth the opinion of all Roman catholics. They were confounded at the mighty king who could submit to so much. The Cortes of Castile applied to him, urging him to revenge himself.

Philip was even personally insulted. He came at last to be ridiculed in comedies and masks, and on one occasion he was informed of this. The aged prince, who had never been accustomed to any thing but reverence, sprang from his chair; never had he been seen so enraged.

Such were the feelings of both pope and king, when the news arrived that Elizabeth had caused the queen of Scotland to be executed. This is not the place to inquire what legitimate authority she could have had for doing so; in the main it was an act of political justice. The first idea of it occurred, in so far as I can discover, about the time of the St. Bartholomew massacre. The bishop who held the see of London at that time, in one of his letters to Lord Burghley, expresses his alarm lest so treacherous a commencement should extend likewise over England; he considers the root of this peril to be chiefly in the Scottish queen: "the security of the kingdom," he exclaims, "demands that her head should be cut off."[2] But how much more powerful a party in Europe had the Roman catholics become; how much more violent was the ferment and commotion amongst them in England! With her cousins the Guises, with the malcontents in the country, with the king of Spain and the pope, Mary Stuart stood at all times in secret alliance. The Roman

[1] "Dolendosi che'l re si lascia strapazzar da una donna e vuol poi bravar con lei (Sua Santità)."—[Lamenting that the king should allow himself to be ill used by a woman, and then wish to play the bravado with him (His Holiness).]

[2] Edwyn Sandys to Lord Burghley, Fulham, 5th of Sept. 1572. The saftie of our Quene and Realme yf God wil; furtwith to cutte of the Scotish Quene's heade; "ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas"—[she herself is the calamity of our land]. -- Ellis's Letters; second series, t. III. p. 25.

catholic principle, in so far as from its very nature it was opposed to the existing government, was represented in her. On the very first success of the Roman catholics, she would without fail have been called to be queen. This her position, resulting from the state of things, from which she certainly did not withdraw herself, she atoned for with her life.

But this execution now at last brought the Spanish and papal projects to maturity. It was beyond what people could submit to bear. Sixtus filled the consistory with his outcries about the English Jezebel, who had dared to lay hands on the consecrated head of a princess subject to none but Jesus Christ, and as she herself had acknowledged, to his vicar. To show how entirely he approved of the activity of the Roman catholic opposition in England, he appointed William Allen, the first founder of the seminaries, to be a cardinal of the church, an appointment which, in Rome at least, was thought tantamount to a declaration of war against England. Now, too, a formal league was concluded between Philip II. and the pope.[1] The latter engaged to supply the king with a million scudi in aid of his undertaking; but as he was always upon his guard, particularly when money matters were concerned, he bound himself to pay this sum only when the king should have taken possession of an English harbour. "Let your Majesty delay no longer," he wrote to the king, "every delay will turn good aims into bad results." The king strained all the resources of his kingdom, and fitted out the armada which has been called "the invincible."

Thus did the powers of Italy and Spain, after having already been so mightily influential throughout the world, put forth their energies for an attack on England. Already did the king order to be collected from the Archives of Simancas, the claims which he himself, after the failure of the Stuarts, pretended to have upon that crown; and the expedition was associated besides, in his mind, with brilliant prospects, particularly of an universal supremacy at sea.

All things seemed to co-operate towards a common result;

[1] The original views of the pope are in Dispaccio Gritti 27 June 1587. "Il papa fa gran offerta al re per l'impresa l'Inghilterra, ma vuole la denomination del re e che'l regno sia feudo della chiesa."—[The pope makes great offers to the king for the English enterprise, but wishes the nomination of the king, and that the kingdom should be a fief of the church.]

the ascendancy of Roman catholicism in Germany; the renewed attack on the Huguenots in France; the attempt against Geneva; the expedition against England. At the same moment, a decidedly Roman catholic prince, Sigismund III., as we shall afterwards consider more closely, ascended the throne of Poland, with the rights of a future succession to that of Sweden.

At the very time when any principle whatever is tending towards an absolute ascendancy in Europe, it yet in every instance encounters a powerful resistance, arising from the deepest springs of life.

Philip II. found himself confronted in England with youthful vigour, with energies pressing forwards in the full consciousness of their future destiny. Those bold cruisers which made all seas insecure, assembled round the coasts of their country. The protestants in one body, not excepting even the Puritans, although they had had to endure as severe oppressions as the Roman catholics, gathered round the queen, who now preserved to an astonishing degree her manly spirit and princely talent for winning the affections of her subjects, directing them and attaching them. The insular position of the country, the very elements co-operated towards the defence. The invincible armada was annihilated before it had so much as made its assault; the expedition utterly failed.

Nevertheless it is evident, that the plan, the grand intention, was not abandoned forthwith.

The Roman catholics were reminded by the authors of their party, that Julius Cæsar, and Henry VII. too, the grandfather of Elizabeth, had misgiven in their first attacks on England, and yet had ended with making themselves masters of the country. That God often delayed the triumph of his faithful ones. That the children of Israel when at war with the tribe of Benjamin, which they had undertaken at God's express command, were twice defeated with great loss; the third attack was the first that gave them the victory; "then the flame destroyed the cities and villages of Benjamin; the edge of the sword slew men and cattle." "The English," they exclaimed, "may think on this and not be too insolent while their punishment is delayed."[1]

[1] Andreæ Philopatri (Parsoni) ad Elizabethæ reginæ Angliæ edictum responsio § 146, 147. "Nulla," he adds, "ipsorum fortitudine repulsa vis est, sed iis potius casibus qui sæpissime in res bellicas solent incidere, aëris nimirum inclementia,

Philip II., too, had by no means lost courage. He proposed to fit out smaller and more easily manœuvred vessels; and without first seeking a junction with the Netherlandish force in the channel, to attempt at once a landing on the English coast. The arsenal at Lisbon became the scene of the most animated operations. The king was resolved to put forth every effort, even should it be necessary, as he said one day at table, to sell the silver candlesticks that stood before him.[1]

But while this was occupying his thoughts, still other prospects and a new scene for the active exercise of the Italian and Spanish Roman catholic resources for contest, opened up.

ASSASSINATION OF HENRY III.

Soon after the calamity that befel the fleet, a re-action appeared in France, unlooked for, as so often was the case, violent, bloody.

At the moment that Guise, who turned the states when met at Blois, as he pleased, seemed likely, with the office of constable, to obtain the management of the whole affairs of the kingdom, Henry III. caused him to be put to death. That king, on seeing himself assaulted and beset by the Roman catholic Spanish opinions, rid himself at once of their trammels and threw himself into the opposite side.

But with Guise his party, the League, was not destroyed. Now for the first time it assumed a directly hostile position, and allied itself more closely than ever with Spain.

maris incogniti inexperientia, nonnullorumque fortassis hominum vel negligentia vel inscitia, dei denique voluntate, quia forte misericors dominus arborem infructuosam dimittere adhuc voluit ad tertium annum evangelicum."—[Andrew Philopater's (Parsons) answer to the edict of Elizabeth, Queen of England, § 146, 147. "No force," he adds, "has been repelled by their courage, but rather by those accidents which very often use to fall out in warlike affairs, to wit, the inclemency of the weather, inexperience of an unknown sea, possibly by the negligence or the ignorance of some men, finally by God's good pleasure, since the merciful Lord hath desired perhaps to delay the cutting down of the barren tree until the third evangelic year."]

[1] Dispacci Gradenigo 29 Sett. 1588. "Sì come il re ha sentito molto questo accidente di mala fortuna, così mostra di esser più che mai resoluto di seguitar la impresa con tutte le sue forze."—11 Ott. "S. M^ta sta ardentissima nel pensar e trattar le provisioni per l'anno futuro." 1 Nov. "Si venderanno," exclaimed the king, "esti candellieri, quando non vi sia altro modo di far danari."—[Truly as the king felt much this accident of bad fortune, so he made show of being more than ever resolved to prosecute the enterprise with all his forces.—11th Oct. His Majesty continues most eagerly to think and consult about the provisions for next year.—1st November. "These very candlesticks must be sold," exclaimed the king, "if money cannot be had otherwise."]

Pope Sixtus was entirely on its side.

Already had the murder of the duke, whom he loved and admired, and in whom he beheld one of the church's chief supports, filled him with sorrow and indignation,[1] but it struck him as altogether insufferable that in addition to that, Cardinal Guise also should be murdered, "a cardinal-priest," he exclaimed in the consistory, "a noble member of the holy see, without process or sentence, by the civil power, just as if there were no pope in the world, as if there were no longer any God!" He censured his legate Morosini "for not having instantly excommunicated the king;" saying that he should have done that, even though it might have cost him his life a hundred times.[2]

The king did not allow himself to be much disturbed by the wrath of the pope. He could not be induced to deliver up the cardinal of Bourbon or the archbishop of Lyons, whom he also kept in confinement. He was continually required by Rome to declare Henry of Navarre incapable of ascending the throne; instead of that he formed a junction with him.

Hereupon the pope resolved to adopt extreme measures. He even summoned the king to appear at Rome, to justify himself for having murdered the cardinal. In case of his not restoring the prisoners to liberty within a set time, he was to be laid under the ban.

This course, the pope declared, was absolutely required of him; should he act otherwise he would have to answer for it to God, as the most useless of popes; whereas did he thus discharge his duty, he needed not have to fear the whole world; he did not doubt that Henry III. would perish like King Saul.[3]

[1] The pope further complained especially that the king had procured a brief; "che li concesse poter esser assolto da qual si voglia peccato anco riservato alla sede apostolica, col quale si voglia hora coprire il grave peccato che ha fatto,"—[which had granted him the power of being absolved from any sin he chose, if still reserved to the apostolic see, with which (brief) he now wished to cover the grave offence he had committed.] (Dispaccio Veneto.)

[2] Tempesti II. 137, has both the pope's discourse at full length and the letter to Morosini. "Essendo ammazzato il cardinale," it so runs, "in faccia di V. S^ria Illma, legato a latere, come non ha publicato l'interdetto, ancorchè gliene fossero andate cento vite?"—[On the cardinal being put to death, before the eyes of your most illustrious Lordship, legate a latere, why did you not publish the interdict, although a hundred lives had been taken from you?]

[3] Dispaccio 20th May, 1589. "Il papa accusa la sua negligentia di non haver fatto, dipoi mesi 5 che gli è stato ammazzato un cardinale e tenutone un altro prigione con un arcivescovo, alcuna rimostratione o provisione. Dubita dell'ira di dio etc."—[The pope blamed his own negligence for not having made any remonstrance or taken any steps, after five months had passed since one cardinal had been put to

The king, moreover, was abhorred by the Roman catholic zealots and adherents of the League, as an abandoned person and a reprobate; the conduct of the pope at the same time confirming them in their wild opposition. The pontiff's prediction was fulfilled sooner than people could have believed. On the 23d of June the Monitorium was published in France; on the 1st of August the king was murdered by Clement.

The pope himself was astonished. "In the midst of his army," he exclaimed, "while projecting the conquest of Paris, in his own cabinet, he has been slain by a poor monk with a single thrust." This he ascribed to an immediate act of the divine will, God thereby testifying that he would not forsake France.[1]

Strange that a delusion should so generally enchain men's minds! This conviction prevailed among innumerable Roman catholics. "Nothing short of the hand of the Almighty himself," wrote Mendoza to Philip, "have we to thank for this happy incident."[2] Far from the scene, in Ingolstadt, lived the young Maximilian of Bavaria, occupied with his studies; yet in one of the earliest of his extant letters, he openly expresses to his mother the delight he had felt at the news, "that the king of France had been assassinated."[3]

This occurrence, however, had a different side. Henry of Navarre, whom the pope had excommunicated, and whom the Guises had so violently persecuted, now entered upon his legitimate rights. A protestant now assumed the title of a king of France.

The League, Philip II. and the pope were resolved that under no condition, would they allow him to attain to the enjoyment of his rights. Sixtus V. sent to France, in the room of Morosini, who seemed to be by far too lukewarm, a new legate,

death, and another kept in prison along with an archbishop. He feared the wrath of God, &c.]

[1] Dispaccio Veneto 1 Sett. "Il papa nel consistorio discorre, che'l successo della morte del re di Francia si ha da conoscer dal voler espresso del signor Dio, e che perciò si doveva confidar che continuarebbe al haver quel regno nella sua protettione."—[The pope argued in the consistory that the death of the king of France was an event to be owned as proceeding from the express will of God, and that from this one might trust that he would continue to have that kingdom under his protection.

[2] In Capefigue V. 200.

[3] In Wolf; Maximilian, I. part I p. 107.

Gaetano, who was considered to be in the Spanish interest, and gave him, what he had never done before, a sum of money to lay out to the best advantage for the League. What he was before all things to see to, was that none but a Roman catholic should become king of France. Certainly the crown should belong to a prince of the blood, but that was not the only pre-requisite; the strict order of hereditary succession had been departed from on other occasions, but never had a heretic been admitted; the grand affair remained, that the king should be a good Roman catholic.[1]

Influenced by these sentiments the pope deemed it even praiseworthy in the duke of Savoy taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in France, to possess himself of Saluzzo, which at that time belonged to France. "Better," said Sixtus, "that the duke should take it than that it should fall into the hands of the Huguenots."[2]

And now all depended on the assistance to be given to the League in its endeavours to succeed in the conflict with Henry IV.

For this a new agreement was projected between Spain and the pope. The most zealous of the inquisitors, Cardinal Sanseverina, was employed to draw out the plan of it under the secret seal of the confessional. The pope engaged positively to send into France an army of 15,000 infantry and 800 horse; he declared, moreover, that he was ready to pay subsidies as soon as the king should have penetrated into France with a powerful army. The pope's military force was to be under the command of the duke of Urbino, a subject of his Holiness, and an adherent of his Majesty.[3]

[1] Dispaccio Veneto 30 Sett. The pope declares: "che non importava che'l fosse eletto più del sangue che di altra famiglia, essendo ciò altre volte occorso, ma mai eretico dopo la nostra religione: che Savoia, Lorena e forse anche Umena pretendeva la corona; che S. Sta non vuol favorir l'uno più che l'altro."—[that it was not of consequence that he should be elected from the blood rather than from some other family, that having occurred on other occasions, but never an heretic since our religion; that Savoy, Lorraine, and perhaps Umena (Mayenne?) too pretended to the crown; that his Holiness had no wish to favour one more than another.] Extract from the Instruction in Tempesti, II. 233.

[2] Objections to that effect were made to him; "il papa si giustifica con molte ragioni della impresa che'l sopradetto duca ha fatto del marchesato di Saluzzo con sua participatione. Dispaccio Veneto."—[The pope indeed justifies with many reasons the attack which the said duke has made on the marquisate of Saluzzo with his participation. Venetian dispatch.]

[3] Authentic notice in the cardinal's autobiography which Tempesti has already adopted, II. 236.

In such wise did these Italian Spanish forces, leagued with their adherents in France, prepare to secure for themselves the crown of that country for ever.

There could not have been a grander prospect either for Spain or for the pope. Spain would be relieved for ever from the old rivalship, which had so long confined and hampered it. The sequel shows how much Philip II. had this at heart. But for the papal power too it would have been an immense advance, to exercise a substantial influence on the placing of a king on the throne of France. Gaetano was commissioned equally to demand that the Inquisition should be introduced and the liberties of the Gallican church abolished. But it would have signified much more, that a legitimate monarch should be excluded from the throne out of regard to religious considerations.

The ecclesiastical impulses which penetrated the world besides in all directions, would thereby have acquired a complete ascendency.

BOOK SIXTH.

INTERNAL OPPOSITIONS OF DOCTRINE AND POLITICAL POWER. 1589—1607.

How perfectly different was the course that had been taken by the spiritual development of the world, from what might have been expected at the commencement of the century.

At that time ecclesiastical bonds were thrown off; the nations sought to separate themselves from their common spiritual chief; at the very court of Rome itself, the principles on which the hierarchy reposed were ridiculed; profane efforts predominated in literature and art; the axioms of a heathen morality were openly avowed.

Now, how had all things become changed! In the name of religion we see wars commenced, conquests made, states revolutionized! Never was there a time in which divines were more powerful than at the close of the sixteenth century. They sat in the councils of princes and discoursed on political matters to the people from the pulpits. They lorded it over schools, learning, and literature in general. The confessional enabled them to scan the secret communings of the soul with itself, and to decide all the doubts of private life. We may venture perhaps to say that their influence was thus comprehensive and pervading, just because they were involved in so vehement a contradiction with one another; because they carried their antagonism in themselves.

Now though this was the case on both sides, yet it was most evidently so on that of the Roman catholics. There the ideas and institutions which served most to discipline and guide the mind, were adjusted so as to attain their object in the fullest

degree; people could no longer live without father confessors. There the clergy, whether as members of one of the religious orders, or of the hierarchy in general, formed more completely a corporation bound together by a strict subordination of ranks, all acting in one and the same spirit. The head of this hierarchical body, the pope at Rome, came again to possess a not much less considerable influence than he had exercised in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By the undertakings which he was perpetually setting on foot for the attainment of religious objects, he held the world in breath.

Under these circumstances the boldest pretensions of the times of Hildebrand, principles which had been preserved hitherto in the arsenals of canon law, rather as relics of antiquity than any thing else, now awoke afresh and resumed all their practical influence and efficacy.

Our European commonwealth has never submitted to the commands of mere power; it has in every important conjuncture been filled with ideas. No important enterprise can prosper, no power advance to general importance, without the ideal notion of an advancement of the social order simultaneously appearing in men's minds. At this point theories spring up. They reproduce the spiritual meaning and import of facts, and represent them as a demand of reason or of religion, as a result of thought enlightened by a generally acknowledged truth. They thus, as it were, anticipate the completion of the event, and at the same time mightily contribute towards its accomplishment.

Let us consider how this happened in the present instance.

ECCLESIASTICAL-POLITICAL THEORY.

THE Roman catholic principle has not unfrequently been thought to be of peculiar consequence to the monarchical or aristocratical form of government, and to have an inherent tendency to that form. A century like the sixteenth, in which this principle advanced in full practical efficiency and self-determination, can inform us best on this subject. In point of fact we find that it attached itself at that time in Italy and Spain, to the existing order of things, that in Germany it contributed to procure for the sovereign power a new preponderance over the estates of the country, that in the Netherlands it promoted the conquests of

the country, and that in Upper Germany, too, and in the Walloon provinces, the nobility clung to it with a peculiar predilection. But if we inquire further we shall find that these were not the only sympathies which it called forth. If in Cologne it was embraced by the patricians, at no great distance from that, in Treves, it was embraced by the commonalty. In the great cities of France it everywhere associated itself with the claims and with the struggles of the populace. All depended only on the question where it found its supports, where its chief resource in case of need. If the existing governments were opposed to it, it was far from sparing them, nay, even from so much as owning them. It strengthened the Irish nation in its inborn spirit of resistance to the English government. In England itself it undermined to the utmost of its power the allegiance required by the queen, and often burst forth in actual rebellion. In France it sanctioned at last the insurrection of its adherents against their lawful prince. As regards its own interests, the religious principle in general, has no predilection for this or the other form of government. During the brief period of its renovation Roman catholicism had already manifested the most unequivocal leanings, first to the monarchical authority in Italy and Spain, and to the sanctioning of territorial domination in Germany; after that, in the Netherlands, to the maintenance of the privileges of the aristocratical orders; at the close of the century it distinctly coalesced with democratical tendencies. This was of the more consequence from its now standing in the utmost plenitude of its efficiency, and as the movements in which it took a part constituted the most important in which the world was concerned. Had the popes succeeded at this moment, they would have conquered for themselves for ever a preponderating influence over the state. They advanced pretensions, and their adherents and defenders put forward opinions and maxims, which threatened alike kingdoms and commonwealths with intestine revolutions and the loss of their independence.

It was the Jesuits chiefly that appeared on the scene of conflict, for the purpose of proposing and abetting doctrines of this sort.

First of all, they laid claim to an unlimited supremacy on the part of the church over the state.

With a kind of necessity they came upon this point in England, where the queen had been declared to be the head of the church by the laws of the land. This very principle the chiefs of the Roman catholic opposition met with the most arrogant pretensions on the other side. William Allen declared that it was not only the right but the duty of a nation, particularly if the command of the pope supervened, to refuse allegiance to a prince who had revolted from the Roman catholic church.[1] Persons[2] holds it to be the fundamental condition of all power in a monarch, that he shall cherish and protect the Roman catholic faith; but this is implied in his baptismal vows and his coronation oath; it were blindness to hold him capable of ascending the throne even in the case of his not fulfilling that condition; much more were the subjects bound in that event to expel him.[3] All very naturally! These authors place the aim and duty of life in general in the practice of religion; the Roman catholic they hold to be the only true one; they conclude that it can be no legitimate power that conflicts with this religion. The very essence of a government, the loyal obedience which it enjoys,

[1] In the writing, Ad persecutores Anglos pro Christianis responsio (1582),—[Answer for Christians to the English persecutors (1582).] I observe the following passage: "Si reges deo et dei populo fidem datam fregerint, vicissim populo non solum permittitur, sed etiam ab eo requiritur ut jubente Christi Vicario, supremo nimirum populorum omnium pastore, ipse quoque fidem datam tali principi non servet."—[If kings shall have violated their faith pledged to God and God's people, the people reciprocally are not only permitted, but it is required of them that when commanded to do so by Christ's vicar, that is by the supreme pastor of all peoples, they too shall not keep faith with such a prince.]

[2] Persons, known under the name of Robertus Personius, a Jesuit, was a native of Somersetshire, and became a zealous propagator and defender of Romanism. For this he wrote several works, and died at Rome in 1610, after having taught at the colleges of Seville, Valladolid, Cadiz and Lisbon, and afterwards at Douay, St. Omer, and Rome. See Moreri's Dictionnaire Historique. Tr.

[3] Andreæ Philopatri (Personi) ad Elizabethæ reginæ edictum responsio No. 162:—Non tantum licet, sed summa etiam juris divini necessitate ac præcepto, immo conscientiæ vinculo arctissimo et extremo animarum suarum periculo ac discrimine Christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si præstare rem possunt. No. 163: Incumbit vero tum maxime - - cum res jam ab ecclesia ac supremo ejus moderatore, pontifice nimirum Romano, judicata est: ad illum enim ex officio pertinet religionis ac divini cultus incolumitati prospicere et leprosos a mundis, ne inficiantur, secernere."—[Answer by Andrew Patriot (Persons) to the edict of Queen Elizabeth. No. 162: Not only is it allowable, but this very thing, if they can carry it into effect, is incumbent on all Christians, by the highest necessity and precept even of the divine law, yea, by the strictest bond of conscience, and the extreme danger and jeopardy of their souls. No. 163: But then indeed is it most incumbent - - when the matter has been judicially determined by the church and its supreme moderator, namely, the Roman pontiff: for to him it belongs, in virtue of his office, to see to the safe keeping of religion and divine worship, and to set apart the leprous from the pure, lest these should become infected.]

they make to depend on the application of its power to the furtherance of the Roman catholic church.

Yet this was, in general, the meaning involved in the doctrine coming into vogue. What was put forward in England in the heat of controversy, was repeated by Bellarmin from the solitude of his study, in extensive publications, and embodied in a consistent and well-pondered system. He laid it down as a fundamental proposition that the pope was placed immediately by God himself, before the church as her guardian and chief.[1] On this account even the plenitude of spiritual power belonged to him; to him it was accorded that he could not err; he judged all men and no man durst judge him; accordingly from this there accrued to him a large participation in the secular authority. Bellarmin does not go so far as to ascribe to the pope, as of divine right, a direct secular power,[2] although Sixtus V. cherished this notion, and even took it amiss when people abandoned it; but so much the more unquestionably does he impute such a power to him indirectly. He likens the secular power to the body, and the spiritual to the soul of man; and ascribes to the church the same dominion over the state that the soul exercises over the body. The spiritual government has the right, and it is its duty to lay the reins on the secular, as soon as the latter becomes hurtful to the objects which religion aims at accomplishing. One cannot say that to the pope there belongs a regular influence on the state's legislation;[3] but should a law be neces-

[1] Bellarminus de conciliorum autoritate c. 17: "Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam et supra concilium generale, ita ut nullum in terris supra se judicium agnoscat."—[Bellarmin on the authority of councils, c. 17: The supreme pontiff is simply and absolutely above the universal church, and above council general, so that he acknowledges no jurisdiction on the earth to which he is amenable.]

[2] Bellarminus de Romano pontifice V. VI.: "Asserimus, pontificem ut pontificem, etsi non habeat ullam meram temporalem potestatem, tamen habere in ordine ad bonum spirituale summam potestatem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum."—[Bellarmin on the Roman pontiff, V. VI.: We assert that the pontiff as the pontiff, although he may not have any purely temporal authority, yet has regularly, for the sake of spiritual good, supreme power of disposing of the temporalities of all Christians.]

[3] Bellarminus de Romano pontifice V. VI.: "Quantum ad personas, non potest papa ut papa ordinarie temporales principes deponere, etiam justa de causa, eo modo quo deponit episcopos, id est tanquam ordinarius judex: tamen potest mutare regna et uni auferre atque alteri conferre tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem; etc. etc."—[Bellarmin (as above). As respects persons, the pope as pope cannot ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for a just cause, in the same manner that he deposes bishops, that is as judge ordinary: yet he can change kingdoms and take away from one and confer upon an-

sary for the health of men's souls, and should the monarch refuse to proclaim it; again, should a law be prejudicial to men's souls, and should the monarch obstinately persist in it, the pope then would by all means be justified in ordering the one law and in abolishing the other. And already this principle carries us a great length. Does not the soul enjoin death itself to the body, should it be necessary? As a general rule, the pope cannot indeed dethrone a prince; but should it prove necessary to the good of souls, then he possesses the right of changing the government, and of handing it over from one person to another.[1]

These assertions were open only to the objection that the royal authority rests on divine right.

Or where else are we to find its origin, its significancy?

The Jesuits made no scruple of deriving the monarchical power from the people. They blended the theory of the sovereignty of the people, into one system with their doctrine on the omnipotence of the pope. Already did it lie, more or less openly avowed, at the foundation of what was taught by Allen and Persons; Bellarmin endeavours fully to establish it. He finds that God has bestowed civil power on no man in particular; hence it follows that he has bestowed it on the many; government therefore rests on the people; the people transfer it sometimes to an individual, sometimes to several; they even at all times retain the power of altering these forms, resuming the government, and transferring it to new hands. Let it not be supposed that this was his individual view of the matter only; it is in fact the leading doctrine of the Jesuit schools of that time. In a manual for father confessors, which found its way throughout the whole Roman catholic world, and was revised by the *magister sacri palatii*, (master of the sacred palace) the mon-

other, as supreme spiritual prince, if it should be necessary for the health of souls; etc. etc.] Professor Ranke omits a still stronger opinion to be found in Bellarmin's work on the Roman pontiff. It is quoted by Montlosier, Mémoire à consulter, p. 73, and is to the effect that it does not pertain to the clergy to assassinate kings, but that after having excommunicated them, executio ad alios pertineat, *i. e.* laymen may put them to death. Tr.

[1] These doctrines fundamentally, however, comprise anew maxims brought forward in 13th century. Thomas Aquinas had already used the comparison which plays so important a place here: "Potestas secularis subditur spirituali sicut corpus animæ."—[The secular power is subject to the spiritual, as the soul is to the body.] Bellarmin in the Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus G. Barclajum—[Treatise on the pope's supremacy in temporal matters against G. Barclay] adduces more than seventy authors, of different nations, whose notions of the power of the pope were much the same as his own.

archical power is not only regarded as subject to the pope in so far as is requisite for the health of souls;[1] we even find it bluntly stated that a king may be dethroned by the people on account of tyranny or the neglect of his duties; and another then chosen to succeed him by the majority of the nation.[2] Francis Suarez, primarius professor of theology at Coimbra, makes it his special concern, in his defence of the Roman catholic church against the Anglican, to illustrate and establish Bellarmin's doctrine.[3] But Mariana with a manifest predilection carries out the idea of the sovereignty of the people to its full extent. He rejects at once all questions that may be started with regard to it, and unhesitatingly decides them in favour of the people, and to the prejudice of the royal power. He has no doubt that people may venture not only to dethrone, but even to put to death a monarch in the case, namely, of his injuring religion. He bestows on James Clement who first consulted the divines, and then murdered his king, a eulogy replete with pathetic emphasis.[4] In this at least he went very consistently to work. These very doctrines had, without doubt, inflamed the murderer's fanaticism.[5]

[1] Aphorismi confessariorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti, autore Emanuele Sa, nuper accurate expurgati a rev^mo P. M. sacri palatii, ed. Antv. p. 480.—[Aphorisms for confessors, compiled from the opinions of learned men, by Emmanuel Sa, lately expurgated carefully by the most Reverend Father, Master of the sacred palace, Antwerp edition, p. 480.] Yet the author adds, as if he had not said enough; "Quidam tamen juris periti putarunt summum pontificem suprema civili potestate pollere."—[Some, however, who are learned in the law, have thought that the supreme pontiff is possessed of supreme civil power.]

[2] Ibid. p. 508 (ed. Colon, p. 313). "Rex potest per rempublicam privari ob tyrannidem, et si non faciat officium suum et cum est aliqua causa justa, et eligi potest alius a majore parte populi: quidam tamen solum tyrannidem causam putant."—[A king may be deprived of his office by the commonwealth on account of tyranny, and if he does not do his duty, and when there is any just cause: some, however, think that tyranny is the only cause.]

[3] R. P. Franc. Suarez Granatensis etc. defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores, lib. III., de summi pontificis supra temporales reges excellentia et potestate.—[The Rev. Father Francis Suarez of Granada, &c. defence of the catholic and apostolic faith against the errors of the Anglican sect, book III., concerning the supreme pontiff's superiority in rank and power, over temporal kings.] We see that Bellarmin's dogma of the people's right to take back the power they have once transferred, had aroused particular opposition.

[4] Mariana de rege et regis institutione.—[Mariana on the king and the institution of a king.] Among others: "Jac. Clemens - - cognito a theologis, quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interimi posse - - cæso rege ingens sibi nomen fecit."—[James Clement - - having known from divines whom he had consulted, that a tyrant might lawfully be cut off - - having slain the king, thereby obtained for himself a mighty name.]

[5] The reader will find in the XLI.'st chapter of Hume's History of England, that William Parry not only had the sanction of the papal nuncio at Paris, for an at-

For nowhere, indeed, had they been promulgated with more savage vehemence than in France. Nothing more anti-royal can be read than the diatribes thundered from the pulpit by John Boucher. This preacher finds that the states are the depositories of the public power and majesty, of authority to bind and to loose, of inalienable sovereignty, of the right of jurisdiction over sceptre and kingdom; for in them too resides the original source of these; the prince comes from the people, not by violence and compulsion, but by free election. The relation betwixt the state and the church he apprehends to be what Bellarmin describes, and repeats the simile of body and soul. One sole condition, says he, circumscribes the free will of the people; one thing only is forbidden them, namely, to choose a heretical king; they should thus draw down upon themselves the curse of God.[1]

Strange union of spiritual pretensions and democratical ideas, of absolute freedom and complete submissiveness, self-contradictory and anti-national, but which yet enchained the minds of men as if with an inexplicable spell.

The Sorbonne had hitherto at all times taken under its safeguard the royal and national privileges against the ultramontane pretensions of the priesthood. As now, after the death of the Guises, these doctrines were preached from all the pulpits; as it was bawled out on the streets, and set forth symbolically on altars and at processions, that King Henry III. had forfeited his crown, "the worthy burgesses and inhabitants of the city,"

tempt to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, but that his purpose was extremely applauded by the pope. Tr.

[1] Jean Boucher: Sermons, Paris 1594, in many passages: p. 194 runs thus; "L'eglise seigneurie les royaumes et estats de la chretienté, non pour y usurper puissance directe comme sur son propre temporel, mais bien indirectement pour empescher que rien ne se passe au temporel qui soit au prejudice du royaume de Jesus Christ, comme par cydevant il a esté declaré par la similitude de la puissance de l'esprit sur le corps."—[The church lords it over the kingdoms and states of Christendom, not to usurp a direct power over these as over its own temporalities, but indirectly to prevent any thing from taking place in temporal affairs which may prove prejudicial to the kingdom of Jesus, as was declared long ago by the similitude of the power of the soul over the body.] Farther: "La difference du prestre et du roi nous eclaircit cette matière, le prestre estant de dieu seul, ce qui ne se peut dire du roi. Car si tous les rois estoient morts, les peuples s'en pourroient bien faire d'autres: mais s'il n'y avoit plus aucun prestre, il faudroit que Jesus Christ vint en personne pour en faire de nouveaux." (p. 162.)—[The difference between priest and king elucidates this matter, the priest being from God alone, which cannot be said of king. For if all kings were to die, the nations could very well make others; but were there to be no more priests, it would be necessary that Jesus Christ should come again in person and make new ones. (p. 162.)]

as they call themselves, had recourse, "in the scruples of their conscience," to the theological faculty of the university at Paris, for the purpose of receiving a sure decision on the lawfulness of their opposition to their sovereign. Upon this the Sorbonne met on the 7th of January, 1589. The judgment they pronounced runs thus: "After the mature and free deliberation of all the masters, and after having heard many and various arguments, from Holy Scripture, the canon law, and papal ordinances, taken in a great measure word for word, it was concluded by the Dean of the faculty without any dissent, to the following effect; first, that the people of this kingdom are loosed from the oath of allegiance and obedience they had sworn to King Henry; further, that this people may without burthening their conscience unite, arm, and collect funds for the upholding of the Roman catholic apostolic religion against the abominable machinations of the above-named king."[1] Seventy members of the faculty were present on this occasion, and especially the younger part carried the resolution with wild enthusiasm.[2]

[1] Responsum facultatis theologicæ Parisiensis:—[Answer of the theological faculty of Paris:] printed in the Additions au journal de Henry III. tom. I. p. 317.—[Additions to the Journal of Henry III. vol. I. p. 317.]

[2] These principles are by no means obsolete or extinct. They have been boldly avowed and eloquently inculcated in the 19th century by de Bonald, de Maistre and other Ultramontane writers in France. The time for their open avowal in Britain and Ireland has not yet come. "It would be tedious," says the Count Montlosier, "to name all the Ultramontane doctors;" they amount to above a hundred, almost all Jesuits. After this we can understand on the one hand, the furies of the League and the horrible assassinations to which it led, and on the other the just apprehensions of Lewis XIV. and Lewis XV., and the precautions which our magistrates may have taken to this effect. At the present time can it be said that such apprehensions are chimerical? Yes, no doubt, and I hope so in so far as respects carrying them into execution; but are not such doctrines, embellished as we have seen them in our day with a racy eloquence, sufficient to shake allegiance and to produce, sooner or later, violent commotions? Thanks to a celebrated writer, nothing is wanting to us in this way; he gives us the formulas cut and dry. After a chapter intituled, "Exercise de la suprematie pontificale sur les souverains temporels"—[Exercise of the papal supremacy over temporal sovereigns], and in which he establishes that supremacy, M. the Count de Maistre takes the trouble, for our greater convenience, to draw out himself the terms to be employed for an act of deposition. In a chapter intituled, "Application hypothétique des principes précédens,"—[Hypothetical application of the preceding principles,] we find "les très-humbles et très-respectueuses remontrances des états-généraux du royaume de - - - assemblés à - - - a notre Saint-Père le pape Pie VII."—[The most humble and respectful remonstrances of the states-general of the kingdom of - - - met at - - - to our Holy Father Pope Pius VII.] to the effect of deposing their sovereign. These remonstrances end as follows:—

"C'est à vous, Très-Saint Père, comme représentant de Dieu sur la terre," &c.—[It is to you, Most Holy Father, as the representative of God upon the earth, that we address our supplications, that you would deign to absolve us from our oath of allegiance which attaches us to the royal family that governs us, and to transfer to

The general assent which these theories received, must without doubt be traced mainly to their being at that moment the virtual expression of facts and occurrences.[1] In the French troubles even popular and religious oppositions combined together from various quarters; the citizens of Paris, as a body, were sanctioned and confirmed by a papal legate in rising against their lawful prince; Bellarmin was himself for some time in the suite of the legate; those doctrines which in learned solitude he had perfected and set forth with so much consecutiveness of ideas, and with such acceptance, expressed themselves in the occurrence which he lived to witness and partly produced.

It was also in admirable consistency with this that the Spaniards approved of these doctrines, and that they were tolerated by a prince so jealous with respect to the possession of power as Philip II. The Spanish monarchy was based, besides, on a mixture of spiritual attributes. In many passages of Lope de Vega it will be seen that the nation so understood the matter as to love in their prince and to desire to see represented in him the majesty of religion. But over and above this, in the struggles of the Roman catholic restoration, the king was allied not only with the priests but also with the revolted people. The Parisians placed far more confidence in him than they did in the French princes, the chiefs of the League. It seemed as if a new ally had met the king in the doctrine of the Jesuits. It could not be supposed that he had any thing to fear from them; quite otherwise, they gave his policy a legitimate religious justification which not only was much to his advantage even as respected the

another family those rights which the present possessor can no longer enjoy but for his own infelicity (malheur) and ours.] (Du Pape, p. 346.)

The above is from the Count Montlosier's famous Mémoire a Consulter sur un système Religieux et Politique, &c. Edition 7me p. 74, and the reader will find in that and other works by the same author abundant proofs that the principles that animated the League are the existing principles of the Papacy, although obvious reasons of expediency prevent their being avowed. The papacy has too many advantages to gain from the simplicity and ignorance of protestant governments to put them openly forward.

Mr. Elliott, Horæ Apocal. p. 1114, adduces the papal instructions to the Nuncio at Vienna, in 1803, in proof of the Pope Pius VII.'s persistance in the same creed. To this the Professor recurs in vol. III. of this work. Tr.

[1] Thuanus (De Thou) lib. 94, p. 258, gives the number of those present as only sixty, and will not say a word about their being all agreed, although the above document says in so many words: "audita omnium et singulorum magistrorum, qui ad septuagiuta convenerant, deliberatione - - conclusum est nemine refragante - -." —[having heard the opinions of all and each of the masters, who were met to the number of seventy - - it was resolved, nobody opposing. - -]

maintenance of his authority in Spain, but directly smoothed the way to success in his foreign enterprises. The king looked more to these momentary advantages than to the general significancy of the Jesuit doctrine.[1]

And is it not ordinarily much the same in the case of political dogmas? Do these grow out of events more than the events are produced by them? Are they loved most for their own sakes, or for the sake of the advantages expected to be derived from them?

This however takes nothing from their force. While the Jesuitical doctrine expressed the struggles of the popedom in its course to restoration, or the struggles rather of the historical crisis in which the popedom found itself involved, they armed that popedom with a new energy, by giving it a systematic foundation in the opinions produced by the predominating theological convictions; they promoted that direction in men's minds on which precisely the triumph of the popedom depended.

OPPOSITION OF DOCTRINE.

At no time, however, in this Europe of ours, has either any power or any doctrine, at least any political doctrine, obtained a complete and exclusive predominance.

Nor can we suppose one which, when compared with the ideal perfection and the loftiest demands of the human mind, must not appear partial and contracted.

Still has there at all times been opposed to the most decided domination of opinions in a state of energetic advance, an antagonism which, springing from the inexhaustible source of common life, has brought fresh forces into the field.

While we perceive that no power will rise into prominence, which does not rest at the same time on the foundation of the

[1] Peter Ribadeneira repeats it in his book against Machiavel, which was prepared as early as 1595, and was presented to the prince of Spain, tempered indeed, but still he repeats it. "Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe Christiano para governar y conservar sus estados, contra lo que Nicolo Machiavello y los politicos d'este tiempo ensenan."—[Treatise on the religion and virtues which a Christian prince ought to hold for the government and conservation of his states, against what has been taught by Nicolas Machiavel and the politicians of that time.] "Anveres 1597."—[Antwerp 1597.] Princes, he concludes, are servants of the church, but not its judges; armed for the purpose of punishing heretics, enemies, and rebels against the church, but not to impose laws upon it or to declare the will of God. He holds to the simile of the soul and the body. The kingdom of this earth, as S. Gregory says, must minister to the kingdom of heaven.

ideal, we may add that it also finds its limit in the ideal. Great life-producing conflicts uniformly have their completion withal in the regions of conviction—of thought.

So now did the idea of an universally dominant sacerdotal religion find a powerful antagonist in the principle of national independence, in the proper significancy of the secular element.

The principles of German monarchy, widely diffused and deeply rooted among the nations of Roman origin, never have been destroyed, either by priestly pretensions or by the fiction of the sovereignty of the people, which has at least uniformly proved itself untenable.

The strange mutual alliance into which these two had entered at this time, was opposed by the doctrine of the divine right of monarchy.

It was first attacked by the protestants, though before that, they might have been wavering, with all the keenness of an enemy who sees his adversary venture on a very dangerous game, and move along a path which must lead him to destruction.

God alone, the protestants maintained, appoints their monarchs for mankind; he makes it his prerogative to raise up and to cast down, to impart the powers of government and to moderate them. True, indeed, he no longer comes down from heaven to lay his finger on those who are to be invested with sovereignty, but through his eternal providence, laws and regulations have been introduced into all kingdoms, according to which a ruler is to be received. And when a prince, by virtue of these regulations, comes into the possession of the government, this is all one as if God's voice were heard to declare, "this shall be your king." True, God designated Moses, the judges, the first kings, personally to his people; but after the introduction of a settled order, the others who were called afterwards to the throne, were no less truly God's anointed ones.[1]

Proceeding upon these axioms the protestants urged the necessity of submission even to unrighteous and censurable princes.

[1] Explicatio controversiarum quæ a nonnullis moventur ex Henrici Borbonii regis in regnum Franciæ constitutione - - opus - - a Tossano Bercheto Lingonensi e Gallico in Latinum sermonem conversum. Sedani 1590. Cap. II.—[Explanation of the controversies which have been moved by some from the appointment of King Henry of Bourbon to the kingdom of France - - a work - - by Toussaint Berchet of Langres, translated from French into Latin. Sedan 1590. Chap. II.]

Besides, no man is perfect. If we are once to admit that God's order may be departed from, occasion may be taken even from slight failings to get rid of a prince. Not even heresy absolves us from obedience entirely. A son must not, indeed, obey a godless father in that which is against the command of God, but beyond this, he remains bound in point of duty, to reverence and subjection.

It would certainly have been of some consequence, had even the protestants alone matured and firmly maintained these views. But it was of much more importance that they found admission withal among a large proportion of the French Roman catholics; or rather that these approved of them from their own freely developed convictions.

In spite of the papal excommunication, a not unimportant kernel of good Roman catholics still remained true to Henry III., and then went over to Henry IV. The Jesuit doctrines made no impression on this party. They were at no loss for arguments to defend their position, without on that account renouncing Roman catholicism.

This party first endeavoured accurately to distinguish from the opinions held on the other side, the power of the clergy and the relation in which that body stands towards the civil power. They concluded that the spiritual kingdom is not of this world; that the power of the clergy refers to spiritual things only; that excommunication, from its very nature, could relate only to the ecclesiastical commonwealth, and was incompetent to deprive any one of civil rights. But on no occasion whatever, was a king of France to be shut out from the communion of the church; this formed part of the prerogatives of the arms of the lily; how much less allowable was it to attempt to deprive him of his hereditary rights. And where does it stand anywhere fully laid down that a man may rebel against his king, and have recourse to arms against him? God has placed him on the throne; he calls himself accordingly king by the grace of God; people may venture to withhold obedience from him in the sole case of his requiring any thing that runs counter to the will of God.[1] They then deduced from these divine rights that it was not only law-

[1] Here I follow the extract from an anonymous writing which appeared in Paris in 1588, to be found in Cayet. Collection universelle des Mémoires tom. 56, p. 44.

ful for them, but their very duty, to acknowledge even a protestant king. Subjects must accept of their king as God gave him; to obey him is God's command; there cannot, generally speaking, be any ground for depriving a monarch of his rights.[1] They even maintained that the course they took, was most advantageous to the Roman catholic interests. That Henry IV. was able, mild, and upright; there was nothing but goodness to be expected from him; the consequence of revolting from him would be that petty pretenders to power would rise up in all quarters, and in the general strife of opposing parties the protestant first would obtain a complete ascendancy.[2]

In this manner did there appear within the very bounds of Roman catholicism an opposition to those efforts of the popedom which the restoration had developed, and it was doubted at Rome from the very first, whether it would be found possible to put down these opponents. The doctrine held by the opposition might be less fully matured, it might have less practised abettors, but it was better rooted in the convictions of the European world; their whole position was in itself right and blameless; it was of special advantage to them that the papal doctrines stood leagued with the Spanish power.

The monarchy of Philip II. seemed daily to become more and more perilous to the general freedom. Over the whole of Europe it aroused that jealousy and disgust which are inspired, not so much by arbitrary acts when done, as by the dread of them when expected, and that alarm for freedom which seizes men's minds before they are fully aware of the grounds they have for entertaining it.

So close now was the alliance between Rome and Spain, that those who resisted the spiritual pretensions of the one, opposed at the same time the aggrandizement of the other. They thus met an European necessity, and for this reason they could not fail already to find approval and support. The nations were united by a secret sympathy. Allies unasked for, appearing at unexpected points, and decided in their measures, rose in behalf

[1] Etienne Pasquier: Recherches de France 341, 344.

[2] Exposition in Thuanus, lib. 97, p. 316; "sectarios dissoluto imperio et singulis regni partibus a reliquo corpore divisis potentiores fore"—[that the sectaries on the dissolution of the empire, and individual parts of the kingdom being divided from the rest of the body, would become the more powerful].

of that national party of French Roman cathelics; and, indeed, in Italy itself, before the eyes of the pope, and first in Venice.

In Venice a few years before this, in the year 1582, a change had taken place which though effected without noise, and almost quite overlooked in the history of the republic, was not the less powerfully influential. Important affairs hitherto had been in the hands of a few old patricians, taken from a small circle of families. Then a discontented majority in the senate, consisting chiefly of younger members, won for itself that share in the administration which, according to the wording of the constitution, certainly belonged to them.

Now even the previous administration had never neglected sedulously to assert their independence; nevertheless they had attached themselves, as much as they ever practically could, to the measures of the Spaniards and of the church. The new administration no longer adopted the same views. Forthwith, from the spirit of opposition, they cherished a disposition to offer resistance to those powers.

The interests of the Venetians were moreover deeply involved in this.

On the one hand they observed with dissatisfaction, that the doctrine of papal omnipotence and blind obedience was preached also among them; on the other hand they dreaded the complete subversion of the balance of power in Europe, should the Spaniards succeed in obtaining a predominating influence in France. The freedom of Europe seemed hitherto to have reposed on the enmity between the two countries.

Accordingly the development of French affairs began to be followed with redoubled interest. The writings which defended the rights of the monarch were greedily laid hold of. Great influence was exercised by an association of statesmen and learned men which met in the house of Andrew Morosini, and in which Leonard Donato and Nicholas Contarini, both doges afterwards, Dominick Molino, afterwards a leading magistrate in the republic, Friar Paul Sarpi and some other distinguished men took a part; all as yet at that time of life when men are fitted not only to seize new ideas but also to maintain and carry them into effect, all of them declared opponents of ecclesiastical encroach-

ments, and of the preponderance of Spain.[1] In order to the full development of a political tendency, and to the making of it effective, even though it should be founded in the nature of things, it will ever prove of great consequence to have men of much talent representing it in their own persons, and agreeing among themselves, each to extend it in his own circle; and this is of double importance in a republic.

Under these circumstances, opinions and inclinations were not thought enough. From the very first the Venetians had this confidence in Henry IV., that he was capable of again reviving the depressed fortunes of France, and restoring the lost balance of power. Although lying under manifold obligations to the pope who had excommunicated Henry IV., although surrounded both on land and sea by the Spaniards who wanted to ruin him, and although in themselves of no importance in the scale of political power, they first, among all the Roman catholics, had the courage to acknowledge that king. On receiving a notification from their ambassador Mocenigo, they empowered him to congratulate Henry IV.[2] Their example failed not to stir up others. Although the grand duke Ferdinand of Tuscany had not spirit enough to venture on a public cognition, yet he placed himself personally on a friendly footing with the new king.[3] The protestant prince saw himself suddenly surrounded with Roman catholic allies; nay, shielded by them against the supreme head of their church.

In the times of an important crisis the public opinion of Europe will uniformly reveal an unquestionable leaning to one side or the other. Happy he whose side it espouses; for his undertakings are sure to prosper much more easily. It now favoured the cause of Henry IV. The ideas that were associated with his name, had hardly been expressed, yet already were they so powerful, as to encourage an attempt even to draw the popedom to their side.

[1] In the Anomino (Fra Fulgentio) Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi p. 104, Griselini's "Denkwürdigkeiten"—[Memoirs] of Fra Paolo p. 40, 78, and in some passages in Foscarini we find accounts of this "ridotto Mauroceno"—[Morosinian retreat]. Besides those above named, Peter and James Contarini, James Morosini, Leonard Mocenigo, who, however, did not attend so regularly as others, Anthony Quirini, James Marcello, Marino Zane, Alexander Malipiero, who notwithstanding his great age, yet regularly accompanied Fra Paolo home, belonged to that society.

[2] Andreæ Mauroceni Historiarum Venetarum lib. XIII. p. 548.

[3] Galluzzi: Istoria del granducato di Toscana, lib. V. (tom. V. p. 78.)

LAST TIMES OF SIXTUS V.

HERE we once more return to Sixtus V. After having contemplated his internal administration and the share he had in the ecclesiastical restoration, we must have a word further to say of his policy in general.

In regard to that it is particularly remarkable how the relentless justice he practised, the hard system of finance which he introduced, and his strict domestic economy, were accompanied with an extraordinary inclination for fantastic political schemes.

What strange notions did not enter that head of his!

He had long flattered himself with the prospect of being able to put an end to the Turkish empire. He formed alliances in the East, with Persia, with some Arab chiefs and with the Druses. He fitted out galleys; others were to be supplied to him from Spain and Tuscany. Thus he thought to co-operate by sea with King Stephen Bathory of Poland, who, it was intended, should conduct the main attack by land. The pope hoped to combine all the resources of the North-east and South-west in this enterprise; he was convinced that Russia would not only attach itself to the king of Poland, but even place itself under his commands.

On another occasion he took up the idea of making the conquest of Egypt, either alone or in concert with Tuscany. Connected with this he conceived the most extensive designs; the formation of a junction between the Red sea and the Mediterranean,[1] the restoration of ancient commerce, and the conquest of the holy sepulchre. But supposing this should appear not directly practicable, he thought at least that an expedition to Syria might be undertaken for the purpose of excavating from the rocks, by employing suitable workmen, the grave of the Redeemer, and then having it brought to Italy carefully protected? Already he entertained the hope of being able one day

[1] Dispaccio Gritti 23 Agosto 1587. ("Il papa) entrò a parlar della fossa che li re dell' Egitto havevano fatta per passar del mare rosso nel mar mediterraneo."—[(The pope) began to talk of the canal that the kings of Egypt had made for passing from the Red sea to the Mediterranean sea.] At times he contemplated attacking Egypt only. "Scopri la causa del desiderar danari per impiegarli in una armata che vorria far solo per l'impresa dell' Egitto e pagar quelle galee che ajutassero a far quella impresa."—[He disclosed the cause of his wanting money to be employed in an armament which he wished to prepare solely for an attack upon Egypt, and for paying the galleys that were to assist in that attack.]

to set up that greatest sanctuary of the world in Montalto; in which case his native province, the Mark, where already the holy house stood at Loreto, would comprise within itself both the birthplace and the grave of the Redeemer.

There is yet another idea, more extraordinary than all these, which I find ascribed to him. After the Guises had been put to death, a proposal seems to have been made to Henry III. to name a nephew of the pope's as heir to the throne. The legate of the pope, we are told, made this suggestion with the privity of his master. Were this only done with the requisite solemnities, his Holiness was convinced that the king of Spain would give the person thus named heir, the infanta for his wife; such a successor to the throne would be owned by every one and all troubles brought to an end. Some will have it that Henry III. was for a moment tempted by these proposals, until it was represented to him what a bad reputation, for pusillanimity and want of sense, he should thereby bring on himself after death.[1]

These were indeed projects, or rather, for this word sounds too definite, fancies, castles in the air, of an extraordinary kind. How inconsistent do they seem with the pope's strenuous and

[1] This notice is to be found in a "Mémoire du Seigneur de Schomberg Maréchal de France sous Henry III."—[Memoir of the Baron de Schomberg, Marshal of France under Henry III.] among the Hohendorf MSS. in the Vienna Imperial Library, No. 114: "Quelque tems après la mort de Mr. de Guise, avenue en Blois, il fut proposé par le cardinal de Moresino de la part de sa Sainteté, que si S. M. vouloit déclarer le marquis de Pom? (probably miswritten) son neveu héritier de la couronne et le faire recevoir pour tel avec solemnitéz requises, que S. S. s'assuroit que le roy d'Espagne bailleroit en marriage au dit marquis l'infante, et qu'en ce faisant tous les troubles de France prendroient fin. A quoi le roy éstant prêst a se laisser aller, et ce par la persuasion de quelqu'uns qui pour lors éstoient près de S. M., Mr. de Schomberg rompit ce coup par telles raisons, que ce seroit l'invertir l'ordre de France, abolir les loix fondamentales, laisser à la postérité un argument certain de la lacheté et pusillanimité de S. M."—[Some time after the death of Mr. de Guise, which happened at Blois, it was proposed by the cardinal Morosino, on the part of his Holiness, that if His Majesty would declare the Marquis of Pom (? probably miswritten) his nephew heir of the crown and receive him as such with the requisite solemnities, that His Highness was assured that the king of Spain would give the infanta in marriage to the said marquis, and that in doing so all the troubles of France would come to an end. Whereupon the king being ready to give his consent, and that by persuasion of some who were about His Majesty, at the time Mr. de Schomberg met this stroke with such reasons as the following, that it would be an inversion of the order of France, the abolition of fundamental laws, and would leave to posterity a certain argument for traducing His Majesty's cowardice and pusillanimity.] It is true indeed that Schomberg made a merit to himself of having made this object miscarry, but I must not on that account pronounce at once that it was purely imaginary. The Mémoire, which enlarges upon the justness of the claims of Henry IV., has yet a certain assurance of its being genuine in its lying there, with nothing to attract attention to it among other papers. Only it is remarkable that nothing further was ever intimated on the subject.

practical activity, always pressing to the accomplishment of its object.

And yet, may it not be maintained, that even that often had its source in extravagant impracticable ideas? The elevation of Rome, after the lapse of a certain term of years, to be the legitimate metropolis of Christendom, and to be visited as such by persons from all countries, even from America; the conversion of ancient monuments into memorials of the suppression of heathenism by the Christian religion; the amassing of a treasure composed of money borrowed and paying interest, as a foundation for the secular power of the states of the church safely to rest upon; were all plans exceeding the bounds of feasibility; plans the origin of which must be referred to the ardour of religious fancy, and yet which for the most part determined the peculiar character of the pope's active habits.

From the period of youth human life in general is encompassed with hopes and wishes, with the presence, may we say, of the future; the soul is never tired of indulging the expectation of personal felicity. But the farther a man advances in life, the more do both his desires and his prospects become attached to general interests, to some grand aim scientific or political, or bearing upon life in general. In our Franciscan this fascination and this impulse, derived from personal hopes, were always the stronger, the more he found himself engaged in a career which opened up to him the loftiest prospect; they had accompanied him from step to step in life, and had sustained his soul in days of affliction. He had eagerly caught up every word that foreboded good, had treasured it in his heart, and when success attended him had associated with it the lofty schemes of a monkish enthusiasm. In the end, every thing had been fulfilled for him; he had risen from a mean and unpromising beginning to the highest dignity in christendom; a dignity of whose importance he entertained an extravagant conception. He believed himself to have been selected by a direct interposition of providence, for the task of realizing the ideas that floated in his imagination.

Even when in the possession of the supreme power, he did not relinquish the habit of seeing amid the complications of worldly affairs, the possibility of splendid undertakings, and of

occupying himself with projects to that effect. We uniformly find in these a very personal element; power and posthumous glory charmed him; he wished to diffuse his own lustre over whatever was nearly connected with him, his family, his birthplace, the province to which he belonged; but these impulses were uniformly drawn from some general interest of Roman catholic christendom, and he showed himself ever open to the influence of elevated ideas. The only difference was that he had it in his power to accomplish some himself, while he had to commit the rest for the most part to other people. To the former he applied himself with the indefatigable activity produced by conviction, enthusiasm, and ambition; in the latter, on the contrary, whether from being naturally distrustful, or because he had to leave to others the chief part of the execution, and, along with that, of the glory and the advantage, we find him far from being so zealous. If we inquire what he really did towards the accomplishment of those oriental schemes of his, we find, for example, that he formed alliances, exchanged letters, issued exhortations, and made preparations; but we do not observe that he adopted serious measures that might have led to the attainment of the objects aimed at. He conceived the plan with a keen and fanatical fancy; but as he could not put his own hands likewise to the work, and as its accomplishment lay at a remote distance, his will was not properly exerted. The project which may have even occupied him much, he allowed to drop again out of notice, while another took its place.

At the moment at which we have now arrived, the pope was filled with the grand prospects associated with the attempt against Henry IV., the prospects of a complete triumph on the side of strict Roman catholicism, and of a renewed secular power on the part of the pope. This absolutely engrossed him. Nor did he doubt that all Roman catholic states were of one mind; that they would put forth all their resources in a common conflict with the protestant who had laid claim to the throne of France.

Such was the direction of his thoughts, such the zeal that inspired him, when he had the mortification to learn that a Roman catholic power, with which he had supposed that he stood on particularly good terms, even Venice, had sent its felicitations

to that very protestant. This deeply affected him. For a moment he tried to restrain the republic from taking any further steps; he begged it to wait; urged that time produced marvellous fruits, and that he himself had been taught by good old senators to allow these to come to maturity.[1] Not the less on that account was de Maisse, who had till now been French ambassador at Venice, acknowledged there on receiving his new credentials as plenipotentiary of Henry IV. On this the pope proceeded from exhortations to threats. He exclaimed that he would know how to act; and ordered the old *monitoria*, which had been issued against the Venetians in the times of Julius II., to be sought out and the formula of a new one to be drawn up.

Nevertheless it was not without sorrow and heart-felt repugnance that he did this. Let us attend for a moment to the manner in which he expressed himself to the ambassador sent to him by the Venetians.

"To fall out with those whom we love not," said the pope, "is no such great misfortune; but with those we love, that is sad indeed. Truly it would grieve us much," here he laid his hand on his breast, "to break with Venice."

"But Venice has outraged us. Navarra," so he called Henry IV.,—"is an heretic, excommunicated by the holy see, yet Venice, in defiance of all our admonition, has acknowledged him."

"Is the signoria in any wise the greatest monarch in the world, whose part it is to set an example to others? There is still a king of Spain; there is still an emperor."

"Is the republic any how afraid of Navarra? We will defend it when necessary, with our utmost powers; we have nerve enough for that."

"Or does the republic contemplate obtaining some advantages at our expense? God himself would assist us."

"The republic ought to set a higher value on our friendship than on that of Navarra. We are more capable of rendering it support."

"I beseech you, retreat a step! The catholic king has retracted much, because we desired it; not because he was afraid

[1] 9 Sett. 1589: "che per amor di dio non si vada tanto avanti con questo Navarra che si stia a veder etc."—[that for the love of God, they should not go so far with this Navarre, that they should wait to see, etc.

of us, for our power against his is like a fly opposed to an elephant, but from affection, because the pope said so, Christ's vicar, from whom he and all others have their creed. Let the signoria do so; let it adopt some expedient; it cannot be difficult for it to do so; it has old and wise men enough, each of whom is capable of governing a world."[1]

But this was not said without an answer being returned. The extraordinary ambassador of the Venetians was Leonard Donato, a member of the society that met at Andrew Morosini's; a man whose opinions were quite those of the ecclesiastical political opposition; a man, too, we should say, of the greatest diplomatic skill, who had ere now concluded many a difficult negotiation.

Donato could not specifically mention in Rome all the motives that influenced the Venetians; he put those forward which the pope might admit, and be expected to appreciate in common with Venice.

For was it not manifest that the preponderance of Spain in Southern Europe was year after year exhibiting a more powerful aggrandizement? This the pope felt as much as any other Italian prince; without the approbation of the Spaniards, even at this very time, he could not move a step in Italy, and how would matters stand were they once to become absolute masters of France? It was chiefly this consideration, a regard for the balance of power in Europe, and the necessity for having it restored, that were pressed by Donato. He endeavoured to show that the republic had contemplated, not any offence to the pope, but rather to promote a material interest of the papal see, and to shield it from injury.

[1] Dispaccio Donato, 25 Nov. 1589. The pope spoke so long that the ambassadors say that were they to write it all down, it would take a man an hour and a half to read it all aloud to the senate. Among other points he constantly persisted on the effect of the excommunication. "Tre sono stati scommunicati, il re passato, il principe di Conde, il re di Navarra. Due sono malamente morti, il terzo ci travaglia e Dio per nostro esercitio lo mantiene: ma finirà anche esso e terminarà male: dubitiamo punto di lui.—2 Decembre. Il papa publica un solennissimo giubileo per invitar ogn'uno a dover pregar S. Divina M^a per la quiete et augumento della fede cattolica."—[Three have been excommunicated, the late king, the prince of Condé, the king of Navarre. Two have come to an ill end, the third troubles us, and God to exercise us upholds him; but he too will come to an end and finish badly; we doubt how far matters stand well with him.—2 December. The pope published a most solemn jubilee to invite every one to pray to the Divine Majesty for the tranquillity and augmentation of the catholic faith.] At this jubilee he would see no one, "per viver a se stesso e a sue divotioni"—[that he might live to himself and give himself entirely to his devotions].

The pope listened to him, yet seemed immovable and not to be convinced. Donato despaired of accomplishing any thing, and begged he might have his audience for taking leave. This he obtained on the 16th of December 1589, and the pope made it appear that he would refuse him his blessing.[1] But Sixtus V. was not so much the slave of his convictions as not to have been impressed by really sound arguments on the other side. He was self-willed, imperious, opinionative, obstinate; but therewithal his mind was susceptible of a change of tone; he could be induced to pay attention to the views of others; he was radically good-natured. Even while he continued to struggle, and obstinately defended his position, he felt himself shaken at heart and convinced. In the midst of that audience he became suddenly mild and forbearing.[2] "He who has a companion," he exclaimed, "has a master; I will talk to the congregation; I will tell them that I have been angry with you, but that you have got the better of me." They waited for some days longer; after that the pope declared that he could not approve what the republic had done, yet he would not take the steps he had contemplated against it. He gave Donato his blessing and kissed him.

This alteration of personal feeling, hardly noticeable otherwise, was a prelude to results of the utmost significancy. The pope even remitted somewhat of the severity with which he persecuted the protestant king; he would not directly pronounce a curse on the Roman catholic party which persisted in opposing the policy he had hitherto pursued towards that prince. A first step owes its importance to its involving in itself an entire course of conduct; and this was instantly perceived on the part of the opposition. Nothing more had originally been contemplated than simple exculpation; but now attempts were instantly made to gain the pope himself and make an absolute conquest of him.

M. de Luxemburg[3] appeared in Italy on a commission from

[1] Disp. Donato 16 Dec.: "dopo si lungo negotio restando quasi privi d'ogni speranza"—[after so long a negotiation, remaining as if berett of all hope].

[2] Ibid.: "Finalmente inspirata dal signor Dio - - disse di contentarsene (to give them his blessing) e di essersi lasciato vincer da noi."—[Finally inspired by God, - - said that he would agree (to give them his blessing) and that he had allowed himself to be overcome by us.]

[3] François de Luxembourg, Duc de Piney, also called sometimes Duc de Luxembourg, as by the President Henault for instance. Tr.

the princes of the blood, and the Roman catholic peers that had attached themselves to Henry IV., and in spite of the warning representations of the Spaniards, Sixtus V. in January 1590 allowed him to come to Rome, and gave him an audience. The deputy insisted particularly on the personal qualities of Henry IV., placing his courage, magnanimity, and goodness of heart in a glowing light. The pope was quite ravished with the description. "Verily," he exclaimed, "I regret having ever excommunicated him." Luxemburg said, that this king and lord of his would now render himself worthy of absolution, and, throwing himself at the feet of His Holiness, would return into the bosom of the Roman catholic church.[1] "In that case," exclaimed the pope, "I will embrace him and console him."

For already his fancy was warmly interested. From that moment these approaches filled him with the liveliest hopes. He allowed himself to think that the protestants were withheld from returning to the Roman catholic church, more by a political aversion towards Spain than by any religious conviction opposed to the Romish see. He thought he must not venture to repel them from him.[2] Already there was an English ambassador in Rome, and a Saxon one was announced. He was perfectly ready to give them a hearing; "would to God," said he, "they would all come to our feet."

The change that had taken place in him appeared among other things by the behaviour he showed to his French legate,

[1] Henry had already given too much ground for such declarations. He had sworn that he would preserve the Roman catholic religion, take instructions in it, submit to a general or national council to meet within six months, &c. See l'Esprit de la Ligue L. VIIme. Tr.

[2] Dispaccio Donato 13 Genn. 1590. "Il papa biasima l'opinione de'cardinali e d'altri prelati che lo stimulano a dover licentiar esso signor de Lucenburg, e li accusa che vogliano farsi suo pedante (sein Informator, würden wir sagen) in quello che ha studiato tutto il tempo della vita sua. Soggiunse che haveria caro che la regina d'Inghilterra, il duca di Sassonia, e tutti gli altri andassero a suoi piedi con bona dispositione. Che dispiacerà a S. S^a^ che andassero ad altri principi (zu verstehn katholischen) et havessero communicatione con loro, ma si consolava quando vadino a suoi piedi a dimandar perdono."—[Donato's dispatch of 13 January 1590. The pope blamed the opinion of the cardinals and other prelates, who urged that he ought to dismiss the said M. de Luxemburg, and accused them of wishing to act the pedant (informator as we should say (in German) in a matter which he had studied all his life long. He added that he should be delighted were the queen of England, the duke of Saxony, and all the rest to come to his feet with a good disposition. That His Holiness would be displeased were they to go to other princes (that is to say, Roman catholic) and have communication with them, but he would be consoled would they come and ask pardon at his feet.] These sentiments he expressed in various forms at that audience.

Cardinal Morosini. The legate's forbearance towards Henry III. had been treated up to this time as a sin, and he had returned to Italy overwhelmed with the papal disfavour. But now he was brought from Montalto into the consistory, and the pope received him with the declaration that he was delighted to think that a cardinal of his own choice, as he was, had won for himself the general approbation.[1] Donna Camilla invited him to her table.

How much must this complete alteration of conduct have amazed the strict Roman catholic world! The pope now showed a leaning towards a protestant whom he himself had excommunicated, and who, according to the ancient rules of the church, was incapable of receiving absolution in consequence of his having committed a double apostasy.

It was in the nature of things that this should produce a reaction. The strict Roman catholic party was not so entirely dependent on the pope as not at times to be capable of opposing him; and the power of Spain presented them with a stay to which they eagerly attached themselves.

In France the League party accused the pope of avarice; complaining that he would not so much as draw his purse, and that he wished to save up the money he had amassed in the castle, to expend it on his nephews and relations. In Spain, a Jesuit preached on the lamentable condition in which the church lay. It was not only the republic of Venice that favoured the heretic, but; "Hush hush," said he, putting his finger on his mouth, "but even the pope himself." This was re-echoed in Italy. Sixtus V. was already so susceptible on the subject, that he took personal offence at an exhortation to general prayer, "for the purpose of imploring the favour of God in the affairs of the church," issued by the general of the Capuchins, and suspended that dignitary.

Matters, however, were not confined to mere hints and private complaints. On the 22d of March 1590, the Spanish ambassador appeared in the papal apartments, for the purpose of

[1] Dispaccio 3 Marzo. "Dice di consolarsi assai ch'egli soa creatura fusse di tutti tanto celebrato. Il clmo Morosini acquistò molta honore e riputatione per la soa relatione delle cose di Francia."—[Dispatch of 3d March. He speaks of being sufficiently consoled in that he, his creature, had been so much celebrated by so many. The most illustrious Morosini gained much honour and reputation by the account he gave of the affairs of France.]

formally protesting, in his master's name, against the course pursued by the pope.[1] There was an opinion then abroad, we perceive, which was more orthodox, and more Roman catholic than the pope himself; to this the Spanish ambassador appeared for the purpose of giving it an expression, and of clothing it in words in the presence of the pope. Extraordinary occurrence! The ambassador dropt upon one knee and besought his Holiness to permit him to execute his sovereign's commands. The pope begged him to rise; (remarking) that it would be heresy to behave towards the vicar of Christ as he contemplated. The ambassador would not allow himself to be diverted from his purpose. "Your Holiness," he commenced, "might declare the adherents of Navarre excommunicated without distinction. Your Holiness might pronounce Navarre, in any case, or at any time, incapable of ascending the French throne. If not, the catholic king will renounce his allegiance to your Holiness; the king will not endure such a thing as that Christ's cause should go to ruin."[2] The pope would hardly allow him to proceed thus far in what he had to say; he exclaimed that that was not the king's office. The ambassador stood up, again threw himself on his knee, and wished to proceed. The pope called him a stone of stumbling and went away. But Olivarez would not thus be satisfied; he declared that he would and must bring his protestation to a close, even though the pope should deprive him of his head for doing so; he knew well that the king would avenge him, and reward his fidelity to his children. Sixtus V., on the other hand, was all fire and fury. It was not permitted,

[1] Even as soon as on the 10th of March the ambassador had presented the pope with the following questions: "li ha ricercato la risposta sopra tre cose, cioè di licentiar Lucenburg, iscommunicar li cardinali et altri prelati che seguono il Navarra, e prometter di non habilitar mai esso Navarra alla successione della corona."—[he had sought for answers about these three things, to wit, the dismissal of Luxemburg, the excommunication of the cardinals and other prelates who had followed Navarre, and a promise that he would never make Navarre capable of succeeding to the crown;] and announced a protest. On this the pope had threatened him with excommunication. "Minaccia di iscommunicar quei e castigarli nella vita che ardiranno di tentar quanto egli li havea detto, cacciandolo inanzi e serrandogli in faccia la porta."—[He threatened to excommunicate and to punish for life those who should dare to urge as much as he had said to him, driving him before him and shutting the door in his face.]

[2] Che S. S^a dichiari iscommunicati tutti quei che seguitano in Francia il Navarra e tutti gli altri che quovis modo li dessero ajuto, e che dichiari esso Navarra incapace perpetuamente alla corona di Francia; altramente che il re suo si leverà dalla obedienza della chiesa, e procurerà che non sia fatta ingiuria alla causa di Christo, e che la pietà e la religione sua sia conosciuta.—[See the text.]

he said, to any prince in the world to pretend to teach a pope who is placed by God as a master over others; but that the ambassador was conducting himself most viciously; his instructions empowered him to proceed to a protestation, only in the case of the pope showing himself lukewarm in the affairs of the league; how came he to know that this was the case? Did the ambassador mean to prescribe what steps his Holiness should follow?

Genuine Roman catholicism seemed to have but one sole aim, but one sole undivided opinion; it seems to have been arrested in its career of conquest, just as the scale was turning in its favour; two sides, two sentiments, unexpectedly developed themselves within it, opposed to each other politically and ecclesiastically; the one attack, the other resistance. The conflict betwixt them began by each endeavouring, with its utmost might, to gain over the head of the church to itself. The one beset the pope; it sought to make sure of him with bitterness, with menaces, almost with direct violence. The other had disposed him to incline towards it by means of an internal impulse communicated at the decisive moment; it endeavoured to precipitate him into the adoption of its views; it sought to seduce him by promises; it set the most brilliant prospects before him. It was of the utmost consequence for the determination of their contest, which side he should adopt.

The attitude assumed by this pope, so renowned as he has been for practical energy and determination, fills us with amazement.

On the arrival of letters from Philip II., in which that monarch declared that he would defend the good cause and support the league with all the resources of his states, and even with his blood, the pope too was full of zeal; he would not burthen himself, said he, with the reproach of not having opposed such a heretic as Navarre.[1]

[1] He spoke openly in the consistory; "di haver scritto al re con sua propria mano, che procurerà sempre con tutte le sue forze spirituali e temporali che mai riesca re di Francia alcuno che non sia di compita sodisfattione alla Sua Cattolica Maestà."—[of having written to the king with his own hand that he would always see to it with all his spiritual and temporal forces, that no one should ever come to be king of France who should not be completely to the satisfaction of His Catholic Majesty.] Already in January 1590, the ambassador said: "Il papa nelle trattationi parla con uno ad un modo con suoi disegni et ad un altro con altri (disegni)."—[The pope in his negotiations spoke at one time in conformity with his own designs, and at other times according to other (designs).]

Not the less on this account did he again incline to the other side. On the difficulties in which French affairs involved him being represented to him, he would exclaim; "Were Navarre here I would on my knees beseech him to become a Roman catholic."

Never did a prince stand in a stranger position towards his plenipotentiary than Pope Sixtus did towards the legate Gaetano, whom he had sent into France while still in close alliance with the Spaniards. The pope had not yet, indeed, passed over to the side of the French, but he had been brought to entertain an undecided neutral opinion. The legate followed his old instructions without paying the slightest regard to this change. When Henry IV. followed up his victory at Ivry by laying siege to Paris, it was the papal legate that then opposed him most. In his hands the leading men and magistrates swore that they would never capitulate with Navarre; and by his spiritual authority and a behaviour equally adroit and firm, he contrived to keep them to their engagements.[1]

In point of fact, the wonted strict sentiment developed most strength in the end.

Olivarez obliged the pope to dismiss Luxemburg, though it were only under the guise of a pilgrimage to Loreto. The pope had intended that Monsignor Serafino, who had the reputation of being of French sentiments, should proceed on a mission to France. Olivarez openly complained, and threatened that he would never more come to an audience; the pope replied that in God's name he might go away; yet Olivarez came off victorious at last, and Serafino's mission was delayed. An opinion (believed to be) orthodox, and unhesitatingly maintained, possesses an incredible force, especially when abetted by a capable person. Olivarez had on his side the congregation which managed the affairs of France, and which, too, had been constituted at an earlier period. In July 1590, a new alliance was proposed between Spain and the pope,[2] and the latter declared that he must do something in favour of Spain.

[1] Discours véritable et notable du siège de la ville de Paris en l'an 1590—[True and notable account of the siege of the city of Paris in the year 1590], in Villeroy; Mémoires d'état tom. II. p. 417.

[2] The king was to fit out 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, the pope 15,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. "Li ambasciatori sollicitano con li cardinali la conclu-

But let it not be supposed that meanwhile he abandoned the other party. At this very time he had with him the agent of a chief of the Huguenots, Lesdiguières; a chargé d'affaires of the Landgrave, and an English deputy were on the spot; and even now the imperial ambassador was endeavouring to secure himself against the dreaded insinuations of the Saxon ambassador who was expected anew; the manœuvres of Chancellor Crell reached even to Rome.[1]

Thus was the powerful prince of the church, who loved the idea of a direct authority over the whole world being bestowed on him, and who had amassed a treasure which might well have enabled him to strike some powerful blow, wavering and irresolute at the very moment of the crisis.

Are we to charge this against him as a crime? I fear we should wrong him by doing so. He clearly saw the state of things; he perceived the dangers on both sides, and gave room for the play of opposite impulses. No crisis compelling him to come to a final decision appeared. The elements which divided the world, carried their conflict even into his very soul, and neither of them had as yet obtained the mastery there.

However, in the impossibility of compelling the world to submit to him, he certainly set himself to exercise a high-minded influence over it. Much rather did the social forces that were then in agitation produce a re-action upon him, and this assumed a very peculiar aspect.

Sixtus had put down the banditti mainly by means of the

sione e sottoscrittione del capitolato (Disp. 14 Luglio)."—[The ambassadors solicited with the cardinals the conclusion and subscription of the covenant (Disp. 14 July.)] At a meeting of the congregation the pope proposed the question: "an electio regis Franciæ, vacante principe ex corpore sanguinis, spectet ad pontificem."—[if the election of the king of France, failing princes of the blood, belongs to the pope.] "Esortato a star neutrale, laudando il consiglio risponde non poter restar a far qualche cosa (Disp. 28 Luglio.")—[On being exhorted to stand neutral, he replied, at the same time praising that advice, that he could not remain doing such a thing. (Disp. 28 July.)] Meanwhile it runs thus in the dispatch of 28th July; "Laodigeres haveva mandato un suo huomo a trattar con S. S^a, il quale ha trattato lungamente seco."—[Laodigeres (Lesdiguières) had sent a man of his to negotiate with his Holiness, who negotiated at great length with him.]

[1] Otherwise it is impossible to understand why the imperial ambassador should forewarn the pope of the Saxon insinuations. "L'ambasciatore dell'imperatore prega il pontefice di non voler ascoltare quel huomo che vien detto esser mandato dal duca di Sassonia, in quello che fusse di pregiuditio del suo patron e della casa d'Austria; e cosi li vien promesso."—['The emperor's ambassador begged the pontiff not to attend to the man who might come as sent by the duke of Saxony in regard to whatever might be said to the prejudice of his patron and of the house of Austria; and thus it was promised to him.]

good understanding which he maintained with his neighbours. Now that this began to decline, now that different sentiments were cherished in Tuscany and Venice from those that prevailed in Naples and Milan, and that the pope, who declared himself for neither, came to be suspected alternately by one or other of his neighbours, the banditti too began to put themselves again in motion.

They re-appeared in April 1590; Sacripante in the Maremma; Piccolomini in the Romagna; Battistella in the Campagna of Rome. They were abundantly supplied with money, and it was remarked that they paid away a great many Spanish doubloons. They found adherents chiefly in the Guelphic party; and already conducted their expeditions again in regularly organized bodies, with flying banners and drums. The papal troops had no wish to engage with them.[1] This directly re-acted on all the relative bearings of the different parties. The Bolognese opposed the pope's design of having the number of the city's senators augmented, and that, too, with a keenness and a spirit of independence such as had been long unheard of.

In this state of things, amid so many vexations pressing so closely upon him, and without having so much as attempted any decision or resolution in the most important affair, Pope Sixtus V. died (27th August 1590).

Just as he breathed his last a tempest discharged itself on the Quirinal. The silly populace were convinced that Friar Felix had entered into a compact with the wicked one, by whose assistance he had risen step by step from low beginnings, and now at the expiration of the appointed time, his soul had been carried off in a storm. Thus did they signify their discontentment at the introduction of so many new taxes, and those doubts which had latterly been so often mooted as to his thorough orthodoxy. In the wildness of their excitement they pulled down the statues which had at one time been erected in honour of him; nay, a resolution was agreed to in the Capitol, that no statue should ever again be erected to a pope during his life-time.

URBAN VII. GREGORY XIV. INNOCENT IX. AND THEIR CONCLAVES, 1590, 1591.

THE new election was now of double importance. It mainly

1 Disp. 21 Luglio. "I fuorusciti corrono fino su le porte di Roma."—[The outlaws made incursions to the very gates of Rome. [The Dispatches of 17th March, 7th April, 28th April, 12th May, 2d June, contain details on this subject.]

depended on the personal sentiments of a pope, which of the two tendencies, the struggle between which had commenced, he should declare himself for, and there was no doubt that his decision might lead to results affecting the world at large. Hence the movements attending the election contest in the conclave are of peculiar importance, and we must here introduce a word on the subject.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, the preponderating influence either of the imperial or of the French party, regularly prevailed with the electors; the cardinals, as was said by a pope, had no longer any free voice. Ever after the middle of that century this influence exercised by foreign powers, became much less material; the curia remained far more master of its own proceedings than it had been before. Hence, we say, there had arisen, in the movements of internal intrigue, a principle, or a custom, of a very peculiar kind.

Each pope was in the practice of appointing a number of cardinals, who then, in the next conclave, flocked round the nephews of the deceased pontiff, formed a new power, and ordinarily endeavoured to elevate some one from among themselves to the throne. It is remarkable that they never succeeded in this, that the opposition triumphed in every instance, and ordinarily promoted an opponent of the last pope.

I shall not attempt to discuss this subject in detail. We possess not altogether unauthentic communications about these elections; yet it would be impossible to present a just view of the personal ties here brought into operation; this must ever remain obscure.

It will suffice that we note the principle that prevailed. Without exception, in the course of that period, not the adherents, but the opponents of the last pope, that is, the creatures of the next preceding one, carried off the victory. Paul IV. was raised to the popedom by the creatures of Paul III., Pius IV. by means of the enemies of the Caraffas and of Paul IV. Borromeo, the nephew of Pius IV., had sufficient disinterestedness to volunteer his vote in favour of Pius V., a man of the opposite party, whom, however, he thought the most religious man among them; but he acted thus only under the warmest opposition on the part of those who had owed every thing to his uncle, and who, as it runs

in the report, hardly could believe that they saw what they did see, or that they acted as they did. Nor did they neglect to take advantage of this compliancy in the next case that occurred. That custom they sought to have recognised; they wished to have it set up as the established rule, and, in fact, they appointed the successor of Pius V. from the creatures of Pius IV. The same thing took place at the election of Sixtus V.; he was elevated from amongst the opponents of his predecessor Gregory.

We need not wonder accordingly, if we uniformly find the greatest contrasts of character on the papal throne. The different factions drove each other out of that position.

In virtue of this custom the opponents of Sixtus V., and particularly those who opposed the last turn taken by his policy, on this occasion, too, had a great prospect before them. Sixtus had aggrandized his nephew beyond measure; the latter entered the conclave with a host of devoted cardinals, as numerous as ever had been known. Yet in spite of all this, he had to give way. The creatures of Gregory now raised to the throne one who had opposed the late pope, and who had even been particularly injured by him; a man of unquestionable Spanish sentiments. This was John Baptist Castagna, Urban VII.[1]

But they were unfortunate in this choice. Urban VII. died before being crowned, before he had named a single prelate, on the 12th day of his pontificate, and the election contest was forthwith renewed.

It was distinguished by the Spaniards again taking the keenest part in it. They well perceived how much depended on it, as respected the affairs of France. The king resolved to take a step which was charged against him in Rome as a dangerous innovation, and which even his own partisans knew not how to excuse, except by alleging the pressing circumstances in which he found himself;[2] he named seven cardinals who appeared to

[1] Conclave di papa Urbano VII. MS. "La pratica (di questa elettione) fu guidata dal cardinal Sforza (capo delle creature di papa Gregorio XIII.) e da cardinali Genovesi."—[Conclave of Pope Urban VII. MS. The management (of this election) was directed by Cardinal Sforza (the chief of those who had been promoted by Pope Gregory XIII.) and by the Genoese cardinals.] In a dispatch of the French ambassador, Maisse in Venice, in F. von Raumer's Hist. Letters, I. 360, we find that Colonna, after he had once taken possession of the papal seat, had been dragged down from it by Sforza, but this must not be taken literally.

[2] "Il grande interesse del re cattolico e la spesa nella quale si trova senza ajuto nissuno per servitio della Christianità fa che gli si debbia condonare."—[The great

him to be suitable candidates, and would accept of none else. At the head of these nominees stood the name Madruzzi, and straightway the Spanish cardinals made an attempt to carry the day with this their chief.

But they encountered an obstinate resistance. Madruzzi found no favour because he was a German, and because the conclave were not willing to allow the popedom to fall again into the hands of barbarians.[1] Montalto, too, would accept of none of the remaining nominees. It is true that he would have found it vain to attempt to raise one of his adherents to the pontificate, but he had power enough to exclude at least any candidate he disliked. The conclave protracted its sittings to an undue length; the banditti were masters of the country; news arrived every day of property being plundered and villages being burned; a movement was to be dreaded even in Rome itself.

There was but one means of coming to a result, and this lay in raising to the popedom that candidate among the several who had been proposed, who should be least unacceptable to the nephew of Sixtus V. In the Florentine accounts[2] we are told that the grand duke of Tuscany, in the Roman that Cardinal Sforza, the chief of the Gregorian cardinals, specially contributed to bring this about. Retired within his cell, probably because he had been told that his interests would best be promoted by his holding his peace, and afflicted with fever, lived Cardinal Sfondrato, one of the seven. The different parties united in selecting him, and at the same time a family alliance was concerted between the house of Sfondrato and Montalto. Upon this Montalto visited the cardinal in his cell, and found him praying before a crucifix, not wholly recovered from fever. He told him that he was to be elected the next morning. On that morning, 5th December, 1590, he introduced him with Sforza into the chapel, where the votes were given. Sfondrato was elected; and called himself Gregory XIV.[3]

interest of the catholic king and the expense in which he had found himself involved, without any assistance, in the service of Christianity, were such that he ought to be forgiven.]

[1] Cardinal Morosini said; "Italia anderebbe in preda a' barbari, che farebbe una vergogna." Concl. della sede vacante di Urbano VII.—[Italy would become a prey to barbarians, which would be scandalous. Conclave of the vacant see of Urban VII.]

[2] Galluzzi: Storia del granducato di Toscana V. 99.

[3] T. Tasso has celebrated this accession to the (papal) throne in a splendid canzone: Da gran lode immortal.

He was a man that fasted twice a week, read mass every day, performed his prescribed devotions always on his knees, and then devoted an hour to his favourite author, St. Bernard, from whose works he carefully marked the sentences which more especially struck him; a pure and harmless soul. It was remarked, however, half in jest, that he had come too soon, in the seventh month, into the world, and was reared with difficulty, so that in general he had too little of the earthly element in him. He never understood any thing whatever of the practice and movements of the curia. The cause which the Spaniards fought for, he held at once to be the cause of the church. He was a born subject of Philip II. and a man after the king's own heart. He declared himself without hesitation or delay in favour of the League.[1]

"Do you," he wrote to the Parisians, "who have made so praiseworthy a commencement, now persevere and make no halt until you have attained the object of your endeavours. Under the inspiration of God we have resolved to assist you. First, we have set apart for you an aid in money, and that, too, beyond the measure of our resources. Then we appoint our nuncio, Landriano, to proceed to France with a view to the bringing back of all who have deserted from your association. Finally, we send you, though at a heavy charge to the church, our beloved son and nephew Hercules Sfondrato, duke of Monte-Marciano, with cavalry and infantry, to assist in defending you with arms. But should you require still further aid, we will provide you with that also.[2]

The whole policy of Gregory XIV. is summed up in this letter. That policy, however, produced a great effect. The very declaration of his purpose, the repeating of the excommunication of Henry IV. which was coupled with it, and then the charge with which Landriano entered France, addressed to all the clergy, nobility, officers of justice, and the third estate, to withdraw, under pain of grievous punishment, from Henry of Bourbon, caused a profound impression.[3] There were on the side of

[1] Cicarella de vita Gregorii XIV., to be found in all the later editions of Platina.

[2] "Gregoire pape XIV. à mes fils bien-ayméz les gens du conseil des seize quartiers de la ville de Paris,"—[Gregory to my well-beloved sons, the members of the council of the sixteen quarters of the city of Paris,] in Cayet's Chronologie novenaire. Mémoires coll. univ. tom LVII. p. 62.

[3] Cayet even notices this. "Le party du roy éstoit sans aucune division. Ce

Henry IV. so many Roman catholics holding strict opinions, who were confounded at last by these decided measures of the head of their church. They declared that it was not the kingdom only that had a regular order of succession, but also the church; and that the religion (of the country) must as little be altered as the dynasty. From this time forward there began to be formed among the king's adherents the so-called third party, which constantly insisted on his resuming Roman catholicism, maintained their allegiance to him only under this condition and with this prospect, and was of so much the more consequence, in as much as the most influential persons in his immediate circle belonged to it.

But still greater consequences were to be expected from the other measures which the pope announced in that letter, and which he delayed not to execute. He sent the Parisians a monthly subsidy of 15,000 scudi. He despatched Colonel Lusi into Switzerland to enlist troops there. After having solemnly delivered the standards of the church, in St. Mary Maggiore's, to his nephew Hercules, as their general, he sent him to Milan, where his forces were to be assembled. Archbishop Matteucci, who accompanied him as commissary, was abundantly provided with money.

Under these auspices Philip II. no longer scrupled to take up French affairs in good earnest. His troops burst into Brittany, and took up positions in Toulouse and Montpellier. He thought he could put forward special claims to some provinces; in others he maintained the closest alliance with the leading chiefs; these sometimes established and maintained Capuchin friars. In many quarters he was looked upon as "the sole defender of the orthodox against the Huguenots," and he was even urgently invited to come to Paris. Meanwhile the Piemontese attacked Provence. The papal army joined that of the League in Verdun. There was a general movement of Spanish-Italian forces, for the purpose of dragging France by force into that rigidly Roman catholic career which preponderated most in those countries. The

qui fut entretenu jusques au temps de la publication des bulles monitoriales du pape Gregoire XIV. que d'aucuns voulurent engendrer un tiers party et le former des catholiques, qui éstoit dans le party royal."—[The king's party was without any division. Which continued to be the case until the time of the publication of the monitorial bulls of Pope Gregory XIV. when some wished to create a third party, and to make it consist of the catholics in the royal party.]

Spaniards now had the benefit of the treasures which Pope Sixtus had amassed with so much effort, and which he had saved so carefully. Gregory XIV., after taking from the castle all the moneys not destined to any particular objects, proceeded to lay his hands on those also which had been most strictly tied up. He judged that a case of more pressing necessity could never occur in the church.

What with the determination of purpose which now appeared, the prudence shown by the king, the wealth of the pope and the influence which their combined authority exercised on France, it was in fact incalculable to what an extent this double-sided, and at once secular and spiritual ambition would have carried matters, had not Gregory XIV., in the midst of the undertaking, died. He had occupied the papal see only ten months and ten days, and yet had effected such important changes; what might not have been the result, had he held the government for some years? His death was the heaviest loss which could befall the party of the League and of Spain.

Once more, it is true, the Spaniards carried all before them in the conclave. They had again named seven candidates,[1] and one of these, John Anthony Fachinetto, who took the name of Innocent IX., was elected. He too, in so far as a judgment could be formed of him, was attached to the Spanish interest; at least he sent money to the League, and the letter is still extant in which he urges Alexander Farnese to hasten the equipment of his troops, to invade France and relieve Rouen, all which that general forthwith executed with so much success and skill.[2] But the misfortune was that Innocent too was already very old and feeble; he hardly ever left his bed; he even gave his audiences while lying there; so that from the death-bed of a gray-beard who could no longer move about, there went forth exhortations to war, which set France and indeed all Europe in commotion.

[1] In the Histoire des conclaves (History of the Conclaves) I. 251, it is said, "Les Espagnols vouloient rétablir leur réputation."—[The Spaniards wished to re-establish their reputation.] But this is only a mistranslation, for in the MS. which forms the groundwork of that book, Conclave di Innocenzio IX. (Inff. politt.) it runs: "per non perder la racquistata autorità,"—[in order that they might not lose their recovered authority,] which really corresponds with the state of things.]

[2] According to Davila,* Historia delle guerre civili di Francia XII. p. 763, it would appear as if Innocent were not so entirely in the interests of the League; but the letter above quoted (in Cayet p. 356) removes all doubt.

* Davila, generally speaking, is a poor authority. Tr.

Hardly had Innocent filled the papal see for two months, when he likewise died.

And so the election struggles in the conclave were resumed for the fourth time. They became so much the more important, as in these incessant changes the opinion gained ground, that what first of all was wanted was a vigorous person who might be expected to live for some time. A definite decision was now to be taken for a longer period. The conclave was an important affair as respected the history of the world at large.

ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT VIII.

On the fortunate turn that their interests had taken at Rome during the preceding year, the Spaniards had succeeded even in gaining Montalto. The family of that nephew of a pope had bought estates in the Neapolitan territory. On Montalto engaging to offer no further opposition to the will of the king, the latter engaged on the other hand, not directly to exclude all who had risen under the patronage of Sixtus V. They coalesced accordingly, and the Spaniards no longer delayed proposing the man from whom they could look for the most active co-operation in the French war.

Santorio, with the title of Sanseverina, might be regarded as the most zealous of all the cardinals. Even in his youthful years, when at Naples, he had carried on many a contest with the protestants of that place. In his autobiography, which is still extant in manuscript, he speaks of the massacre of St. Bartholomew "as the renowned St. Bartholomew's day, most delightful to the catholics;"[1] he had uniformly professed his attachment to the most violent opinions; he was the leading member of the congregation for the affairs of France; long had he been the very soul of the Inquisition; and he was still healthy and tolerably fresh in point of years.

Such was the person whom the Spaniards wished to invest with the highest dignity, nor could they have found a more devoted one. Olivarez had arranged all beforehand;[2] there seemed

[1] He speaks of a "giusto sdegno del re Carlo IX. di gloriosa memoria in quel celebre giorno di S. Bartolommeo lietissimo a' cattolici."—[the just wrath of King Charles IX. of glorious memory, in that celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, most delightful to catholics.]

[2] Conclave di Clemente VIII. MS. "Il conte di Olivarez, fedele et inseparabile amico di S. Severina, aveva prima di partire di Roma per il governo di Sicilia

no longer any room for doubt; of fifty-two voices thirty-six were affirmative, being enough to decide the contest, in order to which two thirds of the votes were always requisite. Accordingly the very first morning of the conclave's being shut up, steps were taken for proceeding to the election. Montalto and Madrucci, the heads of the coalition, brought Sanseverina from his cell, which, as is the custom with the cell of the pope elect, was immediately despoiled by the servants; thirty-six cardinals proceeded along with him to the Pauline chapel; already were applications made to him to forgive his opponents; he declared that he would forgive all men, and as the first proof of his disposition would take the name of Clement; nations and kingdoms were committed to his care.

Meanwhile one circumstance had been left out of reckoning in this project. Sanseverina passed for being so severe a person, that every body was afraid of him.

The consequence even now was, that many it had been found impossible to gain over; the younger cardinals, old personal enemies, held a meeting in the Sistine chapel. True, when met, they found themselves only sixteen in number, one vote was still wanting in order to their having it in their power to exclude, and several seemed prepared already to submit to fate and to acknowledge Sanseverina; nevertheless, the influence of the experienced Altemps so far prevailed with them that they still held out. They trusted to his being able to manage the matter better than themselves could do.

And, in fact, this same aversion had its effect even on those who had given Sanseverina their promise to vote for him; very many of them rejected him at heart. They had yielded compliance with the wishes of the king and Montalto, and yet only waited for an opportunity of recalling what they had done. On the parties entering the election chapel, symptoms of disquiet and agitation appeared, such as were quite unusual in the case of a decided election. On the votes being begun to be counted, there was a manifest reluctance to proceed; Sanseverina's own countrymen interposed obstacles in his way.[1] Nothing was

tutto preordinato."—[Conclave of Clement VIII. MS. The count di Olivarez, a faithful and inseparable friend of S. Severina, had arranged every thing before leaving Rome for the government of Sicily.]

[1] On this subject, besides the accounts contained in printed and MS. conclaves, we have S. Severina's own narrative, which I will take up in the Appendix.

wanted but some one to give vent to the thoughts which so many entertained. At last Ascanio Colonna had the courage to do so. He belonged to those Roman barons who dreaded above all things Sanseverina's inquisitorial obduracy. He exclaimed, "I see that God will not have Sanseverina; neither will Ascanio Colonna have him." He then left the Pauline chapter and joined the opposite party in the Sistine.

This secured the victory to the latter. It was resolved that there should be a secret scrutiny. Some there were who would never have ventured to recall their promised votes openly and aloud, who however did so secretly as soon as they but knew that their names would be concealed. On the urn being opened there were found only thirty votes for the person proposed.

Sanseverina had thought himself sure of his object. That amplitude of spiritual authority which he had estimated so highly, and which he had so often battled in defence of, he thought was already in his possession. Betwixt the realization of his highest wishes and the prospect of a perpetual sense of neglect, the prospect of sovereignty and of submission, he passed seven hours as if betwixt life and death; at last it was decided, and with blighted hopes he returned to his disfurnished cell. "The night following," he says in his autobiography, "was one of more poignant vexation to me than the most unfortunate moment I have ever experienced. The heavy affliction of my soul and my internal anguish forced from me, incredible as it may appear, a bloody sweat."

He was too well acquainted with the nature of a conclave, to entertain any further hopes. His friends once more proposed him as a candidate; but it was now a hopeless attempt.

In all this the Spaniards themselves had lost ground. The king had proposed five names, but not one of them could be carried. At last they had to proceed to a sixth nominee, who had been referred to by the Spaniards as a supernumerary.

More to gratify his ally Montalto, than from any motive of his own, the king had nominated Cardinal Aldobrandini, a man who had been promoted by Sixtus V., and whom Philip had even excluded the year before. He was now again recurred to, as the only possible person. The choice, as may be supposed, was agreeable to Montalto. As he had been named with the others

the Spaniards had nothing to say against him. To the rest he was not unwelcome, and in general he was beloved. Accordingly he was elected without much opposition on the 20th of January 1592. He called himself Clement VIII.

It must ever be singular to observe how it fared with the Spaniards on this occasion. They had brought Montalto over to their side, with the view of carrying the election of one of their partisans; yet the coalition resulted in their having to assist in placing on the pontifical throne a friend of Montalto, and a creature of Sixtus V.

We would remark that therewithal a change appeared in the course of the elections to the popedom, which we cannot consider as unimportant. For a long while, persons belonging to opposite factions had succeeded alternately. On this occasion, also, the same thing had taken place; three times had the creatures of Sixtus V. been obliged to retire; but the successful candidates had enjoyed a very brief possession of power, and had been unable to form any new faction. Deaths, funeral obsequies, and new conclaves had followed in rapid succession. The first that again filled the papal see with full living energies was Clement VIII., when there followed a government conducted by the same party that last had ruled for any length of time.

The general attention was now directed to the question who this new person was, into whose hands the government had come, and what was to be expected from him.

Clement was born an exile. His father, Salvestro Aldobrandino, of a respectable Florentine family, but a warm and active opponent of the Medici, was in consequence of the final triumph of that house, in the year 1531, expelled and had to seek his fortunes abroad.[1] He was a doctor of laws, and had at an earlier period of his life delivered lectures at Pisa. After his expulsion we find him at one time in Venice, where he took part in the improvement of the Venetian statute-law, or revised an

[1] Varchi: Storia Fiorentina III. 42, 61. Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia I. I. p. 392, has as usual a very elaborate and learned article at this name, but it is not complete. Among other omissions nothing is said about his Venetian labours, with a notice of which John Delfino begins his narrative, so that there can be no doubt about the matter. "Silvestro Aldobrandini ne' tempi della ribellione di Firenze cacciato da quella città se ne venne qui, riformò li nostri statuti e rivedde le leggi et ordini della republica."—[Silvestro Aldobrandini at the time of the rebellion of Florence, being expelled from that city, came hither, reformed our statutes, and revised the laws and ordinances of the republic.]

edition of the Institutes, at another in Ferrara or Urbino, at the council or court of the dukes, but longest employed in the service now of one, then of another cardinal, and in their place charged with the administration of justice, and the government in one or other of the ecclesiastical cities. What perhaps marked him most, was, that in this shifting kind of life he contrived to educate five distinguished sons. John, the eldest, who used to be called the pilot of the family, was perhaps the ablest of the whole. He cleared the path, and in the course of juridical dignities rose to the cardinalship in 1570. Had he lived longer it is supposed that he would have had hopes of obtaining the tiara. Bernard acquired renown in the profession of arms; Thomas was a good philologist; his translation of Diogenes Laertius has often been reprinted; Peter had the reputation of being a distinguished practical jurist. Hippolitus, the youngest, born at Fano in 1536,[1] cost his father some anxiety at first; he feared lest he should not have it in his power to give him the education his talents deserved. But, first of all, Cardinal Alexander Farnese took an interest in the boy, and settled on him a yearly pension from the revenues of his bishopric of Spoleto. After that he was promoted simply by the rising fortunes of his brother. He soon rose to the prelature, and upon that into the post which his eldest brother had filled in the Rota's court of law. Sixtus V. created him a cardinal and charged him with an embassage to Poland. This first brought him into a certain connection with the house of Austria. That whole house considered itself under obligations to the cardinal for his having procured the deliverance of the archduke Maximilian from the confinement in which he had been kept by the Poles, a service in which he had interposed his authority with sufficient prudence and talent to ensure success. When Philip II. resolved to nominate a person who had been elevated by Sixtus V. as a supernumerary candidate, it was this consideration that led him to prefer Aldobrandino to others. Thus did the son of a homeless exile, of whom it might at one time have been feared that

[1] In the baptismal register of the cathedral parish of Fano, there is the following entry; "a dì 4 Marzo 1536 fu battezato un putto di Mr. Salvestro, che fu luogotenente qui: hebbe nome Ippolyto."—[On the 4th of March 1536, there was baptized a boy of Master Salvestro's, who was lieutenant here; he was named Hippolytus.]

he would be compelled to spend his life in discharging the duties of a clerk, attain to the supreme dignity of Roman catholic christendom.

It is impossible to view without a certain feeling of satisfaction in the church della Minerva at Rome, the monument which Salvestro erected there to the mother of so noble a band of sons, "to his dear wife Lesa, of the family of Deti, with whom he had lived harmoniously for seven and thirty years.

The new pope carried into his official life all the active energy peculiar to families that have raised themselves from a diversity of depressing circumstances. The sittings were held in the forenoon, the audiences in the afternoon;[1] all reports were received and examined; all despatches were first read and talked over; principles of law were investigated and precedents compared; the pope was not seldom found better acquainted with a case than the referendaries who were to deliver their judgments upon it; he laboured no less strenuously than before, when he was as yet only *auditor di Rota;* he devoted himself to the details of the internal administration of the state, and personal concerns, no less than to the politics of Europe; or to the grand interests of the spiritual power. When it was asked what it was in which he found satisfaction, it was answered, in all things or nothing.[2]

Therewithal he did not allow himself to incur blame for the slightest negligence in his spiritual duties. Baronius received his confession every evening; every morning he celebrated mass himself; at noon there always dined in the same apartment with him, at least in the earlier years of his pontificate, twelve poor men, and as for the pleasures of the table they were not to be thought of. Moreover every Friday and

[1] Bentivoglio, Memorie I. p. 54, has (given us) the whole order of a week.

[2] Relatione al card^l d'Este 1599, MS. Fosc. He carried on wars like Julius II., he raised buildings like Sixtus V., he was a reformer of abuses like Pius V., and moreover he seasoned his conversation with wit. Then comes the following portraiture. "Di complession flemmatico e sanguigno, ma con qualche mistura di colera, di corporatura carnosa e grassa, di costumi gravi e modesti, di maniera dolce et affabile, nel moto tardo, nelle attioni circonspetto, nell'esecutioni cuntatore; quando non risolve, premedita. E tenace del secreto, cupo nei pensieri, industrioso nel tirarli al fine."—[Of a phlegmatic and sanguine complexion, with some mixture of choler, of a fleshy and gross body, serious and modest in his habits, mild and affable in his manners, slow in his movements, circumspect in his actions, tardy in execution; when he does not resolve, he premeditates. He is tenacious of secrets, deep in his thoughts, industrious in bringing them to a conclusion.]

Sunday evening he fasted. After the labours of the week, he made it his recreation on Sundays to have some pious monks, or the fathers of the Vallicella, with him, to converse with them about the more profound questions in divinity. The reputation for virtue, piety, and an exemplary life which he had always enjoyed, increased in this manner so as to seem extraordinary. It was what he knew and intended. This very reputation augmented his authority as supreme pastor.

For indeed this pope acted in all things with a conscious deliberation. He was a willing worker, and was one of those characters who derive new force from toil; but withal he did not carry so much of passion into his labours as to prevent him from tempering his strenuousness with moderation of impulse.[1] Accordingly, he could flare up indeed at times, and be violent and bitter; nevertheless, if he saw that the person he was addressing, although respect for the majesty of the popedom might overawe him into silence, yet possibly manifested some repugnance and displeasure in his manner, he would retire within himself and endeavour to remove all such bad impressions. Nothing was ever to be perceived in him but what was becoming and consistent with the idea of a good, pious, and wise man.[2]

Earlier popes had considered themselves as raised quite above all laws, and had sought to turn the administration of the highest dignity into a mere source of enjoyment. But this was what the spirit of the age would now no longer tolerate. The individual had now to give way and retire; the office was every thing. No man could either have obtained it, or could have adminis-

[1] Venier: Relatione di Roma 1601. "La gotta molto meno che per l'inanzi li da molestia al presente per la sua bona regola di viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva e con notabile astinenza nel bere; che le giova anco moltissimo a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale è molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l'esercitio di caminar longamente sempre che senza sconcio de' negozi conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacità supplisce."—[The gout, which annoys him much less than before, is at present a strong inducement to his good rules of living, according to which he allots a certain time, and in it proceeds with the utmost caution and with notable abstinence in drinking; which helps much also in not encouraging corpulency, to which his constitution is much inclined, being also accustomed for this to take frequent exercise in walking long distances always when he knows he can do so without detriment to affairs, for which nevertheless he compensates by his great capacity.]

[2] Delfino: "Si va conoscendo certo che in tutte le cose si move S. S^a con gran zelo dell'onor di dio e con gran desiderio del ben publico."—[It is a matter of notoriety that His Holiness conducts himself with great zeal for the honour of God, and a great desire for promoting the public good.]

tered it, without conducting himself in a manner corresponding to the proper idea of such an office.

It is evident that the force of the papal institution itself was by this immensely enhanced. Human institutions in general remain in vigour only as long as their spirit animates living men, and exhibits itself at the same time in the possessors of the governing power which they create.

HENRY FOURTH'S ABSOLUTION.

And now the grand subject of inquiry was, how this pope, so eminent for his talents, activity and energy, and moreover so irreproachable in point of character, would understand and deal with the most important question in all Europe, namely, the state of France.

Would he, like his immediate predecessor, attach himself unconditionally to Spain? To this he was called neither by any obligation arising from previous ties, nor by inclination. It did not escape his notice that the Spanish preponderance would press hard upon the popedom too, and would deprive it of its political independence.

Or would he adopt the party of Henry IV? It is true this monarch showed symptoms of becoming Roman catholic. But such a promise was more easily given than executed; he still continued to be protestant; Clement VIII. might have to dread being deceived.

We have seen how Sixtus V. hung in suspense between these two possibilities, and what inconsistences were associated with it. The party of the zealots was still as powerful as ever at Rome, and the new pope durst not expose himself to their aversion and opposition.

Thus he was surrounded on all sides with difficulties, amid which he carefully guarded against betraying himself in words, and awakening slumbering animosities. It is only from his actions and course of conduct that we can gradually gather what his real sentiments were.

When he entered on the government, the papal see had sent to France a legate who was supposed to be attached to the interests of Spain, and an army which was to fight against Henry IV.; the League, too, was subsidized. In these matters the new

pope could alter nothing. Had he stopped sending aid in money, ordered back his army and recalled his legate, he would have perilled his reputation for orthodoxy, and exposed himself to more bitter animadversions than Pope Sixtus had experienced. But he was likewise far from wishing to increase these efforts, or to give them a fresh impulse. He would rather have gradually moderated and restricted them, as a favourable opportunity might offer.

But he soon found himself called upon to take a step of an unequivocal character.

Still in the year 1592, Henry IV. sent Cardinal Gondi to Italy, with instructions to proceed also to Rome. The king was daily inclining more and more to Roman catholicism, but what he meant, it would appear, was rather by a sort of treaty under the mediation of Tuscany and Venice, to unite himself again to the Roman catholic church, than to subject himself to it. And was not even this a very agreeable prospect for the pope? Was not the return of the king at all events a great point gained, in whatever manner it might take place? Clement, nevertheless, considered it necessary that he should not go into the proposal or receive Gondi. The consequences moreover of Luxemburg's presence (at Rome) had been too vexatious to Sixtus V., while it had been of no use. He sent a monk, called Friar Franchechi, to Florence, where the cardinal had already arrived, to announce to him that he would not be received at Rome. It quite suited the pope's views that the cardinal and even the archduke should complain, for he wished that his refusal should excite surprise and create a commotion. This, however, is only one side of the affair. The pope could never mean to put the king into ill humour, nor absolutely to put away from him an approach to reconciliation. We find in the Venetian despatches that Fra Franceschi had at the same time added to his official announcement that he was pretty sure that the cardinal would be received privately and secretly.[1] It seems almost as if Gondi had been

[1] Dispaccio Donato 23 Ott. 1592, from an account which had been given by the Florentine ambassador Niccolini. Fra Franceschi's declaration was; "che crede che il papa l'admetteria, ma che vuole levare li cattolici fuori di dubio et ogni ombra che admettendolo riceve ambasceria di Navarra."—[that he believed the pope would receive him, but that he wished to remove all doubt from (Roman) catholics abroad, and all shadow of pretext for supposing that in admitting him he was receiving an embassy from Navarre.]

actually in Rome; and that the pope had told him that he must knock at his door more than once. At least it is certain that an agent of Gondi's repaired to Rome, and after having held several conferences, declared to the Venetian ambassador that, thank God, he had every ground for conceiving hopes and being satisfied,[1] but that more he durst not say. In a word, the public declinature was accompanied with a secret encouragement to approach. Clement VIII. had no wish either to offend Spain or to repel Henry IV. His procedure was calculated to avoid both.

Meanwhile a new question, and one of far greater importance, presented itself.

The states-general of France, in so far as they belonged to the League party, assembled in January 1593, for the purpose of proceeding to the election of a new king. As the sole ground of excluding Henry IV. lay in his religion, the papal legate enjoyed a greater than ordinary authority. That office was still held by Sega bishop of Placentia, whom Gregory XIV. had selected, and who had the Spanish-ecclesiastical leanings of Gregory's government. Clement thought it necessary to furnish him with particular instructions on this occasion, and in these he admonished him to see to it, that neither violence nor bribery should influence the votes; conjuring him likewise, in a matter of so much importance, to guard against all precipitation.[2]

This was an admonition which would have been sure to have weighed with an ambassador who considered himself bound in duty to comply with the first hints of his prince's intentions, but it ran too much in general expressions, to seduce this ecclesiastical lord, who looked for advancement more from Spain than from the pope, into the abandonment of a party to which he had long been attached, and which he held to be the orthodox one. Cardinal Sega was not led by it to alter his course in the very least. On the 13th of June 1593, he issued a declaration, in which he called on the states to elect a king who should not only be a true Roman catholic, but one who should also have the determination and the capacity to annihilate the efforts of the here-

[1] Dispaccio Donato 23 Ott. 1592: "dopo aver lassato sfogar il primo moto della alteration di S. Beat."—[after having allowed the first ebullition of his Beatitude's anger to exhaust itself].

[2] Davila XIII. p. 810, has an extract from this instruction.

tics; that that was what of all things His Holiness most urgently desired.[1]

Nor did the pope's other measures differ at all from these instructions transmitted to the legate. He held generally to the ecclesiastical Spanish strict orthodox party; but not, it is true, with that passion and devotedness which characterized other popes; for if such qualities in general marked his character, they were allowed to operate only in matters removed from observation. It was enough for him to be peaceful and irreproachable, as the regular dispatch of business required, to persevere in the side that had once been adopted, and which was most analogous with the abstract idea of his office. This only might have been noticed, that he did not quite repel the other party, and would not drive it to a determined hostility. By secret encouragements and indirect expressions, he kept them in hope of a reconciliation at some future day; he satisfied the Spaniards, yet so as that the opposite party might venture to persuade themselves that he was not altogether free to act as he chose, and that in conducting himself as he did, and no otherwise, he was mainly influenced by mere respect for the Spaniards. In Sixtus it was the opposite impulses that conflicted in his mind, that finally prevented him from adopting a decisive course; in Clement it was respect for both sides, prudence, and a circumspection derived from his experience of the world, and which urged him to avoid exciting hostile feelings. But the result certainly was, that he too wielded no decided influence.

So much the more, in consequence of their being left to themselves, did the affairs of France develope themselves in conformity with their own internal instincts.

What was of most consequence was that a dissension arose among the chiefs of the League. The Sixteen attached themselves closely to Spain. Mayenne pursued objects of personal ambition. The Sixteen were all the more zealous; they proceeded to commit the most horrible crimes against their supposed or real deserters; for example, they murdered President Brisson.

[1] "Qu'il ait le courage et les autres vertus requises pour pouvoir heureusement réprimer et anéantir du tout les efforts et mauvais desseins des hérétiques. C'est la chose du monde que plus S. S. presse et désire."—[That he have the courage and all the other virtues requisite to his being able happily to repress and annihilate altogether the efforts and evil designs of the heretics. This is of all things in the world what his Holiness most presses and desires.]

Mayenne thought it right to punish them for these doings, and caused their most fanatical leaders to be executed. Under favour of this dissension there had arisen ever since the commencement of 1592, even in Paris, a more moderate tone of sentiment as respects both politics and religion, opposed to the efforts which had been made up to that time by the League, but opposed most of all to the Sixteen and to the Spaniards. An alliance was concluded, not much differing from the League itself, which had for its object the transference of the public offices of the city, into the hands of moderate and sensible men; and in the course of that year it was tolerably successful in attaining its end.[1] Symptoms of a like tendency revealed themselves throughout the whole kingdom. It had already greatly influenced the results of the elections for the meeting of the states. Hence it was that the Spaniards found all their proposals there met by so effective an opposition. While the fanatical preachers still held every man to be excommunicated who should so much as speak of peace with the heretic, even were he to go to mass, the Parliament reminded the states of the fundamental law of the kingdom, which provided that foreign princes shall be excluded from the throne; and it was impossible for men to shut their eyes to the fact that this whole body, which was called the political party, was only waiting for Henry the Fourth's conversion, in order to submit to him.

Wherein, then, lay the difference between these and the Roman catholic royalists in the camp of Henry IV.? Only in this, that the former wanted to see a step taken before they would submit, while the latter thought they could wait for its being taken. For in this even the Roman catholic royalists were of one mind, that the king must return to their church, albeit that they did not make his right, his legitimacy, dependent on his doing so. Probably from the spirit of contradiction to the protestants in the king's circle, they constantly urged this more and more keenly; the princes of the blood, the most commanding statesmen, and the greater part of the court, attached themselves to that third party, whose most distinctive characteristic lay in this demand.[2]

[1] Cayet lib. IV. (tom. 58, p. 5) gives the propositions that were made at the first meeting of the states.

[2] Such is the representation given by Sully, V. 249.

As soon as the face of affairs wore this aspect, every one saw, and even the protestants themselves did not deny it, that Henry must become a Roman catholic if he would be king. It is needless to investigate the pretensions of those who maintain that the last impulse to that result came from them. What led most to it was the grand combination of circumstances, the necessity of things.[1] In his now completing that act by which he passed over to Roman catholicism, Henry attached himself to that national French Roman catholic opinion, which was represented by the *Tiers-parti* and the political party, and which had now the prospect of maintaining the ascendancy in France.

Fundamentally, however, this was nothing more or less than that Roman catholic opposition which had flocked round the banners of legitimacy and national independence, and made face against the ecclesiastical Spanish enterprises. How mightily had it now advanced in point of power and authority! In the public opinion of the country it had unquestionably the preponderance; it was professed, secretly if not in the face of day, over the whole of France; by means of the monarch's passing from protestantism to Roman catholicism it now obtained a firm internal footing, that monarch, moreover, being so warlike, brave, and victorious. Thus grown into bulk and vigour it appeared anew before the pope, and prayed him to bestow on it his recognition and his blessing. How much renown and influence would it obtain were he at least to declare himself directly in its favour. Still all depended on this further condition. The prelates even who had received the king into the bosom of the church, had done this only upon the previous understanding that he was to obtain absolution from the pope.[2] To this an appeal was made by the most powerful members of the League, with whom the king opened communications.[3] Although promises are not always kept, yet it is not to be doubted that the papal absolution, communicated at this crisis, would have powerfully affected

[1] That Henry was, in April 1593, determined to take this step is proved by his letter to the grand duke of Tuscany, of the 26th of March. Galluzzi: Istoria del granducato t. V. p. 160.

[2] "Messieurs du clergé luy avoient donné l' absolution à la charge qu'il envoyeroit vers sa S^te le réquerir d'approuver ce qu'ils avoient fait."—[The clergy granted him absolution on condition that he was to send to his Holiness, asking his approval of what they had done.] Cayet: 58, 390.

[3] Villeroy Mémoires. Coll. univ. 62, 186.

the course of events. Henry IV. sent one of the grandees of the kingdom, the duke of Nevers, to solicit the pope first. It was agreed that there should be a truce while the answer was waited for.

The pope was distrustful and cautious. As Sixtus V. had been inflamed by the hopes of religious ambition, so Clement VIII. was kept back by the dread of being deceived and of experiencing vexatious results. He was possessed with the idea that Henry IV. would probably return at last to protestantism as he had done once before; he declared that he would not believe that the king was really converted, unless an angel from heaven were to come and whisper it in his ear; he looked around him and found the greater part of the Curia still possessed with an aversion for the French. From time to time a pamphlet appeared in which the assertion was reiterated, that Henry IV., as a *hæreticus relapsus*, could not be absolved even by the pope. Clement still felt no heart to enter into a conflict with the Spaniards, who stood at the head of those professing that opinion.[1] And was not the party that now sued for his forgiveness, involved in fact in the opposition to the claims of the Roman catholic church?—"faithless to the crown and to the church," as he expressed himself, "bastards, children of the bondwoman and not of the wife; while the Leaguists have proved themselves genuine sons."[2] Certainly it still would have demanded some resolution to have acceded to their request. Clement could not yet summon up courage for such a step.[3] Nevers entered Rome with the double self-confidence inspired by his high rank and the importance of his mission; he made no doubt that he would be gladly received; such was the feeling with which he expressed

[1] Les intimidations qui furent faites au Pape Clement VIII. par le duc de Sessa—[The intimidations that were practised towards Pope Clement VIII. by the duke of Sessa], yet not very authentic, and though printed long ago in the Mémoires de Mr. le duc de Nevers II. p. 716, communicated as something new in Capefigue's Histoire de la réforme tom. VII.

[2] Disp. 20 Ag. 1593. Account of Henry's conversion. "Il papa non s'era per tali avisi molto alterato e tuttavia restava con l'animo molto involto nelli suoi soliti dubbj e perplessità."—[The pope was not much changed by such news, and remained constantly with his mind much involved in his usual doubts and perplexity.] He told the Venetian ambassador that Henry was, and remained, a hæreticus relapsus (relapsed heretic), and that nobody could trust to the change he had made.

[3] Relatio dictorum a Clemente VIII. papa die 28 Dec. 1593, in consistorio. —[Account of things said by Pope Clement VIII. 28th Dec. 1593, in the consistory.] Mém. de Nevers II. 638.

himself, and such the tone in which the letter which he brought with him from the king was conceived. The pope thought it sounded as if the king had not only been long a Roman catholic, but as if he were returning like a second Charles the Great, from achieving a victory over the enemies of the church. Nevers was quite astonished at the coldness of his reception, and the little attention that was paid to his proposal. As all went for nothing, he asked the pope at last what the king was to do in order to obtain favour with his Holiness. The pope replied that there were enough of divines in France to inform him particularly on that point. "But," said he, "will your Holiness be content with what the divines may say?" The pope declined giving him an answer to this. He would not even consider him as Henry's ambassador, but only as Lewis Gonzaga, duke of Nevers; all that passed between them he wished to be viewed in the light, not of an official negotiation, but only of a private conversation betwixt two persons, and nothing could prevail upon him to give a resolution in writing. "Nothing more remains for me," said Nevers to cardinal Toledo, who apprized him of this dogged mood on the part of the pope, "but to deplore the miseries which must befal France from the fury of the soldiers on the renewal of the war." The cardinal said nothing; he smiled. Nevers left Rome and gave vent to his vexation in bitter accounts of his treatment.[1]

Mankind, generally speaking, feel only for their own personal position. The Roman Curia understood only what was of advantage to themselves; we do not find that they were influenced by any genuine sympathy for the fate of France.

Certainly we know too much of this pope to believe that he wished absolutely to repel Henry's adherents, and much less now than before, in as much as they were so much more powerful than ever. On the contrary, he gave a secret agent the assurance that the king had only first to show that he was completely a Roman catholic, and then he would be sure of obtain-

[1] Two writings, of nearly the same import however: Discours de ce que fit Mr. de Nevers à son voyage de Rome en l'année 1593—[Account of what was done by the duke de Nevers on the occasion of his journey to Rome in the year 1593], and Discours de la légation de Mr. le duc de Nevers—[Account of the duke de Nevers' embassy]: both in the second volume of the above-quoted Memoirs of Nevers, and the first almost word for word in Cayet. Extracts to be found in De Thou and Davila, and more lately, as if taken from unknown sources in Capefigue.

ing absolution. It was characteristic of him that he who openly gave so decided a refusal to take any part in the king's return to the Roman catholic faith, should have secretly apprized the grand duke of Tuscany that therewithal he had nothing to oppose to what the clergy in France proposed to do. Now, too, the grand duke had to communicate to the chiefs among the Roman catholic royalists the pacificatory declarations of the pope.[1] But in all this he was anxious, properly speaking, only about his own future prospects; in France things went on therefore as they best could.

The truce had expired; the sword was again unsheathed; all was again suspended on the fortunes of war.

But the superiority of Henry IV. was now evident at once. The commanders on the other side were no longer supported by that settled conviction, which had till now been so powerful a stay; the doctrines of the politicians, the king's change of religion, and his continued success, had made them all feel shaken at heart. One after another they went over, without making any account of the want of the papal absolution. Vitri, who commanded at Meaux, and whom the Spaniards would no longer furnish with money for the pay of his troops, was the first to do so, and his example was followed in Orleans, Bourges, and Rouen. Most depended now on what was to be done in Paris. There the political, national French tone of opinion, after many fluctuations, had obtained a complete ascendancy, had drawn over to itself the best families, and led to the most important offices being filled from among them. The armed burgess militia was already commanded upon its principles; the *Hotel de Ville* fell under the same rule; the *prevosts des Marchands* and *Echevins* belonged, without the exception of a single individual, to the same opinion. Under these circumstances the king's return could meet with no farther difficulty. It took place on the 22d of March 1594. Henry IV. was amazed to find himself greeted with such overwhelming acclamations of joy, by a people that had been so long opposed to him; he thought he might safely conclude that they had till then been suffering from tyranny, but this was not quite the case; the opinions of the League had really predominated in men's minds; but others had now taken

[1] Davila lib. XIV. p. 939.

their place. The king's return was, in the main, the triumph of the political opinion. The Leaguists now experienced a persecution similar to that which they had so often denounced themselves. Such influential authors and chiefs, as the violent Boucher, now left the city along with the Spaniards; more than a hundred others, who were reckoned as the most dangerous, were formally banished. All the departments of the government, and the people in one body, took the oath of allegiance. Even the Sorbonne, whose most obstinate members, including even the rector of the university, were amongst the banished, yielded to the doctrine that had now obtained the ascendancy. What a change in its decrees now from what they were in the year 1589! Now, even the Sorbonne acknowledged that every power is originally from God, according to the thirteenth chapter of the Romans; that whoever resists the king, resists God and falls into condemnation. They rejected the opinion that a man could refuse allegiance to his king, if not owned by the pope, as thrown out by evil-minded and ill-advised people. All the members of the university in a body, rectors, deans, theologians, decretists, physicians, artists, monks, and conventualists, students and officers, now swore fealty and allegiance to Henry IV., and bound themselves to shed their blood in his service when required. Nay, more than that, on the ground of this its new orthodoxy, the university forthwith opened a campaign against the Jesuits. They charged these with their insurrectionary principles, a crime in which the university itself, it is true, had formerly participated, and with their Spanish opinions. For some time the Jesuits defended themselves not without success. But as in that same year, a person of the name of John Chastel, who had attended their schools,[1] attempted to murder the

[1] Juvencius, partis V. lib. XII n. 13, gives the following description of this criminal: "Indoles juveni tristis ac tetrica, mores improbi, mens anxia recordatione criminum atque unius potissimum quod matrem aliquando verberasset. - - Conscientia criminum ultrix mentem efferatam diro vexare pergebat metu: quem ut leniret, immane parricidium impos mentis an potius erebi furiis incitatus designat, quo tanquam de religione ac regno bene meritus peccatorum veniam facilius, ut demens reputabat, consequeretur."—[The young man's temper was melancholy and sullen, his morals were bad, his mind burthened with the remembrance of his crimes, and of one in particular, namely, his having sometimes beaten his mother. - - Conscience revenging itself on him for his crimes, continued to harass his mind, thus driven wild, with direful fears, to soothe which, while deprived of reason or rather urged on by the furies of hell, he marks out for himself a shocking parricide, by which like a madman he thought he might by deserving well of religion and the kingdom obtain more easily the forgiveness of his sins.]

king, and acknowledged in his judicial examination that he had often heard from the Jesuits that it was lawful for a man to kill a king who was not reconciled with the church, they could bear up no longer against the general success of the party which they had uniformly combated; the populace could hardly be withheld from storming their college; and at last all the members of the order were condemned to quit the kingdom in fourteen days, as seducers of youth, disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the king and state.[1] Thus did the opinion which had established itself in small beginnings as an opposition, take possession of Paris, and gradually thereafter of the whole kingdom, and drive its adversaries from the lists. Similar movements took place in all quarters. New submissions followed every day; the king was crowned and anointed at Chartres; prayers were offered up for him from all the pulpits; the monkish orders acknowledged him; he exercised without contradiction the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the crown, which are of so much importance. Therewithal he showed himself to be a good Roman catholic; he endeavoured to re-establish that church's ritual where it had been discontinued during the late troubles, and where it had been preserved as the exclusive worship, he confirmed that as a matter of right in solemn privileges. All this he did without being reconciled as yet with the pope.

But for the latter it had now become a matter of urgent necessity to think about this reconciliation.[2] Had he held back any longer the result might have been a schism, and the formation of a factious and apostate French church.

The Spaniards, it is true, still continued constantly to oppose it. They maintained that Henry's conversion was assuredly simulated, and that a schism was then first really to be dreaded on his receiving absolution;[3] they even now described the state of things in which it would be found inevitable. For the pope no small resolution would always be requisite, in the face of

[1] Annuæ literæ societatis Jesu, 1596, p. 350. "Tanta superat adhuc præteriti naufragii fluctuatio ut nondum tabulas omnes atque armamenta disjecta collegerimus."—[Annual letters of the society of Jesus, 1596, p. 350. Such a heavy swell still remains since the shipwreck we have had, that we have not yet collected all the scattered planks and ship's gear.]

[2] For the first time on the 5th of November, 1594, the Venetian ambassador finds the pope in French affairs "meglio inclinato che nel passato"—[better inclined than in time past].

[3] Ossat à Mr de Villeroy, Rome, 6 Dec. 1594. Lettres d'Ossat, I. 53.

those by whose power he was surrounded, and who had a large party in the Curia, to apostatize from an opinion, which passed for orthodox, for which his predecessors had so often put their spiritual and civil arms in movement, which he himself for several years had approved, but he clearly saw that every delay must prove detrimental, and that he could look for nothing more from the other side; he felt that the government that had risen up in France, though in spiritual matters forming a kind of opposition to the stricter doctrines, yet in secular things had a manifest sympathy with Romish interests. Perhaps the former would subside of itself, and the latter become so much the more useful. Enough, Clement already signified his willingness, provided the first word should be addressed to him. We have the despatches of the French plenipotentiary d'Ossat, regarding his negotiations; they are pleasing, instructive, and worth being read, but I do not see that he had serious difficulties to overcome. It were needless to follow out his proceedings step by step. The general state of affairs had already determined the pope, and all now depended only on the king making some concessions to him in return. Those who were unfavourable to the reconciliation, would willingly have had the pope's demands raised to the utmost, under the pretext that the church on this occasion required the greatest securities; the pope remained content with much more tolerable requisitions. He specially insisted on the re-establishment of Roman catholicism in Bearn; the introduction of the (decrees of the) council of Trent in so far as consistent with the laws of the land; the strict observance of the concordat; the education of the presumptive heir to the crown, the prince of Condé, in the Roman catholic faith. For the king too it was very desirable, at any rate, that he should be reconciled with the Romish see. His power was based on his having gone over to Roman catholicism; that act first became fully accredited on his obtaining the pope's absolution; although by far the greater number had come over to him, some still held out nevertheless, alleging the want of it as the reason for their continued resistance.[1] Henry IV. acceded to those conditions without

[1] Du Perron au roi 6 Nov. 1595: "De toucher icy, combien l'authorité et la faveur de ce siege éstant entre vos mains vous peut servir d'un utile instrument non seulement pour remettre e conserver vos sujets en paix et en obéissance, mais aussi pour vous préparer toutes sortes de grandeurs hors de vostre royaume, et à tout le

much difficulty; he had already of himself led to their being so far executed; he had it at heart to show that he was a good Roman catholic; how much more powerful was he now than at the time of the mission of the duke de Nevers, and yet the letter which he now addressed to the pope about his absolution, was much more humble and submissive than then. "The king," so it runs, "returns to the feet of your Holiness, and beseeches you in all humility by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be pleased to bestow upon him your holy blessing and highest absolution." The pope felt fully satisfied.[1]

All that now remained was that the college of cardinals should likewise declare their assent. Yet the pope would not allow the matter to come before a regular meeting of the consistory; consistency with the decisions it had adopted down to this time, might easily have brought the matter to an untoward result.[2] He invited the cardinals to explain their views to him individually, at special audiences, an expedient which had often been adopted before them in similar cases. After he had heard them all, he declared that two-thirds of the voices were in favour of the absolution.

On the 17th of November 1595, steps were taken for the completion of the ceremony. The throne of the pope was erected

moins pour tenir vos ennemis en quelque crainte et devoir par l'apprehension de la mêsme authorité dont ils se sont aydéz pour troubler vos éstats et vos peuples, ce seroit un discours superflu." Les ambassades du cardinal Perron, I. 27.—[To mention here how well the authority and the favour of this see, being in your hands, may be of service to you as a useful instrument, not only for restoring and preserving your subjects in peace and obedience, but also for preparing for you all sorts of grandeurs beyond your kingdom, and at the least for keeping your enemies in some fear and due respect, by (their) dread of the same authority that they took advantage of to trouble your territories and your people's, would be superfluous. Cardinal Perron's embassies, I. 27.]

[1] Roquête du roi in Amelot's observations, in Ossat I. 160.

[2] The Roman court considered the decision to be at all times rash and hazardous. Dolfino Relatione: "I più gravi negotii il papa ha saputo espedire e molto bene e ancora con gran celerità: perchè con tanti contrarj quanti ogn'uno sa benedisse il re di Francia, lo accettò nel grembo della chiesa, mandò li un legato nel tempo che tutti lo ributtavano sotto pretesto che non fosse sua dignità mandarlo avanti che'l re mandasse il suo ambasciatore a Roma, et in quello l'autorità della Sria Vra giovò assai, che così mi disse S. Sa, per diversi offici che a quel tempo io aveva fatto a nome di lei."—[The gravest affairs the pope has known how to expedite, not only very well, but, further, with great celerity; for with so many opposed to it, as every one knows, he blessed the king of France, received him into the bosom of the church, sent him a legate at a time when all repelled him under the pretext that it was not becoming his dignity to send him before the king had sent his ambassador to Rome, and in which the authority of your Lordship aided much, as his Holiness told me, by the various good offices I discharged at that time in your name.]

in front of Peter's church; cardinals and curia reverentially surrounded their chief. The king's petition and the conditions to which he had consented, were read aloud. Thereupon the proxies of the most Christian king threw themselves at the pope's feet; after which with a gentle blow from a rod, he gave them his absolution. How completely in all this did the papal see shine forth once more in the full splendour of its ancient authority.[1]

In point of fact, too, here there was the evidence of a great result. The sovereign authority in France, now strong in itself and firmly settled, was again Roman catholic; it had an interest accordingly in standing on good terms with the pope. There began to be formed in France a new centre for the Roman catholic world, and one which could not fail to send forth a powerful influence.

If we look into the matter more narrowly, we shall find that this result then went off into two distinct branches.

It was not by the direct influence of the pope, not by the triumph of the strict party, that France was regained; it was rather by means of a coalition of moderate and intermediate views, by the superiority of a party which had constituted itself an opposition. Hence it came to pass that the French church took up quite a different position from the Italian, the Netherlandish, and the newly constituted German church. It submitted indeed to the pope, yet this it did with a freedom and inherent independence, the source of which might be traced to its origin, the consciousness of which it never lost again. Thus far the papal see could not regard France as by any means a conquest.

But so much the more advantageous to it was the other, that is, the political branch. The lost balance of power was restored; two great monarchies, jealous of each other and involved in an interminable rivalry, now held each other in check; both were Roman catholic, and might at length be directed in one spirit; but betwixt the two he pope assumed a much more independent position than he and his predecessors for a long period had found

[1] Ossat, otherwise most copious with respect to every thing, in I. 168, slightly touches upon the ceremony "Tout s'y est passé," says he, "convenablement à la dignité de la couronne très-chrétienne."—[All took place in a manner befitting the dignity of the most Christian king.] All were not of this opinion.

it possible to maintain. He was now much more free from the bonds which the preponderance of Spain had hitherto thrown around him.

This political tendency is what we first observe in the progress of affairs. French influence was for the first time again manifest in the concerns of Italy, on the occasion of the lapsing of Ferrara to the papal see. This was an occurrence which in other respects too was of great moment in the development of the church state's power, and which may draw our attention for a time from the current of religious affairs, as it in like manner drew the attention of those who lived at the time. Let us begin with a retrospect of the state of the country under its last princes.

FERRARA UNDER ALFONSO II.

It is often supposed that Ferrara under the last of the Estes, was in a particularly flourishing condition; this, however, is quite a delusion, like so many others originating in the aversion entertained towards the secular power of Rome.

Montaigne visited Ferrara under Alfonso II. He admired the broad streets of the city and its beautiful palaces; but even then he found it deserted and emptied of inhabitants, as those do who visit it at the present day.[1] The prosperity of the province depends on keeping the dams in repair, and regulating the distribution of the waters; but neither the dams nor the rivers and canals were properly regulated; inundations not unfrequently occurred; Volano and Primaro were so sanded up that their shipping trade entirely ceased.[2]

It were a still greater mistake to suppose that the subjects of this house were free and happy. Alfonso II. gave the most rigorous effect to the rights of his exchequer. In the case of every contract, even when it only respected a loan, a tenth of the value fell to the duke; he levied a tenth on all things that entered the town. He monopolized the trade in salt; he imposed a new duty on oil; finally, by advice of Christofano of Fiume, his minister for the customs department, he engrossed

[1] Montaigne: Voyage I. 226—231.

[2] An account of the states of the church from the commencement of the seventeenth century, asserts that the duke had transferred to his estate called Mesola, the peasantry who used to work at the Po, so that every thing there had fallen into decay and could never be restored again. (Inff. politt. t. IX.)

to himself the trade in flour and bread; so that no one durst procure for himself those first necessaries of life from any but the duke's functionaries; none dared so much as borrow a dish of flour from his neighbour.[1] The very nobility were allowed to hunt for a few days only, and that with no more than some three hounds. Six men were seen one day hung up in the market place, with a bundle of dead pheasants at their feet; to show, it was said, that they had been shot when poaching in the duke's pheasant preserve.

Accordingly, when people speak of the prosperity and bustle of Ferrara, they must be understood to refer to the court, not to the country or the city.

During those storms that prevailed in the first ten years of the sixteenth century, in which so many flourishing races and powerful principalities fell to the ground, and the whole of Italy underwent fundamental changes, the house of Este had been able, by means of an adroit policy and a vigorous defence, to preserve itself amid all dangers. But with this there were combined other characteristic peculiarities. Who has not read of that race, which as Bojardo expresses himself, was destined to uphold valour, virtue, courtesy, and the social graces in the world;[2] and of its home, which, as Ariosto says, it had embellished not only with royal buildings, but also with elegant studies and refined manners.[3] And if the Estes earned for them-

[1] Frizzi: Memorie per la storia di Ferrara tom. IV. p. 364. Principally Manolesso: Relatione di Ferrara. "Il duca non è così amato come li suoi precessori, e questo per l'austerità et esattioni che fa Christofano da Fiume cognominato il Frisato (Sfregiato) suo gabelliere. - - Il Frisato s'offerse di vendere miglior mercato le robbe a beneficio del popolo di quello che facevano gli altri e di darne molto utile a S. Ecc^ma: piacque il partito al duca: ma se bene il Frisato paga al duca quello che gli ha data intentione, non sodisfa però al popolo, vendendo la robba cattiva quanto alla qualità e molto cara quanto al prezzo."—[The duke is not so much loved as his predecessors were, and this on account of the austerity and the exactions practised by Christofano of Fiume, surnamed Frisato (Sfregiato) his custom house officer. Frisato offers to sell goods for the benefit of the people at a better rate than others, and to do so at a great advantage to His Excellency; the means he employs please the duke; but although Frisato may pay to the duke all that he may have led him to expect, he does not therefore satisfy the people, selling them goods that are bad in quality and very dear in price.]

[2] Bojardo: Orlando innamorato II. 22.

Da questa (stirpe) fia servato ogni valore,
Ogni bontade et ogni cortesia,
Amore, leggiadria, stato giocundo
Tra quella gente fiorita nel mundo.

[3] Ariosto: Orlando furioso XXXV. 6.

Non pur di mura e d'ampli tetti regi,
Ma di bei studi e di costumi egregi.

selves any merit in the patronage they bestowed on the sciences and poetry, for this they were richly rewarded. The memorial of splendour and power, things which soon pass away, is perpetuated for ever, in the immortal works of great authors.

Alfonso II. endeavoured to maintain the same order of things that had prevailed under earlier dukes. He followed out the same objects.

It is true, he had not the same fierce storms to withstand as those that assailed his predecessors; nevertheless, as there was a constant misunderstanding between him and Florence, and also as he was never quite sure of the pope, his feudal superior, he kept himself at all times ready for action. Ferrara was, next after Padua, accounted the strongest fortress in Italy; 27,000 men were inscribed on the militia rolls;[1] Alfonso sought to keep up the military spirit. Then, in order that to the favour which Tuscany found at the hands of the papal court, he might oppose a friendship of no less importance, he attached himself to the German emperor. Not seldom did he advance with a splendid retinue across the Alps; he married an Austrian princess; we are assured he spoke German; in 1566, he went to Hungary with an army which might amount to four thousand men, to assist the emperor against the Turks.

In like manner, also, did the literary element diffuse itself under him, in the court and in the state. I know no part of the world in which this alliance was ever more close. Two professors at the university, Pigna and Montecatino, became, first the one and then the other, prime minister of the country, nor did they on that account intermit their literary efforts. Pigna at least, even when at the head of public affairs, continued his prelections, and from time to time sent forth a book.[2] Battista

[1] Relatione sopra la Romagna di Ferrara: "Erano descritti nelli rolli della militia dal commissario della battaglia a ciò deputato tutti i sudditi atti a portar armi. Erano costretti a starne provisti per haver da servire nell'occasioni a piedi o a cavallo secondo le forze delle loro facoltà e godevano essi alcune esentioni."—[Account of the Romagna of Ferrara. All subjects capable of carrying arms were inscribed in the militia rolls of the army commissioner. They were obliged to hold themselves in readiness, to serve when called upon on foot or on horseback, according to the measure of their ability or the exemptions they enjoyed.]

[2] Manolesso: "Segretario intimo è il Sr Giovamb. Pigna per mano del quale passano tutti negotii. Legge publicamente la filosofia morale, e scrive l'istoria della casa d'Este: è oratore, filosofo, e poeta molto eccelente: possiede benissimo la lingua Greca, e servendo il suo principe ne' negotii e trattando e iscrivendo quanto occorre, non tralascia però i studi, et in tutte le professioni è tale che pare che ad

Guarini, the author of Pastor Fido, was sent as ambassador, first to Venice and afterwards to Poland. Even Francis Patrizi, although he occupied himself with abstruse objects, yet celebrates the sympathy which he experienced at court. There all persons were of one mind. The rivalries of science were mingled with disputations, bearing on propositions respecting love, such for example as one that Tasso, who had for some time also an appointment in the university, once arranged. At one time the pope, at another time the court, gave a play; the theatre still retained a literary charm, for it was still continually seeking for new forms, and at that very time the pastoral developed itself, and the groundwork of the opera was laid. Then there would sometimes arrive foreign ambassadors, cardinals, and princes, at least the neighbouring ones from Mantua, Guastalla, and Urbino, to whom occasionally there would be added an archduke. The court on these occasions would appear in all its splendour; tournaments were given at which the nobility of the country did not spare expenses, a hundred knights would sometimes tilt in the castle court. These shows were at the same time representations of fabulous adventures, taken from some poetical work, as their names at once indicate; such as the temple of love,[1] the blessed island. Enchanted castles were defended and taken.

Here we see the most peculiar alliance between poetry, learning, politics and chivalry. Pomp and state were ennobled by means of the sentiments they embodied, and what was defective, owing to the insignificance of the means, was compensated by the spirit that pervaded them.

We meet with a lively picture of this court in Tasso's rhymes and epic poem. The prince, in "whom we behold a high spirit and vigorous character, and of whom we know not whether he is a better knight or general," his wife, and before all, his sisters, appear in it. Lucretia, the elder of the two, who lived but

una sola attenda."—[Signor Giovamb. Pigna is private secretary, through whose hands all affairs do pass. He gives public lectures on moral philosophy, and writes the history of the house of d'Este; he is an orator, a philosopher, and a very excellent poet; he has a capital knowledge of Greek, and while serving his prince in public affairs, and transacting business and writing as it may happen, he does not on that account leave off study, and in all that he professes, is such that he seems to have attended to one only.]

[1] See extracts from the descriptions that appeared at that time, for example, the tempio d'amore, in Muratori, Serassi and Frizzi.

little of her time with her husband in Urbino, spent the remainder, however, always in Ferrara, and there, moreover, had some influence in public affairs, though her chief employment was to give incentives and encouragements to literary and musical efforts. She it was who promoted Tasso at the court. Leonora, the younger, occupied a more confined sphere, and though calm, delicate and retiring, yet like her sister, was a woman of strong mental qualities.[1] During an earthquake both refused to quit the palace, and Leonora in particular felt herself in a state of stoical equanimity. When they yielded at last, it was when the crisis was at the worst, for the roof fell in immediately behind them. Leonora was regarded almost as a saint; people ascribed to her prayers their deliverance from the perils of an inundation.[2] Tasso looked up to them with a reverential regard corresponding to their respective characters. His admiration of the younger was tempered, refined, and always as if purposely under restraint. The elder he admired without reserve, comparing her to the full-blown fragrant rose which loses nothing of its charm from its greater maturity, and so forth. Together with them there were other ladies, such as Barbara Sanseverina and her daughter Leonora Sanvitale. Tasso has admirably described the calm probity of the mother, and the serene grace of youthful beauty in the daughter. No painting could more accurately delineate them. Then follow the castles built for pleasure that were visited, the hunting parties and games that were arranged, the whole course of actions and motives that occupied men's minds,—who can resist the impression produced by the description of these, as it flows on in a full and rich stream of melody?

Yet this is an impression to which we dare not quite resign ourselves. The same power which kept the country in such complete obedience, made itself sensibly felt even at the court.

Those scenes of poetry and amusement were interrupted at

[1] During the duke's absence in 1566, she conducted the regency, according to Manolesso, "con infinita sodisfattione de' sudditi"—[with infinite satisfaction to the subjects]:—"non ha preso," he continues, "nè vuol prendere marito, per esser di debolissima complessione: è però di gran spirito."—[She has not taken, nor wishes to take a husband, from being of a very feeble constitution; she is, in fine, of a high spirit.]

[2] Serassi: Vita di Torquato Tasso p. 150.

times by others of a very different kind. Persons of distinction were as little spared as the common people.

One of the Gonzagas had been murdered. Every one charged the youthful Hercules Contrario with the murder, and the murderers at least found shelter on one of his estates. The duke demanded their being given up to justice, but the young Contrario, to prevent their giving evidence against him, caused them, too, to be put to death, and their dead bodies only to be delivered to the duke. Upon this he himself was one day commanded to present himself at court, and on the 22d of August 1575, he had his audience. The Contrari were the richest and oldest family belonging to Ferrara, and Hercules was the last scion of the race. Not long after he had entered the palace, he was taken out of it dead. The duke said that the young man, during the conversation, had been suddenly struck with apoplexy. But no one believed this; traces of violence were perceived on the body; the duke's friends too acknowledged that he had caused him to be put to death; only they excused him for having done so on this ground, that he had been unwilling to stain an illustrious name with a shameful kind of death.[1]

This was a kind of justice which kept every body in terror. The worst was that the possessions of the family now necessarily lapsed to the duke.

But, generally speaking, it was by no means advisable for any one to set himself in opposition to the duke in the smallest matter.[2] His court was a very slippery foundation to trust to. Montecatino, with all his subtilty, could not maintain his ground to the last. Panigarola, at that time the most celebrated preacher in Italy, had been not without some difficulty induced to come to Ferrara; but all at once he was insolently expelled. People asked themselves what he had done amiss, but nothing

[1] Frizzi: Memorie IV. 382.

[2] When Tasso was not in good humour, he expressed himself in different terms from those above quoted. "Perchè io conosceva," he says in a letter to the duke of Urbino, "il duca per natural inclinatione dispostissimo alla malignità e pieno d'una certa ambitiosa alterezza, la quale egli trae della nobiltà del sangue e della conoscenza ch'egli ha del suo valore, del quale in molte cose non si da punto ad intendere il falso." (Lettere n. 284. Opere tom. IX. 188.)—[Though I know the duke from natural inclination to be most disposed to malignity, and full of a certain ambitious arrogance, derived from the nobility of his blood and from the knowledge he has of his own valour, of which in many things there is no difficulty in understanding that it is not genuine. (Letters No. 284. Works vol. IX. 188.)]

could be discovered beyond his having been negotiating about some promotion in another quarter. There, too, the fickle, susceptible and melancholy Tasso, could not in the long run maintain his footing. The duke seemed to be fond of him, listened to him willingly, took him often with him to the country, and did not even think it beneath his dignity to correct those scenes of military life which appear in the "Jerusalem Delivered." But ever after Tasso had once talked of entering the service of the Medici, they were never again hearty friends. The poor poet withdrew to a distance; but returned once more under the impulse of an irresistible propension; after which some reproachful words, which he had uttered in a fit of melancholy, sufficed to determine the duke to keep the hapless man a prisoner for seven long years in succession.[1]

All this is but a specimen of the Italian principalities, as constituted in the course of the fifteenth century; resting on judiciously calculated political relations, encircled with splendour, leagued with literature, jealous too of making a show of power. Strange fashion of human affairs! The powers of the country produce the court, the centre of the court is the prince, the last product of social existence is in the end the prince's self-sufficiency. The consciousness of his worth, of his importance, he derives from his social position, the obedience he finds accorded to him, the reverential regard bestowed on him.

Alfonso II., though he had been thrice married, had now to bear the disappointment of having no posterity. His whole policy is expressed in the manner in which he conducted himself under these circumstances.

He had a twofold object in view; not to allow his subjects for a moment to believe that they could be dissociated from his house; then to keep in his own hand the nomination of his successor, and by no means to set up a rival to himself by making this successor known.

In September 1589 he went to Loreto, the residence at that time of Donna Camilla, the sister of Sixtus V., and spared neither presents nor promises, in order if possible to gain her over. He trusted that she would succeed in enabling him to venture upon naming as his successor, that one of his nearest relations

[1] Serassi: Vita del Tasso, p. 282.

whom he should consider as the fittest for the purpose. But hardly had the negotiations been properly opened when Sixtus V. died.

By like means, that is, by presents to the pope's sister-in-law, and assiduous services to the nephew, Alfonso contrived to procure for himself, in 1591, access to Gregory XIV., and on perceiving that there was some hope of success, he himself went to Rome to conduct the negotiation. The first question was whether the bull of Pius V. prohibiting the re-infeudation of papal fiefs that had lapsed to the Roman see, applied to Ferrara. This Alfonso denied, on the ground that it had not yet so lapsed. Yet the words were but all too clear, and the congregation decided that the bull certainly comprehended Ferrara as well as other fiefs. The only question then remained, whether a pope was not authorized to grant a particular destination in a particular case. This the congregation would not venture to deny, yet they added this condition that the necessity must be pressing, the expediency manifest.[1] Thus far a great step was gained. It is not improbable that had things been managed expeditiously, and a new investiture been immediately dispatched in some fixed name, the affair would have been brought to its desired termination. Yet Alfonso would not name his heir. On this too, he was not quite of one opinion with the Sfongrati; they would have preferred the Marquis Philippo of Este; while he had a predilection for his nearer kinsman Cæsar. Time was thus lost, and Gregory too died before any thing was settled.[2]

Meanwhile negotiations had likewise been opened with the imperial court. Ferrara, it is true, was a papal fief, but Modena and Reggio were imperial. Now here the duke reaped the advantage of the policy which he had hitherto pursued; he was on

[1] Dispaccio Donato: "quando ci fusse evidentissima utilità et urgente necessità - - il che fu fatto per aprire la strada all'intentione del Sr Duca."—[should it be of the most evident utility and urgent necessity - - the which was done in order to open the way for the duke's intentions.] Cardinal S. Severina asserts that it was he chiefly that had made that object fall through, although with much difficulty and amid much opposition; that the pope too finally regretted that addition (qualification).

[2] Cronica di Ferrara, MS. of the Albani Library, states also that there is no doubt that Gregory XIV. would have done something for Ferrara. He had left the congregation in a passion, and in consequence of that had been taken ill. Alfonso went to the villa of Cardinal Farnese, "aspettando o vita o morte di questo papa. Venne la morte. Il duca ritornò."—[expecting either the life or the death of this pope. Death came. The duke returned.]

the best understanding with Wolf Rumpf, the emperor's leading minister. Rodolph II. did in fact grant him the renewal of the fief, and even allowed him a specified term, within which it should be in his power to appoint as his successor whomsoever he pleased.

So much the more inflexible, however, did Clement VIII., who now occupied the Roman see, show himself. It seemed more consistent with Roman catholicism and the interests of the church to take possession of a fief, than to grant a new infeudation; such had been the principle laid down by the holy pope Pius V. Ere the year 1592 had yet expired, Clement, at a secret meeting of the consistory, proposed the confirmation of the bull above mentioned, according to its original tenor and without Gregory XIV.'s qualifications; in this sense he had it approved.[1]

And now the term granted by the emperor had nearly elapsed. The duke had to determine who should be his successor. Alfonso I. had in his later years married Laura Eustochia, after he had already had a son by her; from this son Don Cæsar d'Este was descended, and after long delay the duke named him at last. But even now he practised the most mysterious caution. Unknown to any one, he made out the nomination in a letter written with his own hand, and addressed to the emperor; begging the latter at the same time, in the most urgent manner, not to communicate it to any one, not even to the Ferrarese ambassador at the imperial court, and to express his approval simply by sending back the letter with the imperial signature attached to it.[2]

He desired to possess the undivided enjoyment of supreme

[1] Dispaccio Donato 27 Dec. 1592.

[2] Relatione di quello che è successo in Ferrara dopo la morte del duca Alfonso. —[Account of what has taken place in Ferrara since the death of Duke Alfonso.] Barberini MS. "Il duca fra l'anno concessogli di tempo alla dichiaratione scrisse di suo pugno una lettera all'imperatore e nominò Don Cesare, pregando caldamente S. M. Ces^a che in confirmatione del nominato sottoscrivesse la sua, quale sigillata senza publicare il fatto la rimandasse indietro per il conte Ercole Rondinelli, non conferendogli altramente il negotio. Il tutto faceva S. A. acciò Don Cesare non s'insuperbisse nè della nobiltà fusse riverito e corteggiato come lor principe."—[Within the year conceded to him of time for the declaration, he wrote with his own hand a letter to the emperor, and named Don Cæsar, earnestly beseeching his imperial majesty, that in confirmation of the person named he would subscribe his own (name), which being sealed without publishing the act, that he would send it back by Count Hercules Rondinelli, saying nothing more to him about the business. This His Highness did that Don Cæsar might not grow haughty, and might not be reverenced and paid court to by the nobility, as if he were their prince.

authority in his own small territory down to his latest breath; he had no wish to witness his court turning its homage to the rising sun. Cæsar himself heard nothing of the favour that had been bestowed on him; he was even kept somewhat more strictly; the lustre of his appearance became somewhat circumscribed (he was never allowed to have more than three persons of noble birth in his retinue), and only when life had quite passed away, and the physicians had given up all hope, the duke commanded him to be called that he might announce to him his good fortune. The testament was opened in the presence of the leading inhabitants; these were exhorted by the minister to remain true to the house of Este. The duke told Cæsar that he bequeathed to him the finest state in the world, strong in arms, in inhabitants, in allies, both within and beyond Italy, from whom he might look for every assistance. After this, still on the same day, Alfonso II. died, October 22, 1597.

CONQUEST OF FERRARA.

CÆSAR took possession of the imperial fiefs without opposition; even the papal did him homage. In Ferrara he was invested with the ducal mantle by the magistracy, and greeted by the people as their prince with acclamations of joy.

But if his predecessor spoke to him of his own power and of foreign support, his case was one at the same time which made it necessary that he should put both to the test.

Clement remained immovably resolved to take possession of Ferrara. After its having been an object of desire to so many popes, he thought he should earn an immortal renown by accomplishing this. On hearing of Alfonso's death he declared that he was sorry that the duke had left no son; but that the church must have her own again. He would not even hear what Cæsar's ambassadors had to say; his taking possession he called usurpation; he threatened him with the punishment of being put to the ban, unless he gave it up again within a fortnight; and to make what he said tell with more effect, he instantly prepared for war. A new loan was contracted, and a new Monte founded, to obviate the necessity of encroaching on the money in the castle of St. Angelo;[1] and in a short time the pope's nephew,

[1] Although many maintain that this was done, Delfino says, on the contrary.

Cardinal Peter Aldobrandino, surrounded with experienced military officers, went to Ancona, for the purpose of assembling an army; enlistments were made in all quarters, and the provinces had heavy contributions levied upon them.

Cæsar, too, seemed at first to be full of courage.[1] He declared that he would defend his just right to the very last drop of his blood; it would do no damage to his religion and piety; and accordingly he fortified his military posts anew; the militia of the principality were placed under arms; a body of troops advanced to the frontiers of the states of the church, and we find a call made upon him to appear in the Romagna, where people were discontented with the papal dominion and only waited for an opportunity of subverting it. Moreover, he had the good fortune to find that even the Italian states in the neighbourhood took his part. His brother-in-law, the grand duke of Tuscany, declared that he would not desert him. The Venetian republic hindered the pope from enlisting troops in Dalmatia, and refused him the arms and ammunition he wished to obtain from Brescia. The aggrandizement of the states of the church was cordially detested by all of them.

Had Italy been what she was a hundred years before, tolerably independent of foreign influences and left to herself, Clement VIII. would probably have met with no more success than did at that time Sixtus IV. But those times were gone by. Every thing depended on the general relations of Europe and the two great powers of the day, France and Spain.

The leanings of the Spaniards were now not very doubtful. Such was Cæsar d'Este's confidence in Philip II., that he proposed him to the pope as umpire; the royal governor in Milan declared himself in Cæsar's favour without the slightest hesita-

"Con gran strettezza de' danari, senza metter mano a quelli del castello, per conservar la riputatione della chiesa, in poco più di un mese ha posto insieme un esercito di 22 m. fanti e 3 m. cavalli."—[While in great straits for money, without laying hands on that in the castle, to keep up the reputation of the church, he in little more than a month put together an army of 22,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry.]

[1] Niccolò Contarini delle historie Venetiane, MS. tom. I. lib. I. "Cesare nel principio si mostrò molto coraggioso in voler difender le sue ragioni, o perchè non prevedeva il contrasto o pur perchè gl'inesperti come nei vicini pericoli s'atterriscono così nelli lontani si manifestano intrepidi."—[Cæsar at first appeared very courageous in wishing to defend his territories, either because he did not foresee the coming conflict, or, if he foresaw it, because the inexperienced, while terrified in the immediate presence of dangers, show themselves fearless when dangers are remote.] Contarini's narrative contains, moreover, a great many authentic, exact, and forcible notices on this occurrence.

tion or reserve; he offered him Spanish troops to garrison his fortresses. Only it was not to be disowned that the king, who during his whole life had opposed all movements in Italy, scrupled, in his now advanced age, to occasion a war, and expressed himself with extraordinary prudence. His ambassador observed the same prudent reserve in Rome.[1]

So much the more, under these circumstances, depended on the decision to be taken by Henry IV.: the restoration of France as at once a Roman catholic and powerful kingdom, proved forthwith of great consequence for Italy. Henry IV. had risen again from the depression of his fortunes during the subsistence of a mutual good understanding with the Italian princes; they did not doubt that now he would be grateful, and in their difference with the Roman see would throw the weight of his influence on their side. Besides, the crown of France was much indebted to the house of Este. During the civil wars the Estes had advanced the royal family above a million of scudi, which had not yet been repaid, and which would have sufficed on this occasion to raise an army which no pope would have been able to withstand.

These, nevertheless, were not the considerations on which Henry IV. now acted. Notwithstanding his having gone over to Roman catholicism, he still was under the necessity of doing a great deal that could not fail to displease the Roman court; in the affair of Ferrara he only perceived an opportunity of securing oblivion for such things, and as his statesmen expressed it, of again fostering the growth of the lilies at the Roman court. Without a moment's delay or hesitation, he caused an offer of the aid of France to be made to the holy father. Not only was he ready, as soon as the pope should desire it, to send a military force across the mountains, but even, if necessary, to come to his assistance with his whole force and in person.

It was this declaration that decided the case. The Roman

[1] Delfino mentions how much people were afraid of him in Rome. "Vi è un pensiero radicato a buon fundamento che la benedizione data al re di Franza sia stata offesa tale al cattolico et a Spagnuoli che non siano per scordarsela mai, e pare a S. Sa esserne molto ben chiarita in questa occasione di Ferrara."—[There people were profoundly possessed with the idea, and on good grounds, that the benediction bestowed on the king of France had given such offence to the catholic king and to the Spaniards as never to be forgotten, and it seemed to his Holiness to be very evident on this occasion of Ferrara.]

court which had begun to feel all the embarrassments in which it might be placed by the dislike with which it was regarded by its neighbours, and by the open resistance of Ferrara, drew breath. "I cannot express to you," says Ossat in writing to the king, "what good will, commendation, and benedictions your Majesty has obtained for your offer." He promises his master, if he should give it effect, the position of a Pepin or a Charlemagne with respect to the church. The pope, on his side, proceeded without delay to make arrangements for the formal excommunication of his adversary.

So much the more amazed and terrified were the princes. They spoke of black ingratitude; lost all courage for supporting Ferrara, which otherwise, openly or secretly, they would doubtless have done with all their resources.

This then directly re-acted on Ferrara. Alfonso's rigorous government had necessarily made many discontented. Cæsar was a novice in the exercise of his sovereignty, without genuine talents and altogether inexperienced. He first became properly acquainted with the members of his privy council at the meetings which he held with them as prince;[1] and as he had now sent his old friends who knew him, and on whom also he could depend personally, to different courts, he had none left with him whom he really trusted, or with whom he could have a proper mutual understanding. Accordingly he could not fail to take false steps. From above, downwards, there was a prevailing insecurity, such as is usually the prelude to ruin. Already did the leading men, who possessed any share of power, begin to

[1] Niccolò Contarini. "Cesare si ridusse in camera co' suoi soli consiglieri, de quali molti, per la ritiratezza nella quale era vissuto così volendo chi comandava, non conosceva se non di faccia, et egli non sufficiente di prender risolutione da se, vacillava nei concetti, perchè quelli che consigliavano erano pieni di passioni particolari e per le speranze di Roma, in cui miravano, infetti di grandi contaminationi." —[Cæsar confined himself to his chamber with none but his counsellors, many of whom in consequence of the retirement in which he had lived, such being his choice whoever bore rule, he did not know except by face, and he being incapable of forming resolutions of himself, vacillated in his fancies, for the things they advised were full of private passions, and they had hopes of Rome, towards which they looked, being infected with great contaminations.] Ossat too, Lettres I. 495, alleges as the cause of his ill success, "le peu de fidélité de ses conseillers mêsmes, qui partie pour son peu de résolution, partie pour avoir des rentes et autres biens en l'état de l'église et espérer et craindre plus du st. siége que de lui, regardoient autant ou plus vers le pape que vers lui."—[the little there was of fidelity among his very counsellors, who partly from his want of resolution, partly owing to their having rents and other property in the state of the church, and to their hoping and fearing more from the holy see than from him, looked as much or more to the pope than to him.]

speculate on what they might gain by a change; they secretly endeavoured to make their terms with the pope; Anthony Montecatino repaired to Rome. But beyond doubt what was the most remarkable, and at the same time the most unpropitious circumstance, was that dissension broke out in the house of Este itself. Lucretia had disliked Cæsar's father, she disliked him no less, and would not be his subject. She herself, the sister of the preceding duke, felt no scruples in entering into an alliance with the pope and Cardinal Aldobrandini.

Meanwhile the pope had consummated the act of excommunication. On the 22d of December 1597, he repaired, in all the pomp of a procession, to St. Peter's church, and with his immediate attendants ascended the loggia[1] of that church. A cardinal read the bull aloud. Don Cæsar d'Este was therein declared to be an enemy of the Romish church, guilty of leze majesty, obnoxious to the greater censure, and to the sentence of the curse; his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance; his official servants were warned to quit his service. After the bull had been read, the pope, assuming an angry expression of countenance, tossed a huge flaming taper into the square below, and this was followed by the braying of trumpets, the beating of drums, the roar of artillery, and above all, the deafening vociferations of the people.

Circumstances were so contrived that this excommunication necessarily produced its full effect. A Ferrarese even brought a copy of the bull, sewed up in his clothes, into the city, and delivered it to the bishop.[2] The next morning, being the 31st of December 1597, one of the prebendaries was to be buried; the church was hung with black, and the people had met to hear the funeral sermon. The bishop ascended the pulpit and began to speak about death. "But much worse," he suddenly

[1] Open gallery. Tr.

[2] A person called Coralta. "Ributtato al primo ingresso da' soldati se escusò che lui ivi dimorava nè era ancora partito per Bologna (whence he had just arrived, he dismounted from horseback at some distance from the gate) e ragionando si pose fra loro a sedere, finalmente assicurato si licentiò della guardia, entrò nella città, presentò al vescovo la scommunica con la lettera dal arcivescovo di Bologna."—[On being repelled at this first entrance by the soldiers, he excused himself (by saying) that he remained there, as there was no means yet of getting to Bologna (whence, &c.) and entering into conversation with them he made a show of sitting down amongst them, and at length having taken courage he bid the guard good bye, entered the city and presented to the archbishop the excommunication with the letter of the archbishop of Bologna.] (Relatione di quello che, &c.)

interrupted his discourse to say, "much worse than the death of the body, is the perdition of the soul, with which we are all now threatened." He paused and ordered the bull to be read, threatening all who would not separate themselves from Don Cæsar, "as withered branches to be cut off from the tree of spiritual life." The bull was then attached to the door; the church resounded with cries and sobs, and the agitation spread from it through the city.

Don Cæsar was not the man to check such a commotion. He had been advised to enlist Swiss and Germans; but never could make up his mind to do so. He would not have Roman catholics because they were the pope's partisans, but still less would he have protestants because they were heretics; "as if he had any thing to do," says Niccolo Contarini, "with exercising the office of an inquisitor." He now asked his confessor, what he had to do; he was a Jesuit, Benedict Palma, and recommended him to submit.

To such a pass had Don Cæsar now been brought, that in order to carry this submission into effect, under favourable conditions, he was obliged to have recourse to the very person whom he knew to be his most violent enemy; he was compelled to take advantage of the secret and, in a certain sense, the treasonable ties which Lucretia had formed with Rome, in order to obtain some tolerable settlement.[1] As the bearer of proposals from the duke Lucretia proceeded, not without her accustomed pomp, into the enemy's camp.

Cæsar's adherents have always asserted that she might readily

[1] Contarini: "Come chi abandona ogni speranza, più facilmente si rimette nell' arbitrio dell'inimico che nella confidenza dell'amico, andò (Cesare) a ritrovare la duchessa d'Urbino, et a lei, la qual ben sapeva haver pur troppo intelligenza col C' Aldobrandino, rimise ogni sua fortuna. Accettò ella allegramente l'impresa ridotta dove al principio haveva desiderato. - - Con molta comitiva, quasi trionfante, accompagnata dal marchese Bentivoglio, capo delle militie del duca, faceva il suo viaggio." —[Like as one who abandons all hope, commits himself more easily to the will of an enemy than to the confidence of a friend, he (Cæsar) went for the Duchess of Urbino, and to her, who he well knew had all too much intimacy with Cardinal Aldobrandino, he committed his whole fortunes. She gladly accepted the undertaking, taken back to where she had wished from the first to be. - - With a numerous attendance, as if on a triumph, accompanied by the marquis of Bentivoglio, commander of the duke's militia, she proceeded on her journey.] He thinks Lucretia, "di pensieri torbidi: benchè simulasse altrimente, era non di meno di lungo tempo acerrima nemica di Don Cesare."—[(a woman) of troubled thoughts: although she affected to be otherwise, he had not the less been long a most bitter enemy to Don Cæsar.]

have obtained better conditions, but that, gained over by the promise of a possession during life of Bertinoro with the title of a dukedom, and captivated by the personal attractions of the young and clever cardinal, she conceded every thing that was wanted. On the 12th of January 1598, the treaty was drawn up, in virtue of which Cæsar renounced his claims upon Ferrara, Comacchio, and his part of the Romagna, and was in return to receive absolution from the ban of the church. He had flattered himself with the hope of saving something at least; so complete a surrender seemed to him to be very hard; once more he called a meeting of the principal magistrates of the city, the "giudice de' savi," some doctors and noblemen, in order to have their advice. They gave him no consolation; already each of them was thinking only how he might secure for himself a good footing with the new government that was expected; already were the people in all quarters eagerly tearing down the arms of the Estes and expelling their public functionaries; nothing remained for the prince but to attach his signature to the deed and to forsake the inheritance of his forefathers.

Thus did the Estes lose Ferrara. Archives, museum, library, a part of the artillery which Alfonso I. had cast with his own hand, were brought to Modena; all else was for ever lost. The widow of Alfonso II. had removed her effects in fifty waggons; her sister, who was married in France, claimed for herself the family pretensions to that crown; but the most unexpected end was that witnessed in the case of Lucretia. She herself never found time to take possession of her dukedom; just a month after she had concluded the treaty, on the 12th of February, she died. On opening her testament, it was found that she had appointed Cardinal Aldobrandini, the very man who had expelled her family from their ancient possessions, heir to all she possessed. She had even bequeathed to him claims which had now to be battled for against Cæsar himself. It was as if she had wished to leave behind her to her old enemy, an adversary who might embitter all his days. There is something demoniacal in this woman, who felt pleasure and satisfaction in bringing ruin upon her own family.

And so the ecclesiastical sovereignty now came in place of the ducal. The pope himself entered Ferrara on the 8th of May.

He wished at once to enjoy a sight of the new acquisition, and to attach it to the church with suitable institutions.

He began with mildness and graciousness. A number of the leading men of Ferrara were appointed to ecclesiastical dignities.[1] Cardinals' hats, bishoprics, auditorships, were distributed among them. Among other promotions, young Bentivoglio, the historian, was appointed privy chamberlain to the pope. The government of the dukes had been based on their possession of the municipal privileges; the pope resolved to restore to the burgesses their ancient rights. He formed a "conseglio" out of three classes, twenty-seven places in it being assigned to the higher nobility, fifty-five to the inferior nobility and most respectable burgesses, and eighteen to the incorporations. Their rights were carefully distinguished; the first class had the most important, yet, to balance that, the pope had most influence in the appointment to seats in the council. To this "conseglio" the pope now committed the care of providing for the necessaries of life,[2] the regulations respecting the rivers, the appointment of judges and podestas; and even the filling up of places at the university, all these being rights which previous to this the duke had reserved to himself with the utmost jealousy, and, as may be supposed, social life thus began to wear quite a new aspect. Nor were the lower classes forgotten; the severity of some of the fiscal arrangements was greatly modified.[3]

Nevertheless, every thing could not be done on these principles. Even the government of the church was not all mere mildness. The nobility soon began to feel the administration of justice by the papal functionaries to be burthensome. The first "giudice de' savi," Montecatino already mentioned, thought that the privileges of his office were improperly circumscribed, and resigned it. Universal dissatisfaction was aroused by Cle-

[1] Contarini: "Al Bevilacqua, che era di molto potere, fu dato il patriarcato latino di Constantinopoli. Il Saciato fu creato auditor di rota. Ad altri si dispensarono abbatie."—[On Bevilacqua, who had a great deal in his power, there was bestowed the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople. Saciato was created auditor di Rota. Abbacies were given away to others.]

[2] In those times, partly perhaps from the very intermeddling of the governments and magistracy, the supply of the necessaries of life (lebensmittel) seems to have been so irregular and even precarious, that famine was of much more frequent recurrence than now; and to prevent this, if possible, the regulation of the markets formed a matter of public management, but conducted often on ruinous principles. Tr.

[3] Frizzi: Memorie V. p. 25.

ment thinking it necessary to secure his acquisition by erecting a citadel. The representations given in by the inhabitants against this design, however suppliant might be the tone in which they were drawn up, were of no avail; it was just one of the most frequented quarters of the city that was selected for the purpose.[1] Whole streets were pulled down; churches, oratories, hospitals, the pleasure houses of the duke and of the court, the beautiful Belvedere, lauded by so many poets, were swept away.

It may perhaps have been thought that by these devastations all remembrance of the ducal house would have been completely obliterated; yet they only served to revive it anew; that fond leaning to the hereditary line of princes, which had been so far deadened, returned again. All that had belonged to the court went off to Modena. Ferrara, which even before this had not been a very lively place, became more deserted than ever.

Yet all who could have wished it, had it not in their power to follow the court. There is still extant a manuscript chronicle written by an old servant of the ducal house, in which he makes mention with delight of the court of Alfonso, its gratifications, its concerts, and fine sermons. "But now," says he at the close, "all this has passed away. There is no longer a duke in Ferrara, there are no longer any princesses there; no concerts and no ladies who give concerts; thus passes the glory of the world. The changes that take place in the world may gratify others, but not me, who am left behind here, old, frail and poor. Nevertheless let God be praised."[2]

COMMOTIONS AMONG THE JESUITS.

It is evident that Clement VIII., in consequence of having

[1] Dispaccio Delfino 7 Giugno 1598. "Si pensa dal papa di far una citadella della parte verso Bologna, per la poca sodisfattione che ha la nobilità per non esser rispettata dalli ministri della giustitia, e che non li siano per esser restituite le entrate vecchie della communità—dolendosi di esser ingannati."—[Delfino's dispatch of 7 June 1598. The pope thinks of making a citadel of the part turned towards Bologna, on account of the dissatisfaction of the nobility at not being sufficiently respected by the ministers of justice, and because they were not for having the ancient dues of the community restored to them—complaining that they were cheated.]

[2] Cronica di Ferrara: "Sic transit gloria mundi. E per tale variare natura è bella, ma non per me, che io son restato, senza patrone, vecchio, privo di tutti i denti e povero. Laudetur Deus."—[See the text.]

obtained so much success from his pursuing a course that harmonized with the political interests of France, could not but feel himself more and more closely attached to those interests. He now found the advantage of having conducted himself with so much moderation in the affairs of the League, having interposed no obstacle to the development of events in France, and having, at least, decided at last on giving (the king) absolution. The interest felt at Rome, in the war now waged on the frontiers of the Netherlands and France, was such as people might have felt had it been their own affair, and they were decidedly in favour of France. The taking of Calais and of Amiens, which the Spaniards had effected, produced a dissatisfaction at the Roman court, "such as none can describe," says Ossat, "an extreme feeling of sorrow, shame, and indignation."[1] The pope and his nephews were afraid, Delfino remarks, lest the Spaniards should discharge upon them the resentment they felt with respect to the absolution. Fortunately, Henry IV., by the re-capture of Amiens, soon recovered his somewhat shaken reputation.

Not that people at Rome had begun to conceive a liking for the man whom they had formerly opposed as an enemy; they never forgot what had been done by those chiefs of the clergy who had adhered to Henry IV., and had founded that opposition; promotion was much more willingly granted to the adherents of the League, provided they only returned from that course of their own accord, that is, were in the same case with the Curia itself. But in a short time—for how do men's opinions, even when nearly agreeing with each other, betray symptoms at the same time of different leanings—there appeared among the

[1] Ossat a Villeroy, 14 May 1596, 20 April 1597. I. 251, 458. Delfino: "Li pericoli di Marsiglia fecero stare il papa in gran timore e li nepoti: la perdita di Cales e poi quella di Amiens apportò loro gran mestitia e massime che si dubitò allora per le voci che andavano attorno di peggio, timendo quelli che ogni poco che cadeva più la riputatione de' Francesi, i Spagnoli non avessero mostrato apertamente lo sdegno che hanno avuto della resolutione, (*absolutione?*) loro e la sua mala volontà: per questa causa principalmente hanno avuto carissimo il bene della Franza." [Delfino. The perils of Marseilles greatly alarmed the pope and the nephews: the loss of Calais and of Amiens distressed them much, and most of all because they had their suspicions at the time about the reports that went about of matters being worse; they being afraid, that on any little further that the French might decline in their reputation, the Spaniards would openly show the indignation they had felt at the resolution, (absolution?) and the ill will they entertained: on this account, principally, they had been interested to the utmost degree in the weal of France.]

very adherents of the king himself, a purposely strict Roman Catholic party, which endeavoured, above all things, to cultivate a good understanding with the Roman court. To this party the pope mainly attached himself; he hoped yet to smooth down all the differences that might still remain betwixt the interests of France and Rome; and most of all was it his desire and endeavour, to re-introduce the Jesuits, who, as we have seen, had been expelled from France, and therewithal, in spite of the development of things that had taken place in that country, to open a freer course for the diffusion of Romish doctrines.

In this he was aided by a movement in the order of the Jesuits, which, although proceeding from its own internal self, yet had a great analogy with the change that was going forward in the general tendency of the Roman court.

Such curious complications often take place in the world's affairs, that at the very moment in which the university of Paris found nothing so much deserving of censure in the Jesuits as their alliance with Spain—a moment, in which it was said and believed in France, that a Jesuit prayed daily for King Philip,[1] and that he was bound by a fifth vow to devotion towards Spain—even then the Society's institute experienced in Spain the most violent assaults from discontented members, from the Inquisition, from another order, and at last, even from the royal government itself.

This was a turn of affairs which, although it might be traced to more than one cause, arose in the first instance in the following manner.

At the commencement of the society, the older, and already fully educated men who entered it, were, for the greater part, Spaniards; other nations mostly contributed younger persons only, who had yet their characters to form. The natural consequence was, that the government of the society during the first ten years of its existence fell, for the greater part, into Spanish hands. The first general congregation consisted of twenty-five members, eighteen of whom were Spaniards.[2] The first three generals belonged to the same nation, and after the

[1] Pro nostro rege Philippo.

[2] Sacchinus V. 7, 99. In the second congregation-general the relative proportion was made more fair, though in no great degree. Of thirty-nine members twenty-four were Spaniards.

death of the third, Borgia, in 1573, once more a Spaniard, Polanco, had the greatest prospect (of being chosen general).

But indications appeared that, in Spain itself, the elevation of Polanco would not be contemplated with satisfaction. There were in the society many new converts, Jew-Christians; Polanco, too, belonged to this class; and it was thought undesirable there, that the supreme authority in so powerful, and so monarchically constituted a body, should fall into such hands.[1] Pope Gregory XIII., who had received a hint of this, maintained, that on other grounds likewise a change would be advantageous. On a deputation from the congregation that had met to make the election, appearing before him, he asked them how many votes each nation had? when it appeared, that the Spanish had more than all the rest put together. He inquired further, from what nation the generals of the order had hitherto been taken? He was told that there had been three, and that all three had been Spaniards. "It is fair," Gregory replied, "that for once you should choose one from some other nation." He even himself suggested a candidate.

Now the Jesuits, it is true, struggled for a moment against this, as derogating from their privileges, but at the last they appointed the very person whom the pope had suggested. This was Everard Mercurianus.

This led at once to a material alteration. Mercurian, a feeble person, and destitute of self-reliance, committed affairs at first, indeed, to a Spaniard again, but thereafter to a Frenchman, his appointed admonitor: factions were formed: one of these would thrust the other out of the most important offices; that which held the reins of government already experienced a certain resistance, at times, in the lower circles of the order.

But what was of far more consequence, was that at the next vacancy, which occurred in 1581, Claud Aquaviva, a Neapolitan, from a family which had at an earlier period attached itself to the French party, and a vigorous man, only thirty-eight years old, obtained the generalship.

In this the Spaniards thought, at once, that they could per-

[1] Sacchinus: Historia Societatis Jesu pars IV. sive Everardus lib. I. "Horum origo motuum duplex fuit, studia nationum et neophytorum in Hispania odium. [The origin of these commotions was two-fold—the rivalry of the nations, and hatred of the new converts in Spain.]

ceive that their nation, which had founded the society, and given it its peculiar direction, was excluded for ever from the generalship. They were on this account discontented and refractory,[1] and conceived the idea of making themselves, in some way or other, perhaps by setting up a commissary-general of their own for the Spanish provinces, more independent of Rome. Aquaviva, on the contrary, was not disposed to abate the least of the authority which the letter of the constitution recognised in him. In order to keep the malcontents in check, he set superiors over them, on whose personal devotion to himself he could venture to reckon—young men who, in point of age and opinions, were more nearly on a footing with himself;[2] possibly, too, members of inferior desert, co-adjutors who did not enjoy all the privileges of the order; who, therefore, one and all, absolutely depended on the general; finally, they were his countrymen, Neapolitans.[3]

The old, learned, experienced "patres" saw themselves removed, not only from the highest general dignities, but also from official appointments in the provinces. Aquaviva pretended that they had their own defects to blame for it; that one was choleric, another melancholy; naturally, says Mariana, distin-

[1] Mariana: Discurso de las enfermedades de la compania, c. XII. "La nacion espanola està persuadida queda para sempre excluida del generalato. Esta persuasion, sea verdadera sea falsa, no puede dexar de causar disgustos y disunion tanto mas que esta nacion fundò la compania, la honrò, la ensenò y aun sustentò largo tiempo con su substancia." [Account of the arrested members of the company, ch. XII. The Spanish nation is persuaded, that it appears henceforth for ever excluded from the generalship. This persuasion, be it true or false, cannot but cause disgusts and disunion, so much the more as this nation founded the company, honoured it, directed it, and has long supported it with its substance.]

[2] Mariana, c. XII.: "Ponen en los gobiernos homes mozos; porque son mas entremetidos saben lamer a sus tiempos. [They place young men in the government; because they are more prying, and understand better how to accommodate themselves to the times.]

[3] On this subject, if we go beyond Mariana, the memorials to Clement VIII. are important; printed in the Tuba magnum clangens sonum ad Clementem XI. p. 583. "Videmus cum magno detrimento religionis nostrae et scandalo mundi quod generalis nulla habita ratione nec antiquitatis nec laborum nec meritorum facit quos vult superiores et ut plurimum juvenes et novicios, qui sine ullis meritis et sine ulla experientia cum maxima arrogantia præsunt senioribus: - - et denique generalis, quia homo est, habet etiam suos affectus particulares, - - et quia est Neapolitanus, melioris conditionis sunt Neapolitani. [The Great trumpet giving forth its sound to Clement XI. p. 583. We behold, to the great detriment of our religion, and scandal of the world, that the general, making no account of age, or labours, or merits, makes whom he pleases superiors, and, for the most part, youths and novices, who, without any deservings or any experience, preside over their seniors with the utmost arrogance: - - and in fine, the general, seeing he is a man, has his particular likings and dislikings, - - and, seeing he is a Neapolitan, the Neapolitans are best off.]

guished men as well as others have commonly some failing; yet the real reason was, that he was afraid of them, and wished to have more pliable instruments for the execution of his commands. People ordinarily like to have the satisfaction of being allowed to take a spontaneous interest in public things, and, least of all, will they quietly suffer themselves to be driven from their vested rights. There were mutual jarrings in all the colleges. The new superiors were received with mute animosity; they could carry no measure into actual effect; and were but too happy when they came off without any ferment or disturbance. Yet they were not wanting in power to revenge themselves in their turn. They, too, now filled the subordinate offices with none but personal dependents, for, from the monarchical constitution of the order, and the ambition of the members, there could never be any want of these in the long run; they rid themselves of their most obstinate opponents, and that, it may be supposed, most willingly at the very time when some important resolution was in hand; this they did by translating them into other provinces. Thus every thing resolved itself into the action and re-action of personal considerations. Every member not only had the right, but it was even his duty, to report the faults he observed in others; an arrangement which might not be without a moral object in the case of a small association. But in this instance it displayed itself in the most vexatious talebearing. It became the tool of secret ambition and of hatred, concealing itself under the mask of friendship. "If one were to look over the records at Rome," exclaims Mariana, "probably there would not be found a single honest man, at least among us who are at a distance." A general want of confidence prevailed; no one would fully open himself even to his brother.

To this was now added that Aquaviva could not be induced to leave Rome and visit the provinces, as Lainez and Borgia had done. This was excused on the ground that there was an advantage likewise in having matters learned by correspondence, in unbroken progression, without being interrupted by the casualties of a journey. But the consequence was, first of all, and in every case, that the provincials, in whose hands lay the whole correspondence, acquired a still greater independence. It was idle to complain of them; this they could easily provide against,

and could neutralize the effect of such complaints beforehand so much the sooner, as Aquaviva favoured them at any rate. They might be said, in fact, to hold office for life.

Under these circumstances, the old Jesuits in Spain were sensible that a state of things which they felt to be tyranny could never be altered within the limits of the society alone; so they resolved to look about for foreign aid.

They turned first to the great national ecclesiastical court of their country, the Inquisition. We know that but too many offences were reserved to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. A malcontent Jesuit, urged, as he declared, by a scruple of conscience, complained of his order, that it concealed and even absolved such offences when committed by its own members. Instantly the Inquisition arrested the provincial who was implicated in a case of this kind, together with some of his most active associates.[1] As after this first arrest, still farther charges were preferred, the Inquisition caused the statutes of the order to be handed in, and went on making new arrests. The excitement among the faithful in Spain was so much the more violent, as nobody knew the cause, and as the notion gained ground that the Jesuits had been apprehended on account of some heresy.

The Inquisition notwithstanding could only denounce a punishment; it could not prescribe a change. When matters had proceeded thus far, the discontented applied likewise to the king, assailing him with long-winded complaints of the defects in their constitution. That constitution had never pleased Philip II.: he used to say that he could perfectly understand all the other orders; that of the Jesuits alone was past his comprehension; it struck him as particularly evident what had been represented to him on the subject of the abuse of absolute power, and the disorder arising from secret accusations. Even in the midst of the great European conflict, in which he found himself engaged, he devoted his attention to this matter also. First of all he

1 Sacchinus pars V. lib. VI. n. 85. "Quidam e confessariis seu vere seu falso delatus ad provincialem tum Castellæ, Antonium Marcenium, erat de tentata puellæ per sacras confessiones pudicitia, quod crimen in Hispania sacrorum quæsitorum judicio reservabatur."—[Some one of the confessors was accused, whether truly or falsely, to Anthony Marcenius, then provincial of Castille, of tempting the chastity of a girl by means of the sacred confessions, which charge is reserved in Spain to the judgment of the sacred inquisitors.]

charged Manrique, bishop of Carthagena, to subject the order to a visitation, specially relating to the above two points.

This, it will be perceived, was an attack aimed both at the character of the institute and at the general himself, and its importance was enhanced by its coming from the very country in which the society had originated, and where it had first obtained a footing.

Aquaviva was not at all terrified by it. He was one of those men who behind great outward mildness and gentleness of manners, conceal an inward intrepidity which nothing can shake. His disposition, like that of Clement VIII. and the generality of the men who rose to distinction at that time, was above all things discreet, temperate, prudent, and reserved. He never would allow himself to pronounce a decided judgment, nor would even suffer any such to be so much as uttered in his presence, least of all against a whole nation. His secretaries were expressly enjoined to avoid all offensive and bitter expressions. He loved piety, even the external show of it. His bearing at the altar betokened a devout enjoyment of the words of high mass;[1] nevertheless, he did not give the slightest countenance to any thing that savoured of fanaticism. He would not allow an exposition of the Song of Solomon to be printed, for he thought it offensive that the expression hovered on the borders of sensual and spiritual love. Even in finding fault he knew how to win affection, manifesting the superiority of calmness of temper, leading the erring into the right path with ingenious reasons, and calling forth the enthusiastic attachment of the young. "One cannot help loving him," writes Maximilian of Bavaria to his father from Rome, "simply on looking at him." Now, these peculiarities, his indefatigable activity, even his distinguished ancestry, and the ever-growing importance of his order, gave him a high position in Rome. Though his opponents might succeed in gaining over the national authorities in Spain, still he had the Roman court in his favour, a court which he had known from his youth up, having been a lord chamberlain at the time of

[1] The author must be understood to mean those beautiful portions of Scripture artfully mingled with the antichristian abominations of the "Order of the Mass," such as the priest blasphemously offering to God that sacrifice which the "One Mediator" alone could or did offer, the hardly less revolting reference to the merits and mediation of departed saints and their relics, &c. Tr.

his entering the order, and which he knew how to manage with the skill derived both from native talent and long experience.[1]

The natural disposition of Sixtus V. made it easy for him to rouse the antipathies of that pope against the efforts of the Spaniards. Pope Sixtus, as we know, had the idea of raising Rome to be still more the metropolis of Christendom than it then was; Aquaviva represented to him that people in Spain were aiming at nothing short of making themselves less dependent on Rome. Pope Sixtus hated nothing so much as illegitimate birth; Aquaviva informed him that bishop Manrique who had been selected as visitor, was a bastard; ample ground for the pope's recalling the consent he had already given to the visitation. The process against the provincial he likewise advocated to Rome. Under Gregory XIV. the general succeeded in procuring a formal confirmation of the rule of the order.

But those on the other side, too, were inflexible and artful. They saw well that the general must be attacked at the Roman court itself, and with this view, took advantage of his being absent for a short while, having been charged with the settlement of a dispute betwixt Mantua and Parma, in order to gain over Clement VIII. At the suggestion of the Spanish Jesuits and Philip II., Clement, in summer, 1592, without the knowledge of Aquaviva, summoned a general congregation.

Amazed and confounded Aquaviva hastened back. To the generals of the Jesuits general congregations were as unwelcome as an ecumenical council was even to the popes; and if all the rest had endeavoured to avoid them, how much more was Aquaviva likely to do so, as being the object of so intense a dislike. He soon observed, however, that the summons could not be recalled.[2]

[1] Sacchinus, and particularly Juvencius: Hist. soc. Jesu partis quintæ tomus posterior XI. 21, and XXV. 33—41.

[2] In a "Consulta del padre C^l Aquaviva coi suoi padri assistenti." [Consultation of the Father Cardinal Aquaviva with his father assistants.] MS. in the Corsini Libr. n. 1055, which describes the successive steps of the internal dissension very well; and in accordance with Mariana, Aquaviva is made to give the following account of a conversation he had had with the pope: "S. Sà disse che io non aveva sufficiente notizia de' soggetti della religione, che io veniva ingannato da falsi delatori, che io mi dimostrava troppo credulo." [His holiness said, that I had no sufficient knowledge of the subjects of the order, that I was in the way of being deceived by false informers, that I showed myself too credulous.] Among the causes that rendered a congregation necessary there were reckoned also the following: "Perchè molti soggetti di valore, che, per non esser conosciuti più che tanto da' generali, non hanno mai parte alcuna nel governo, venendo a Roma in occasione delle congrega-

He recovered his composure and said: "We are obedient, let the will of the holy father be done."[1] He then hastened to take his measures.

He had already obtained great influence in the elections, and was fortunate enough to see several of his most dangerous adversaries, even in Spain, Mariana for example, rejected.

When the congregation was assembled, he did not wait to be attacked. At the very first sitting he declared, that as he had had the misfortune to displease some of his brethren, he begged, that previous to all other business, there might be an investigation into his conduct. A commission was named; grievances were expressly stated; but how could the transgression of any positive law be alleged against him? he was by far too sagacious a person ever to permit any such to be brought to his charge; in fine, he obtained a splendid acquittal.

Having in this manner secured himself personally, he proceeded, along with the meeting, to discuss the proposals affecting the rule of the order.

King Philip had demanded some things; others he had recommended for consideration. His demands were two-fold: (first,) the renunciation of certain papal privileges; for example, the reading of forbidden books, and absolution from the sin of heresy; and (secondly,) a law, in virtue of which, every novice who entered the order, should be obliged to renounce whatever patrimonial rights he might possess, and even all his benefices. These were things in which the society came into collision with the inquisition and the civil government. After some hesitation the king's demands were consented to, chiefly through Aquaviva's own influence.

But the points recommended by the king to their considera-

tioni sarebbero meglio conosciuti e per conseguenza verrebbero più facilmente in parte del medesimo governo, senza che questo fosse quasi sempre ristretto a pochi." [Because many valuable subjects (of the order) from not being sufficiently known by the generality, never had any share in the government; by coming to Rome on the occasion of the congregations will be better known, and consequently will come more readily into a participation in the said government, without its being always confined to a few.]

[1] This expression seems to have been suggested by the second petition of "The Lord's Prayer," and very consistently, considering how the pope was to "sit in the temple of God (that is, in the church) as God, showing himself that he is God," and that the Jesuits solemnly bound themselves to do the pope's behest, as absolutely as the Christian, according to the Scriptures, considers himself bound to do God's will, and to pray that his will may be done on earth as it is in heaven.—Tr.

tion were much more important. First of all, whether it should not be ordained, that the authority of the superiors of the society should be limited to a determined time, or general congregations be held from time to time at certain stated periods. By this the very existence of the institution, the rights of absolute sovereignty, were brought into question. Here Aquaviva was not so favourably disposed. After warm debates the congregation rejected the king's suggestions. But the pope, too, being convinced of their necessity, now ordered what had been refused to the king. In the exercise of the plenitude of his apostolic power, he ordained that the superiors, the rectors, should be changed every three years, and that the congregations-general should be convened once every six years.[1]

Now it is certainly true, the execution of these ordinances did not operate towards the result as had been hoped. The congregations could be gained over; the rectors might, indeed, be changed, but within a narrow circle, and the same persons soon returned again. But, at all events, it was a significant blow to the society, that a change of its laws had been brought about by an insurrection within, and the operation of a foreign agency from without.

And forthwith another storm burst forth in the same quarters.

The Jesuits had at first attached themselves to the doctrinal views of the Thomists, as at that period generally predominant in the schools. Ignatius expressly pointed his disciples to the doctrines of the angelic doctor.

But they soon thought they could discover that, with those doctrines, they could not quite attain their object in opposing the protestants. They wished in doctrine, as well as life, to be independent. It did not suit them to tread in the footsteps of the Dominicans, to whom St. Thomas had belonged, and who were looked upon as the natural expositors of his views. After having ere now betrayed many symptoms of this opinion, so that already there had been some talk, occasionally, at the Inquisition about the freedom with which the Jesuit fathers pursued their speculations,[2] Aquaviva, in 1584, came forward with

[1] Juvencius in his first book, which he calls the eleventh, "societas domesticis motibus agitata," [the society agitated with domestic emotions,] has copious details on this subject, which form the gronndwork of the text.

[2] Lainez himself was suspected by the Spanish Inquisition, Llorente III. 83

these views in the Order of study. He thought that St. Thomas was a most deservedly popular author, yet that it would be an intolerable yoke to follow his steps in everything, and that no freedom of opinion should be cherished at all. Many ancient doctrines were established on better arguments by modern divines, and many new ones proposed that were eminently serviceable in the conflict with heretics, in all which these (later) doctors might be followed.

In Spain, where the theological chairs were still held for the most part by Dominicans, this caused forthwith an immense excitement. The Order of study was pronounced the rashest, the most presumptuous, and the most dangerous book of the kind; king and pope were applied to on the subject.[1]

But how much greater must this excitement necessarily have become on the Thomistic system coming to be virtually abandoned by the Jesuits in one of the most important articles of theology.

In the whole of theology, Roman catholic as well as protestant, the controversies respecting grace and merit, free-will and predestination, were at all times the most momentous and active: they furnished constant employment to the minds, the learned research, and the speculative powers of clergy as well as laity. On the side of the protestants, Calvin's severe doctrine of the particular decree of God, according to which "some are pre-destined to everlasting bliss, others to everlasting condemnation," found at this time most acceptance. The Lutherans, with their milder views, were in this respect at a disadvantage, and suffered losses, sometimes in one quarter, sometimes in another. On the side of the Roman catholics, also, an opposition of doctrine was developed. Wherever there appeared a leaning to the views, even of the most moderate protestants, though it were no more than a stricter view of the Augustinian mode of representing

[1] Pegna in Serry: Historia congregationum de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ, p. 8: "y dado a censurar, fue dicho por aquellos censores" (Mariana and Serry speak even of the Inquisition,) "que aquel libro era el mas peligroso, temerario y arrogante que jamas havia salido in semejante materia, y que si se metia en pratica lo que contenia, causaria infinitos danos y alborotos en la republica christiana." [Pegna on Serry: History of the congregations of the agency of divine grace, p. 8: and delivered over to the censors, it was declared by these censors (Mariana and Serry speak even of the Inquisition), that that book was the most dangerous, rash, and arrogant, that had ever appeared on a similar subject, and that if its maxims were put into practice, it would cause infinite damage and disturbance in the Christian republic.

the subject, for example that of Bajus at Louvain, it was assailed and suppressed. In this the Jesuits showed themselves particularly zealous. They defended the doctrinal system set forth in the council of Trent, nay, which was carried there not without the influence of their brethren Laines and Salmeron, against every deviation towards the rejected and abandoned side. And even that system never fully satisfied their polemic zeal. In 1588, Lewis Molina, at Evora, came forward with a book in which he again took up this controversy, and endeavoured by a new method to remove the difficulties that had ever remained unsolved.[1] His main object in this undertaking was, to vindicate a still larger scope for man's free will than was admitted by either the Thomistic or the Tridentine system of doctrine. At Trent, the work of sanctification had been founded chiefly on the inherent righteousness of Christ, which being infused into us, calls forth love, leads to all virtues and good works, and finally produces justification. Molina goes an important step further. He maintains that free will, without the aid of grace, can produce morally good works; that it can withstand temptations; that it can even elevate itself to this and the other act of hope, faith, love, and repentance.[2] When a man has advanced thus far, God then bestows grace upon him on account of Christ's merits,[3] by means of which grace he experiences the supernatural effects of sanctification: yet, just as it was previous to the reception of this grace, free will is incessantly operative in its growth. All hangs upon this, that it remains with us to make the help of God effectual or ineffectual. Justification rests on the union

[1] Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia. In controversies it has always been thought necessary, carefully to distinguish the editions of Lisbon, 1588, Antwerp, 1595, and Venice, because they all differ from each other.

[2] In this the "concursus generalis dei," [the general concurrence of God,] is presupposed; but in this is properly intimated only the natural condition of the free will, which certainly is not as it is, without God. "Deus semper præsto est per concursum generalem libero arbitrio, ut naturaliter velit aut nolit prout placuerit." [God is always present with the free will in the way of general concurrence, so that it naturally wills, or does not will, according as he may please.] This is nearly as we find in Bellarmin, natural and divine right identified, because God is the author of nature.

[3] This grace, too, he apprehends very naturally: Disput. 54, "Dum homo expendit res credendas - - per notitias concionatoris aut aliunde comparatas, influit deus in easdem notitias influxu quodam particulari quo cognitionem illam adjuvat." [While a man ponders the things that are to be believed - - procured from the statements of the preacher or from some other quarter, God flows into these statements, by a certain particular influx, whereby he aids that knowledge (which the man procures).

of will and grace; they are combined, like two men that are rowing a boat. Now it is manifest, that Molina cannot, with this, admit the view of predestination as it appears in Augustine or Thomas Aquinas. He thinks it too hard and revolting. He will hear of no other predestination but such as is properly foresight. But God fore-knows, from his supreme insight into the nature of every individual will, what it will do in any given case, although it might have done the contrary. And nothing whatever happens on this account because God fore-knows it, but God fore-sees it on this account because it will happen.

Here was a doctrine which certainly went quite to the opposite extreme from the Calvinistic; it was the first, at the same time, which undertook to rationalize, so to speak, that mystery. It is intelligible, acute, and clear;[1] on this very account it could not fail to produce a certain effect; we may well venture to compare it with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which the Jesuits brought to perfection at the same period.[2]

But therewithal they could not but necessarily rouse opposition in their own church; and that at once because of their withdrawing from the "doctor angelicus," whose summary still formed always the chief text-book of Roman catholic divines. Even some members of the order, such as Henriquez Mariana, openly expressed their censure. But the Dominicans took up the defence of their patriarch with far greater keenness. They wrote and preached against Molina, and attacked him in their prelections. At last, on the 4th of March 1594, it was arranged that

[1] This rationalistic direction had appeared in another quarter, for example, in the views maintained by the Jesuits, Less and Hamel at Louvain in 1585: "Propositiones in Lessio et Hamelio a theologis Lovaniensibus notatæ: ut quid sit scriptura sacra, non est necessarium ut singulæ veritates et sententiæ sint immediate a spiritu sancto ipsi scriptori inspiratæ."—[Propositions in Less and Hamel noted by the divines of Louvain; as, what are we to consider sacred scripture, it is not necessary that every truth and opinion be immediately inspired by the Holy Spirit in the writer himself.] The essential assertions of Molina are, so far at least, to be found in these axioms; there, too, their complete deviation from the protestant views is made subject of remark: "hæc sententia - - quam longissime a sententia Lutheri et Calvini et reliquorum hæreticorum hujus temporis recedit, a quorum sententia et argumentis difficile est alteram sententiam (the Augustinian and Thomistic) vindicare."—[this opinion - - how far does it recede from the opinion of Luther and Calvin, and other heretics of this time, from whose opinion and arguments it is difficult to vindicate that other opinion (the Augustinian and Thomistic).]

[2] I confess myself quite unable to see any such qualities in this view of so very abstruse a subject. The reader who consults President Edwards on the Freedom of the Will, will soon be convinced that what is called the Calvinistic view is alone the clear and intelligible one. But what say the Scriptures. Tr.

there should be a disputation at Valladolid between the two parties. The Dominicans, who thought themselves in possession of orthodoxy, showed much vehemency. "Are the keys of wisdom then," exclaimed a Jesuit, "any wise in your keeping?" The Dominicans screamed out at this, taking it as an attack on St. Thomas himself.

After this there was a complete schism betwixt the two orders. The Dominicans would have nothing more to do with the Jesuits.. By far the greater number of the latter, if not all of them, took part with Molina. Aquaviva himself and his assistants were on his side.

But here, too, there was a violent interference on the part of the Inquisition. The great inquisitor, who happened to be the very Jerome Manrique that had been charged with the visitation of the order, made show as if he would condemn Molina. He caused it to be intimated to him that his book could not be expected to escape with a simple rejection, but ought to be condemned to the flames. He refused to take up Molina's counter complaints against the Dominicans.

This was a controversy which on account both of the doctrine involved in it, and of the persons who defended them, put the whole Roman catholic world in commotion, and very much strengthened the attack now made in Spain on the Jesuit institute.

It is precisely to this, however, that we must refer the extraordinary phenomenon, that while the Jesuits were banished from France on account of their leanings towards Spain, they became the objects of a most dangerous assault from Spain itself. Principles of policy and doctrine had in both countries a great deal to do in this. The political was in both cases the same in the end, that is, a national opposition to the privileges and franchises of the order; in France manifesting itself with greater force and vehemence, but in Spain more characteristic and better supported. As regards doctrine, it was the new tenets that brought hatred and persecution on the Jesuits. Their doctrines on the sovereignty of the people, and on regicide, became pernicious to them in France, whereas in Spain they suffered from their opinions on the freedom of the will.

This was a moment in the history of the society which proved of great consequence for the direction that it took.

Aquaviva endeavoured to secure himself against the attacks of the national governments, parliament, and the inquisition, in the central point of the church, that is, in the pope.

He availed himself of the opportunity presented by the death of one grand inquisitor already noticed, and the interval occurring before his place was filled up, in order to determine the pope to advocate the decision of the controversy respecting the faith to Rome. There was much to be gained by having the decision merely delayed in the first instance, for how easy was it to find in Rome at that time influences of different kinds, which might be brought to bear with effect at some critical conjuncture. On the 9th of October 1596, the minutes of the process were sent to Rome. On both sides the most learned divines arrived, for the purpose of fighting out their quarrel under the immediate superintendence of the pope.

In the French affair, besides, Clement interested himself in favour of the Jesuits. He thought it was unjustifiable to condemn a whole order, and that, too, which had done most for the restoration of Roman catholicism, and which had proved so strong a stay to the church, on account of a single individual who may have deserved punishment. And had not the order in fact suffered, too, for its devotion to the Roman see, and for the warmth with which it had contended in behalf of its claims to the possession of the highest authority on earth? To the pope it was of the utmost consequence completely to extinguish the opposition which France still presented to him. The closer the alliance became, into which he entered with Henry IV., the greater the unanimity in the policy of both sides, the more efficacious did his representations become; Henry showed from time to time more compliancy in his declarations.[1]

In this the pope was admirably supported by the well-pondered line of conduct pursued by the order.

[1] "Pegna: Rotæ Romanæ decanus istarum rerum testis locupletissimus,"—[Pegna: dean of the Roman Rota, and a most ample witness of these things,] as Serry calls him. "Cerniendo (Molina) lo que verisimilmente podia suceder de que su libro fuese prohibido y quemado, porque assi se lo avia asomado el inquisitor general, luego lo avisò a Roma, donde por obra y negociacion de su general su santidad avocò a se esta causa, ordinando a la inquisicion general que no la concluyesse ni diesse sententia."—[Molina perceiving what in all probability would take place, that his book would be prohibited and burned, as the inquisitor general had announced, he hence advocated it to Rome, where by the labours and negotiation of his general, (the Jesuit) his Holiness called this case before himself, ordering the general inquisition not to conclude or give sentence in it.]

The Jesuits guarded themselves well against exhibiting a spirit of anger or aversion to the king of France, nor were they at all disposed to rush into any further danger in behalf of the desperate fortunes of the League; accordingly, no sooner did they perceive the turn that the papal policy had taken, than they too adopted a similar one.[1] Father Commolet, who even after the conversion of Henry IV. had exclaimed from the pulpit that an Ehud was needed to oppose him with, and who had been obliged to take to flight when the king carried the day, changed his key on coming to Rome, and spoke in favour of the king being absolved. Among all the cardinals none contributed so much to that absolution, by his docility, his propitiatory measures, and personal influence with the pope, as the Jesuit Toledo.[2] This they did while the parliament was continually drawing up new decrees against them, decrees about which Aquaviva complained, yet without ever allowing himself to be hurried thereby into excessive zeal and violence. All the Jesuits it had been impossible to banish; those who remained behind now declared themselves for the king, and admonished the people to be submissive to him and to love him. Ere long some eagerly hastened back to the places they had left; this Aquaviva did not approve, and directed them to wait for the king's permission. Care was taken to inform the king of both these facts; he was highly delighted at the information; and thanked the general in a special letter. The Jesuits, too, did not neglect to confirm him in this disposition to the best of their power. Father Rocheome, who was called the French Cicero, drew up a popular apology for the order, which seemed particularly convincing to the king.[3]

To this double impulse on the side of the pope and of the order, there must now be added political considerations on the part of Henry IV. himself. He perceived, as he says in a dispatch, that by the persecution of an order, numbering so many

[1] The Jesuits may deny that their case ever came to be mixed up with politics; yet it appears from Bentivoglio, Memorie II. 6, p. 395, how much respect for their interests was shown by Cardinal Aldobrandini in the course of the negotiations at Lyons, and that just at that time the king gave a favourable declaration.

[2] Du Perron à Villeroy: Ambassades I. 23. "Seulement vous diray-je que Mr le Cl Tolet a fait des miracles et s'est monstré bon François."—[Du Perron to Villeroy: Embassies I. 23. Only I will tell you that Mr. the cardinal of Toledo has done wonders, and shown himself a good Frenchman.]

[3] Gretser has translated it, for the "not French," into Latin. Gretseri opera tom XI. p. 280.

members distinguished for talent and learning, and which had so much power and so many persons attached to it, he should keep up implacable enemies in the class of zealous Roman catholics, a class still so numerous, and should furnish occasion for conspiracies. He saw that they could not be banished from the quarters where they still maintained themselves; that he might have to dread the outbreak of an open insurrection.[1] Moreover, Henry had made so many great concessions to the Huguenots, by the Edict of Nantes, as to oblige him to give some new warranty to the Roman catholics also. Murmurs were already heard in Rome; the pope too occasionally intimated that he feared that he might have been deceived.[2] But, finally, the king stood high enough to be able to take a better general survey of the state of things than his parliament could, and not to dread the alliance of the Jesuits with Spain. Father Lawrence Maggio hastened in the name of the general to France, in order to assure the king of the allegiance of the order with strong oaths.[3] "Should it prove otherwise, he and his fellow Jesuits were content to be accounted the blackest traitors."[4] The king thought it more advisable to make a trial of their friendship[5]

[1] "Dispaccio del re de 15 Agosto 1603, al re Jacopo d'Inghilterra,"—[Dispatch of the king dated 15 August, 1603, to King James of England,] excerpted in Siri: Memorie recondite, I. p. 247.

[2] Ossat à Villeroy, I. 503.

[3] The real value of these oaths of men bound by the most solemn religious vows to absolute blind implicit obedience to the pope for the time being, must have been very small. Tr.

[4] Sully liv. XVII. p. 307.

[5] Aquaviva seems to have been no party to these professions, and even to have dreaded their impairing his absolute authority. He has the effrontery to tell Henry IV. that an oath of fidelity was too hard for the society's members in France, and, if given, would be of no use, for it would not restrain any one who was ill-disposed, as the following extract from his Memorie, to Cardinal d'Ossat, shows: "Circa il 4o di fare il giuramento di fidelta, ci occorre dire ch'oltre infamia grande, che ne verrebbe a la Compagnia per essere contro l'uso dell'altre Religioni, di mal essempio, e consequentemente ne gli altri Principi, é cosa molto dura, e sarebbe mala ricevuta in tutta la Religione; perchè non si puo intendere che Secolari, Mercanti, Soldati, ed ogni natione non sian astretti a questo ma soli li Gesuiti; et che un nobile mentre faceva professione di Spada, e d'armi, non fosse mai astretto à questo, et in pigliare l'habito della Compagnia, sia costretto a farlo, e che ogni Novitio che entra, deva far listesso. Il che no é punto necessario perchè no bisogna, ne basterebbe a chi havesse mal animo, ne utile per il servitio del Re, e quiete del Regno, per le ragioni che a V. S. illustrissima si portarono, e molt'altre che lei colla sua prudenza vede, &c."— As for the 4th article about giving an oath of fidelity, it may be said that besides the great disgrace arising therefrom to the Company, since it is against the usage of other religious orders, of bad example, even among other princes, it is a very hard thing and will be ill received throughout the whole society; for one cannot comprehend how laymen, merchants, soldiers, people of all nations are not obliged

than of their hostilities. He saw that he would be able to make use of them for his own advantage against Spain.[1]

Influenced by so many motives of external policy and internal necessity, the king, as early as in the year 1600, on the occasion of the negotiations at Lyons, declared his readiness to receive the order again into favour. He even chose the Jesuit Cotton for his confessor. After many a previous testimony of favour, there followed in September 1603, the edict by which the Jesuits were restored in France. Some conditions were imposed on them, the most important of which was that both the directors and the members of the society in that country should in future be Frenchmen only.[2] Henry did not doubt that he had arranged every thing in such a manner as to entitle him to complete confidence.

He unhesitatingly made them the objects of his favour, assisting them in their own concerns, and, first of all, in their controversy with the Dominicans.

In this affair Clement VIII. showed a warm theological interest. No fewer than sixty-five meetings and thirty-seven disputations were held in his presence, including all the points that could be brought into question on the occasion; he himself wrote much on the subject, and, so far as we can judge, inclined to the doctrinal views that had been currently adopted, and to a decision that would have been favourable to the Dominicans. Bellarmin himself said he did not deny that the pope was inclined to declare himself against the Jesuits, but that this he knew would never be done. It would have involved too great

to this but the Jesuits only, and that a nobleman while in the profession of arms is not laid under it, in taking on him the habit of the order, had to take the oath, and that every novice that entered had to take it. This oath is by no means necessary, for there is no need for it, and it will not bind the evil disposed. It is useless for the king's service and the repose of the kingdom, for the reasons already rendered to your most illustrious Lordship, and many others which with your prudence you must see, &c.] See Vol. II. p. 9, of the Annales de la Société des Soidisans Jésuites, &c. Paris MDLXV. Tr.

[1] "Riconobbe chiaramente d'esserne per ritrarre servigio e contentamento in varie occorrenze a prò proprio e de' suoi amici contra gli Spagnoli stessi."—[He perceived clearly that he would be able to derive service and gratification from them, in various occurrences, for his own advantage and that of his friends, against the Spaniards themselves. (Dispaccio in Siri.)

[2] Edictum Regium in Juvencius, p. V. lib. XII. n. 59. In Juvencius one finds all that was said in favour of the Jesuits, and on the contrary all that was said against them in the Historia Jesuitica of Ludovicus Lucius, Basileæ 1627, lib. II. c. II. Neither the one nor the other gives the determining principles, but they are hinted more plainly by the author that defends than by the one that accuses them.

a risk at a time when the Jesuits were the chief apostles of the faith throughout the world, to break with them about an article of faith, and they really were already making a show of even demanding a council. The pope is said to have exclaimed; "they dare every thing, every thing."[1] The French likewise took too decided a part. Henry IV. was for them; whether, which may certainly have been the case, that their mode of viewing things recommended itself to his understanding, or that he thought it better to make common cause with the order which was conducting the war with protestantism, the better to place his orthodoxy beyond doubt. Cardinal du Perron took part in the congregations and supported the Jesuit party with a well-directed zeal. He told the pope that even a protestant might subscribe the doctrines of the Dominicans, and his doing so may very possibly have made an impression on the pontiff.

The contest of rivalry betwixt Spain and France, which agitated the world, mingled in these contentions also. The Dominicans found quite as much protection from the Spaniards as the Jesuits did from the French.[2]

[1] Serry 271. Contarini too asserts that they used threats. "Portata la disputatione a Roma ventilata tra theologi, il papa e la maggior parte de' consultori inclinavano nell'opinione di Domenicani. Ma li Gesuiti, vedendosi in pericolo di cader da quel credito per il quale pretendono d'haver il primo luoco di dottrina nella chiesa catolica, erano resoluti di mover ogni machina per non ricever il colpo."—[The dispute being carried to Rome and discussed among the divines, the pope and the greater number of the persons consulted, inclined to the opinion of the Dominicans. But the Jesuits, seeing themselves in danger of falling from the credit by which they pretended to hold the first place in point of doctrine, in the catholic church, were resolved to put every machine in motion to prevent their being found in fault.] The doctrine which they held out as a threat, according to Contarini, was this; that the pope no doubt is infallible, but that it is no article of faith to hold this or the other pope to be the true one.* "La potenza di questi e l'autorità di chi li proteggeva era tanta che ogni cosa era dissimulata e si mostrava di non sentirlo e sopra diffinire della controversia si andava temporeggiando per non tirarsi adosso carica maggiore."—[The power of these (Jesuits) and the authority of him that protected them, were such that every thing was dissembled, and a dislike was shown to the whole matter, and when the controversy came to be decided, one went on temporising to avoid bringing upon himself too great a charge.] (The reader will remark how awkwardly Contarini avoids direct mention of the pope, in accusing him of temporising, &c. Tr.)

[2] Main facts in du Perron: Ambassades et négotiations liv. III. tom. II. p. 839. Lettre du 23 Janv. 1606: "Les Espagnols font profession ouvertement de protéger les Jacobins (the Dominicans) en haine, comme je croy, de l'affection que le père général des Jésuites et presque tous ceux de son ordre, excepté ceux qui dépendent des pères Mendozze et Personius, comme particulièrement les Jésuites Anglois, ont monstré de porter à vostre Majesté: et semble que d'une dispute de réligion ils en veuillent faire une querelle d'état."—[The Spaniards openly profess to protect

* This was, indeed, a desperate resource, for it involves the admission that the grand boast of a living infallible authority, employed so often and so artfully to seduce the weak and ignorant, after all amounts to nothing, as no one can be assured that the existing pope is the true one. Tr.

Hence, too, it happened that Clement VIII., in point of fact, came to no decision. It would have involved him in new embarrassments, to offend either the one or the other of two such influential orders, and two such powerful monarchs.

POLITICAL POSITION OF CLEMENT VIII.

GENERALLY speaking, it was now one of the principal objects of consideration with the papal see, to estrange from itself neither the one nor the other of the two powers on which the equipoise of the Roman catholic world reposed; to settle the contentions that might arise betwixt them, never, at least, to allow them to break out into a war; in fine, to preserve its influence over both.

Here the popedom appears to us as pursuing its most commendable vocation, as a mediating and pacificating power.[1]

The world had chiefly to thank Clement VIII. for the peace of Vervins, 2d May, 1598. He seized the happy moment, when the disordered state of his finances made it necessary for the king of France, and the feebleness of his advancing old age urged the king of Spain, to think of an accommodation. He suggested the preliminaries; from him proceeded the first overtures. Fra Bonaventura Calatagirona, the general of the Franciscans, whom he had happily selected for this affair, and sent to France, removed the first and greatest difficulties. The Spaniards were in possession of a number of places in France; these they were ready to restore, with the exception, however, of Calais; the French stood out for the restoration of Calais also; it was Fra Calatagirona that induced the Spaniards to agree to

the Jacobins (Dominicans) in hatred, I believe, of the affection which the father general of the Jesuits, and almost all the members of that order, excepting those who depend on Fathers Mendozze and Person, as particularly the English Jesuits, have shown that they bear to your Majesty; and it would appear that from a religious dispute they would turn it into a state quarrel.] It is evident throughout, that the Jesuits, to a very small fraction, now passed for being the partisans of France. We find in Serry, p. 440, that the Dominicans were at that time excluded from the French court: "Prædicatores tum temporis in Gallia minus accepti et a publicis curiæ muneribus nuper amoti."—[The preachers at that time were not so acceptable in France, and had lately been removed from offices connected with the court.]

[1] A mediating and pacificating power, only, it will be observed, among nations that owned that supremacy, which it blasphemously usurped, as standing in the place of God, but the grand prompter to exterminating wars and persecutions, against all nations and people that disowned that usurpation. A commendable vocation indeed! TR.

this. Only then were the negotiations at Vervins formally opened. A legate and a nuncio presided at them; the general of the Franciscans proceeded to mediate with the utmost ability and skill, in which, too, his secretary, Soto, acquired no insignificant merit. The chief matter was, that the king of France came to the resolution of separating from his allies, England and Holland. This came to be considered as a direct advantage to Roman catholicism, inasmuch as thereby Henry IV.'s secession from the protestant system seemed to be rendered complete. After long delays Henry consented to take this step, whereupon the Spaniards virtually restored all their conquests. In regard to the places possessed by the two parties, matters were restored to the footing of 1559. The legate declared that his holiness would experience more satisfaction from this than even from the occupation of Ferrara; that a peace which embraced and pacificated all christendom, was of far more consequence than that secular acquisition.[1]

In this peace one point alone was left unsettled, the dispute, namely, between Savoy and France. The duke of Savoy, as we had occasion to notice, had taken violent possession of Saluzzo, and would not consent to give it up again, until at last, after much unavailing negotiation, Henry attacked him with open force. It was of the utmost importance to the pope, to whose mediation, moreover, this matter had been expressly committed at Vervins, that peace should be restored betwixt them. He urged this on all occasions, and at every audience; and as often as the king caused assurances of his devotedness to be given him, he demanded this peace as a proof thereof, as a gratification which he insisted should be given him. The only difficulty lay in the consideration, that the restoring of Saluzzo seemed prejudicial to the general interests of Italy. That the French should possess a territory in that country, was viewed with no good will. The first person to suggest a plan for obviating this difficulty was, in so far as I can discover, that same minorite friar Calatagirona, who proposed that Saluzzo should remain in

[1] At the end of the edition of the Mémoires of Angoulême, published by Didot in 1756, there is to be found, I. 131-363, under the title of Autres Mémoires, a full account of the negotiation at Vervins, remarkable for its accuracy and impartiality, and from it, accordingly, the notices here communicated have been taken; the last p. 337

the possession of the duke, and that France should be indemnified with Bresse and some of the adjacent Savoyard districts.[1] The merit acquired by Cardinal Aldobrandino at Lyons in 1600, consisting in his making this suggestion the basis of an actual settlement of the dispute. For this he received the thanks even of the French. Lyons thereby obtained, what she had long desired, a wider extension of her frontier.[2]

In the midst of such propitious circumstances, Pope Clement sometimes thought of directing the Roman catholic world, now united under his authority, against its old hereditary enemy. The Turkish war had again broken out in Hungary; even at that time people thought they could perceive that the Osman empire was becoming weaker and weaker from day to day: the personal inefficiency of the sultan; the influence of the seraglio; insurrections perpetually repeated, particularly in Asia, seemed all to suggest the possibility of effecting something against it. The pope did not, at least, allow anything to be wanting on his part. In 1599, the sum that he had applied to the expenses of this war, had already amounted to a million and a half of scudi. Soon after we find a papal army of 12,000 men on the Danube. But how much more important were the results that were to be looked for, could the powers of the western world be combined to any extent in an oriental enterprise, and if in particular, Henry IV. resolved to join his might to that of Austria. The pope omitted nothing that could animate him to this step. And in fact, immediately after the peace of Vervins, Henry wrote to the Venetians, that he hoped soon to embark on board ship at Venice, as the French had done in days of yore, on an expedition against Constantinople. This promise he repeated on the conclusion of the peace with Savoy. But the execution of such a project certainly required to be preceded by a more cordial mutual understanding, than could have been attained so soon after such violent collisions.[3]

Much rather did the opposition and rivalry still subsisting between the two chief powers, more than once come in aid of the

[1] Ossat to Villeroy, 25 March, 1559.

[2] Bentivoglio in the principal section of the second book of his Memorie (c. 2—c. 6.) fully details these negotiations.

[3] Lettre du roy [Letter of the King] in the appendix to the second volume of Ossat's letters, p. 11.

papal see in its own proper concerns. Pope Clement himself had once more occasion to take advantage of those feelings, even in the affairs of the states of the church.

Amid so many splendid undertakings, and so much external progress, Clement likewise exercised in his own court, and his own state, a severe and highly monarchical authority.

The new constitution which the college of cardinals had received from Sixtus V., appeared at first, to that body, as sure to procure for it a very fair influence on public affairs. Nevertheless, forms and substance are different things, and the direct opposite followed. The "processual" order of business, the immobility to which a deliberative assembly is condemned, chiefly in consequence of the conflicting opinions that are commonly found in it, made it impossible for Clement VIII. to intrust important affairs to the congregations. At first he continued to consult them, yet even then he would often depart from their decisions. He afterwards communicated the cases to them, for the first time, shortly before the close of their meetings. The consistories served rather for the purpose of publication than of consultation. At last, he left them nothing to attend to but matters of subordinate interest or mere formalities.[1]

No doubt there was a certain necessity for acting thus, involved in the new turn which Clement had given to the policy of the Roman court. But there was also in this a personal bias to despotism. The government of the country was administered in the same spirit; new taxes were announced without any one being consulted; the revenues of the communes were placed under special inspection; the barons were subjected to the

[1] Delfino: "Ora li consistorj non servono per altro che per comunicare in essi la collation delle chiese e per publicar le resolutioni d' ogni qualità fatte dal papa: e le congregationi, da quella dell' inquisitione in poi, che si è pnr conservata in qualche decoro e si riduce ogni settimana, tutte le altre, anche quelle che sono de' regolari e de' vescovi, sono in sola apparenza: perchè se bene risolvono ad un modo, il papa eseguisce ad un altro e nelle cose più importanti, come nel dar ajuto a principi, di spedir legati, dichiarar capi."—[The consistories now serve for nothing but the communication in them, of the collations of the churches, and for publishing the resolutions of all kinds that are taken by the pope: and all the other congregations, from that of the inquisition, which has, indeed, preserved itself in some decorum, and assembles weekly, although they be composed of regular clergy and bishops, are congregations in appearance only; for though they may pass resolutions in one way, the pope executes matters in another, and that in affairs of the most importance, such as rendering assistance to crowned heads, dispatching ambassadors, and giving them their leading instructions.]

strictest police; no regard was any longer paid to high descent or vested rights.

As long as the pope conducted all public affairs in person, matters went on well enough. The cardinals at last, although it be true that they did not express all they thought, were contented to look on with amazement and submission.

But as the pope gradually advanced in years, the possession, the exercise at least, of this monarchical power, came into the hands of the papal nephew, Peter Aldobrandino. He was the son of that Peter Aldobrandino who had distinguished himself among his brothers by his practice as a jurist. He promised little at first sight, being of mean appearance, marked with the small-pox, afflicted with asthma, coughing incessantly, and he had not, even in his younger days, made much proficiency in study. But no sooner did his uncle take him into the management of affairs, than he displayed an adroitness, and a versatility, such as nobody had expected. Not only did he know how to accommodate himself admirably to the pope's natural disposition, to supplement him, so to speak, to temper his severity, and to make the weaknesses that gradually appeared in him, less observable, and harmless;[1] he likewise acquired the confidence of the foreign ambassadors, and gave them so much satisfaction, that they, one and all, desired to see affairs committed to his management. These he had originally to share with his kinsman Cinthio, who, also, was not unendowed with talent, especially for literature, but he very soon supplanted this partner. In 1603, we find the cardinal all powerful at court. "The whole of the negotiations," says an account of that year, "all favours and graces depend on him; prelates, noblemen, courtiers, and ambassadors, fill his house. It may be said, that every thing passes through his ear, that every thing depends on his approval; from his mouth comes the opening of a case, and in his hands lies the execution of what is to be done."[2]

[1] Relatione al C^l Este. "Dove il papa inasprisce, Aldobrandino mitiga: dove rompe, consolida: dove commanda giustitia, intercede per gratia."—[Where the pope gets exasperated, Aldobrandino softens him; where the one causes ruptures, the other consolidates; where the one orders justice to take its course, the other intercedes for mercy.

[2] Orbis in urbe. Yet here, too, we find secret powers. "Ha diversi servitori," says the same account, "ma quel che assorbe i favori di tutti, è il cav^r Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, salito a quel grado di privatissima fortuna, e che per ampliar maggiormente la sua autorità ha fatto salire il fratello al segretariato della

Such an authority, so unbounded, so decisive, and therewithal in no wise legitimate, notwithstanding the friends it might procure, aroused in others a secret, profound, and general opposition. This broke out unexpectedly on a trifling occasion.

A person who had been confined for his offences, contrived to break his fetters at a convenient juncture, and sprang into the Farnese palace, past which the officers were at the moment leading him.

The popes had long desired altogether to abolish the privilege claimed by the leading families, of giving an asylum in their houses to criminals. Cardinal Farnese, although connected with the pope by the marriage of an Aldobrandino into the house of Farnese, again gave effect to this privilege. He caused the police officers, who attempted to look for their prisoner in the palace, to be forcibly driven out of it. He told the governor, who had made his appearance on the occasion, that it was not the custom with his family to deliver up accused persons, and spoke contemptuously to Cardinal Aldobrandino, who, in his anxiety to prevent public attention being drawn to the matter, had appeared in his own person for the purpose of settling it quietly; he bade the cardinal remember, that after the pope's death, which was to be expected soon, a Farnese would be a person of greater consequence than an Aldobrandino.

What had encouraged him to indulge in such spiteful behaviour, was mainly his alliance with the Spaniards. It had been concluded from the renunciation of Saluzzo by Henry IV., an act which in Rome was thought rather pusillanimous, that that monarch had no wish to meddle with Italian affairs; after that the Spaniards again commanded more respect, and as the Aldobrandini evidently manifested so strong a leaning towards France, their opponents accordingly attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassador, Viglienna, gave his entire approval to Farnese's procedure.[1]

consulta: così possedendo tra lor due la somma, l'uno della gratia del cardinale, l'altro della provisione d' officj e delle maggiori espeditioni."—[He has various persons in his service, but he that absorbs the favours of all, is the cavalier Clement Sennesio, master of the chamber, who has risen to that grade from a most private fortune, and who, still farther to augment his authority, has raised his brother to the secretaryship of the consulta; thus possessing between them the whole, the one of the favour of the cardinal, and the other of the providing for the offices and the greater expeditions.]

[1] Contarini, Historia Veneta, tom. III., lib. 13, MS., among all the historians

What more was wanted to produce an explosion of the discontent of the Roman nobility than the support of a foreign power, and the protection of a great family? Knights and nobles flocked to the Farnese palace. Some cardinals openly joined them; others gave them secret favour.[1] All exclaimed, that the pope and the church must be delivered from the thraldom of Cardinal Aldobrandino. On the pope sending for troops to Rome, the Spanish ambassador advised the associated malcontents, to whom he even promised rewards, to call thither, likewise, some armed bands that had appeared just at the time on the Neapolitan frontier. An open feud, of a like kind with those of the preceding centuries, was nearly breaking out in Rome.

But the cardinal had no desire that matters should be carried so far. It was enough for him to make a display of his independence, of his power, and of the possibility of resistance. He resolved to withdraw to Castro, which was his own property. This he did with great pomp. Having secured one of the gates, he had it guarded with soldiers, and then left the city with a convoy of ten carriages and three hundred horses. And by this step he had in fact gained every thing; all this refractoriness passed away; a formal negotiation was brought about; it was made to appear as if the whole affair were the governor's concern, and a reconciliation was arranged between him and the Farnese family. The cardinal then returned in no less splendour than he had gone away. All the streets, windows, and roofs were full of people, and never had the Farneses at the

of that period the most copious and the most credible in regard to this matter: "Viglienna mandò ordine a tutti i baroni e cavalieri Romani obligati alla corona che per servitio del re fossero immediate nella casa del cardinal Farnese."—[Viglienna gave orders to all the Roman barons and knights that were engaged to the crown, that as a piece of service to the king, they should immediately repair to the house of Cardinal Farnese.]

[1] Contarini: "Diede grand' assenso all fatto la venuta de' cardinali Sfondrato e Santiquatro, che niente mirarono trattandosi di Spagna al debito de' cardinali verso il papa: ed a questi, che apertamente si dichiaravano, diversi altri in occulto adherivano, tra quali il C[l] Conti. - - Ma il popolo, la plebe senza nome, sempre avida di cangiar stato, favoriva al cardinale, e per le piazze, per le strade a gran caterve applaudevano al partito di lui."—[What gave much assent to what was done, was the arrival of the cardinals Sfondrato and Santiquatro, who came with no particular object, talking about Spain, in favour of the cardinals against the pope; and to these, who openly declared themselves, various others adhered in secret, among whom was Cardinal Conti. - - But the people, the nameless populace, always eager to change their condition, favoured the cardinal, and in the public places, and the streets, in great crowds, applauded him at his going away.]

time when they were in power, been received with such pomp, nor been greeted with such loud acclamations.[1]

But while Cardinal Peter Aldobrandino allowed all this to take place, we must not suppose that it arose from weakness or forced compliancy. The Farneses were, after all, nearly connected with the papal family; hence he would have done himself no good by repelling conciliatory overtures; but, first of all, it was necessary to remove the evil at its source which lay in political circumstances. No change of system could be expected from the Spaniards, not even the recall of so untoward an ambassador; Aldobrandino's sole prospect of helping himself was to be found in his inducing Henry IV. to take a warmer interest in the affairs of Italy.

It was refreshing to him, says his enemies, "as a cool gentle breeze on a hot day," when in December 1604 three French cardinals, all distinguished men, all at once made their appearance. Again it became possible to form a French party in Rome. They were joyfully received. Signora Olympia, the cardinal's sister, told the newly arrived strangers a thousand times, that her family would unconditionally commit themselves to the protection of France. Baronius maintained that he had learned while composing his history, that the Romish see had been indebted to no other nation so much as to the French, and on seeing a likeness of the king he burst out into an exclamation of joy. He endeavoured to inform himself whether after the loss of Saluzzo, no other pass through the Alps remained in the hands of the French. But this Baronius was not only an historian, he was also father confessor to the pope, and saw him every day. The pope and Aldobrandino were on their guard, and did not allow themselves to speak out thus unreservedly. But it seemed to signify quite as much when his nearest dependents did so; they appeared only to repeat the opinions of their superiors. As Henry now resolved to pay pensions, he

[1] Contarini: "S'inviò in Roma entrando in guisa trionfante con clamori popolari che andavano al cielo, incontrato in forma di re dall' ambasciator di Cesare, di Spagna, dalli cardinali Sfondrato, Santiquatro, San Cesareo e Conti, dal general Georgio suo cognato, tutta la cavalleria e tutte le guardie del papa, confluendo li cavalieri e baroni."—[He directed his way to Rome, entering in a triumphant manner, with the shouts of the people rising to heaven, met with regal formalities by the imperial and the Spanish ambassadors, by the cardinals Sfondrato, San Cesareo, and Conti, by General Georgio, his brother-in-law, all the papal cavalry and guards, and the knights and nobles flocking to meet him.]

soon had a party which served as a counterpoise to the Spanish.

But Aldobrandino's views extended much further. Often did he represent to the Venetian ambassadors and cardinals, the necessity of setting bounds to the arrogance of the Spaniards. Was it to be borne that they should give their commands in another man's house in contempt of its owner?[1] It is true it was dangerous for one who was shortly to return to a private condition, to incur the dislike of that power, yet from respect to his own honour, he could not submit to the popedom losing in point of reputation under his uncle. Enough; he proposed to the Venetians that the Italian states should form themselves into a league, under the protection of France.

Already too had he entered into negotiations with the other powers. He had no liking for Tuscany, with Modena he had been engaged in continual contentions, Parma was involved in the commercial affairs of Cardinal Farnese; but he seemed to forget every thing in his eagerness to be revenged on Spain. To this object he passionately devoted himself, spoke of nothing else, seemed incapable of thinking of any thing else. In order to place himself nearer the states with which he wished to be in league, he repaired early in 1605 to Ancona.

He had accomplished nothing, however, when his uncle died, on the 5th of March that same year, and with that event his power came to an end.

Meanwhile this stir in people's minds, this assiduity in reviving French influence in Rome and Italy, proved also of much importance. It indicated a bias in the policy of the Aldobrandini, considered as a whole.

We do not, I apprehend, go too far, when led by it to recall the original position of that family in Florence. It had all along belonged to the French party; Messire Salvestra had taken a prominent part in the insurrection of the year 1527, in which the Medici were expelled and the French called in. For that he had to atone accordingly, when his opponents, the Spaniards and the Medici, held the place, and had to leave his native country. How could Pope Clement forget this; how could he

[1] Du Perron au roi 25 Janv. 1605.—[Du Perron to the king, 25 January 1605.] (Ambass. I. 509.)

have any liking for the Spaniards and the Medici? He was naturally close and reserved; it was at times only that he disclosed his thoughts to those whom he trusted; then indeed would he repeat the saying; "Ask thy predecessors and they will point out to thee thy way."[1] It is certain that he once contemplated reforming the state of Florence, as he expressed it. His leaning towards France was manifest; he found the popedom in the closest alliance with Spain; he brought it almost into an alliance with France against Spain. Granting that the church was interested in the restoration of a national power in France, still it was likewise a case of natural inclination and personal satisfaction. Nevertheless this pope was discreet, prudent, cautious; he attempted nothing but what could be carried through. Instead of reforming Florence, he reformed, as a Venetian says, his own thoughts, on perceiving that it could not be attempted without general danger.[2] He never had a thought of sending for the arms of France into Italy. It was enough for him to restore the balance; to shake himself loose from the preponderance of Spain; to give a broader basis to the policy of the church; and this in a peaceful way, gradually, without any violent disturbance; yet all the more surely.

ELECTION AND FIRST MEASURES OF PAUL V.

In the next conclave the influence of the French was at once visible. Aldobrandino had coalesced with them. They became irresistibly united; and elevated to the papal dignity a cardinal whom the king of Spain had expressly excluded, a Medici, and a near kinsman to the queen of France. The letters in which Du Perron informs Henry IV., of this unlooked-for result, are full of expressions of rejoicing; and in France it was celebrated

[1] Delfino: "La poca inclinatione che per natura e per heredità ha il papa a Spagnoli."—[The little inclination the pope had towards the Spaniards, both from natural disposition and from hereditary causes.]

[2] Venier: "Vedendo le preparazioni e risolutioni di Vra Sa et anco del granduca e che la nostra republica s'era dichiarata col mandar un ambasciatore espresso per questo negotio a S. Sa, conoscendo ella che si sarebbe acceso un gran fuoco in Italia e con pericolo di gravissimo incendio della chiesa, in luogo di tentar la riforma dello stato di Firenze riformò i suoi pensieri."—[Seeing the steps taken and the resolutions made by your Holiness, and also by the grand duke, and that our republic had declared itself, besides sending an ambassador expressly on this affair to his Holiness, he (the pope) acknowledging that it would lead to the kindling of a great flame in Italy, with the risk of the most grievous conflagration in the church, instead of attempting the reform of the state of Florence, he reformed his own thoughts.]

with public festivities.[1] But this success was of short duration. Leo XI., as the new pope called himself, survived his election only twenty-six days. It was asserted that the thought of his dignity, and a sense of the difficulties attendant on his office, had quite overwhelmed his vital powers, these being already enfeebled by age.

Upon this the bustle of an election contest was renewed with all the greater eagerness, as Aldobrandino was now no longer so strictly allied with the French. Montalto powerfully confronted him. A contest of rivalry began, as at previous elections, betwixt the creatures of the last and an earlier pope. Each at times, surrounded with his trusty adherents, would conduct the man of his choice to this or the other chapel; there they would directly confront each other; attempts were made now with the one, now with the other candidate; even Baronius, although he resisted with his hands and feet, was on one occasion conducted to the Capella Paolina; but on every occasion the opposition showed itself too strong to admit of carrying the election of any of the candidates. In the case of the papal elections, as in that of other promotions, the result came gradually to depend more and more on who had the fewest enemies, than on who had most desert.

Aldobrandino, at last, cast his eyes on a man among those who had been advanced by his uncle, and who had contrived at once to gain for himself general acceptability, and to avoid dangerous enmities; this was Cardinal Borghese. In his favour he succeeded in gaining the good will of the French, who had already effected a mutual approach between Montalto and Aldobrandino. Montalto likewise acquiesced, and Borghese was elected before

1 "Histoire de la Vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay Seigneur du Plessis, p. 305. Ce pape de la maison des Medicis, dit Leon XI., qui avoit cousté au roy 300,000 écus à faire, en la faveur duquel il faisoit grand fondement, et pour l'élection duquel par un exemple nouveau furent faits feux de joye et tiré le canon en France, qui vécut peu de jours et ne laissa au roi que le reproche par les Espagnols d'une largesse si mal employée et le doute de rencontrer une succession, comme il advint, plus favorable à l'Espagnol."—[History of the Life of Messire Philip de Mornay du Plessis, p. 305. This pope of the house of the Medici, called Leo XI, who had cost the king 300,000 crowns to make him pope, on whose favour he had founded great expectations, and for whose election, contrary to all former precedent, there were feux de joye and salvos of artillery in France, who lived but a few days and left nothing to the king but the reproach from the Spaniards, of having made such an ill use of his liberality and doubts of meeting a succession, as really happened, more favourable to Spain.]

the Spaniards could so much as hear that he had been proposed.[1] This took place on the 16th of May, 1605.

Thus, this time also, we find it here hold true that the nephew of the last pope gave the turn of the scale that determined the election of the new one. The Borgheses moreover were, as an expatriated family, in a similar position with the Aldobrandini. As the latter had abandoned Florence, so had the former Siena, to avoid being subjected to the sway of the Medici. So much the more did the new government seem likely to become a consistent continuation of that which preceded it.

Meanwhile Paul V. immediately manifested a peculiarly rugged natural disposition.

From the rank of an advocate he had risen through all the gradations of ecclesiastical dignities;[2] vice-legate in Bologna, auditor of the exchequer, vicar of the pope and inquisitor, all these he had been. He had lived quietly in the midst of his books and documents, and had mingled in no sort of political affairs, to which very circumstance he owed his having passed his life thus far without any particular enmities. No party could regard him as an opponent, neither Aldobrandino nor Montalto, neither the French nor the Spanish. This consequently was the peculiarity which helped him on to the tiara.

He, however, understood that incident otherwise. His attaining to the popedom without having done any thing on his part, without practising any clever devices, seemed to him to proceed from a direct intervention of the Holy Ghost. He felt that he was thus raised above himself. The change that took place in his behaviour and general bearing, in his looks and the tone of his discourse, threw even that court into amazement, accustomed as it was to alternations of every kind. But he felt himself at the same time laid under the obligations of duty.

[1] Yet it may have possibly happened that Montalto and Aldobrandino first came to a mutual understanding with respect to Borghese. Conclave di Paolo V. p. 370, says of both: "Dopo d'haver proposti molti, elessero Borghese, amico di Montalto e creatura confidente di Aldobrandino."—[After having proposed many, they elected Borghese, the friend of Montalto and the trusty creature of Aldobrandino.]

[2] Relatione di IV. ambasciatori mandati a Roma 15 Genn. 1605 m. V. i. e. 1606. "Il padre Camillo non volendo più habitare Siena caduta della libertà, se ne andò a Roma. Di buono spirito, d'ingegno acuto, riuscì nella professione d'avvocato. - - Il papa non vuol esse Sanese ma Romano."—[His father Camillo not wishing any longer to inhabit Siena, when it had fallen from its liberty, went to Rome. Endowed with a fine spirit and an acute genius, he succeeded in the profession of an advocate. - - The pope does not wish to be a Sienese but a Roman.]

With the same inflexibility wherewith he had observed the letter of the law in his previous offices, he now resolved to conduct the administration of the highest dignity.

Other popes used to signalize their enthronement with acts of mercy. Paul IV. began with a judicial sentence, the thought of which makes one shudder to this day.

A certain poor author, a Cremona man by birth, called Piccinardi, had, I know not from what pique, employed himself in his solitude in drawing up a biography of Clement VIII., in which he compared that pope to Tiberius, little similarity as there might be found between these sovereign heads. This rare work he not only never had printed, but had kept it wholly to himself, and may be said to have communicated it to nobody; a woman whom he had formerly had in his house, informed against him. Paul V. expressed himself on the subject at first very calmly, and seemed to care so much the less about it, in as much as influential persons, and even ambassadors, interceded for the offender. How then were people astonished when Piccinardi was one day beheaded on the Angel bridge. Whatever might have been said in the way of exculpation, still he had committed the crime of leze-majesty to which the law had affixed that punishment. With a pope like Paul there was no mercy; the very chattels of the poor man were confiscated.[1]

At court this pope renewed without delay the regulations of the council of Trent on the subject of residence. He declared it to be a mortal sin for a man to live at a distance from his bishopric and yet to enjoy the fruits of it. From this he did not except the cardinals; nor would he allow appointments in the administration to be any excuse. Many in fact returned to their sees; others only prayed for some delay.[2] Others still, to avoid the necessity of leaving Rome and yet escape being charged with neglect of duty, tendered their resignations.

[1] Some ambassadors relate this incident. "Si congettura," they add, "fondatamente che abbi ad esser il pontefice severo e rigorosissimo et inexorabile in fatto di giustitia."—[It may be conjectured that at bottom he is likely to be a most severe and rigorous and inexorable pope in point of justice.]

[2] Du Perron à Villeroy 17th May 1606. "Le pape ayant fait entendre ces jours passéz que sa volonté éstoit que tous les cardinaux qui avoient des évêschéz y allassent ou bien les résignassent ou y missent des coadjuteurs, - - j'ay pensé - - ." —[The pope having given it to be understood some days past that it was his desire that all cardinals having bishoprics should go to them, or should resign them, or should place coadjutors in them, - - I have thought - - .]

But what seemed most doubtful in its probable results was, that in the course of his canon-law studies he had imbued his mind with an exorbitant idea of the popedom. The doctrines of the pope being sole vicar of Jesus Christ, of the power of the keys being entrusted to his judgment, and of his being entitled to the meek reverence of all nations and princes, he wished to maintain in their full significancy.[1] He would say that he had been elevated to that see, not by man, but by the divine Spirit, and with the obligation attached to it of taking care of the church's immunities and the rights of God; that he was bound in conscience to strain his utmost efforts to free the church from usurpation and violence; that he would rather stake his life than be called to account one day for neglect of duty, when he must appear before the throne of God.

With the strict precision of a jurist he held the claims of the church to be its rights; and regarded it as his bounden duty, to revive and to give effect to them in all their vigour.

DISSENSIONS WITH VENICE.

SINCE the papal government had recovered its position as the antagonist of protestantism, and had revived those ideas on which the hierarchy, generally speaking, is founded, it availed itself anew of all its canonical prerogatives, with relation to the internal affairs of Roman catholic states. Whilst the church overcame her opponents, she at the same time increased her authority over her adherents.

After the bishops had been laid under the bonds of strict subordination, after the monkish orders had been intimately linked with the curia, after all acts of reform had been carried through in the principle of, at the same time, promoting the supreme power of the pope, regular nunciaturas were established everywhere in the capital cities of Europe, each of which offices, together with the authority of an embassy, combined in itself the jurisdictional rights of a most influential power, giving it

[1] Relatione de IV ambasciatori: "Conoscendo il pontefice presente sua grandezza spirituale, e quanto se le debba da tutti li popoli christiani attribuir di ossequio e di obedienza, non eccettuando qualsivoglia grandissimo principe."—[Reports of the IV. ambassadors: The present pontiff being aware of his spiritual greatness, and how much deference and obedience ought to be shown to him by all the Christian nations, not excepting any, the greatest prince whomsoever.]

scope for materially influencing the most important relations of private life, and of the state.

Even in quarters where the church was again on a friendly footing with the state, and where both were united in opposing the progress of protestant views, this circumstance, nevertheless, led very soon to disagreeable misunderstandings.

Just then, as at the present day, the Roman court was particularly concerned about maintaining its pretensions in Italy in all their integrity. Hence we find the Italian states perpetually involved in misunderstandings with the ecclesiastical government. The ancient controversies between state and church had never been set at rest, either in general by any one settled principle, or in particular instances by treaties and agreements. The popes even were not always consistent with one another. Pius V. and Gregory XIII. in the first half of his administration at least, had pertinaciously insisted on their claims; Sixtus V., in individual cases, was far more remiss. The states and their deputies endeavoured to come off without disadvantage at unpropitious conjunctures, and to take the utmost advantage of favourable ones; a system which could not altogether prove unavailing, for the personal leanings of popes are transitory and subject to change, whereas the interests of states are permanent. At all events, the questions which had to be decided thereby, became far less objects of the canon law, and of judicial investigation, than of policy, and mutual demand and acquiescence.

Pope Paul V., nevertheless, once more understood his pretensions to be fully sanctioned by law; he held the canonical regulations of the decretals to be God's laws; he ascribed it to no internal necessity of the case, but to personal remissness, if his predecessors had remitted or overlooked anything, and held that he was called upon to make good these omissions. Soon after his enthronement we find him, in consequence of this, involved in bitter contentions with all his Italian neighbours.

In Naples, the regent Ponte, president of the royal council, had condemned to the galleys a church notary, by whom the evidence in a marriage case had been refused to the civil court, and a bookseller who, in defiance of a royal injunction, had given circulation to a book of Baronius's against the Sicilian

monarchy; a monitorium of Clement VIII. against this had been allowed to remain without any effect. Pope Paul V. did not delay a moment in pronouncing the excommunication.[1]

The duke of Savoy had given away some benefices, the patronage of which was claimed by the Roman court; Genoa had forbidden the meetings of certain associations that had been held with the Jesuits, on account of their having been made use of as a means of determining election to offices; Lucca, as a general rule, had altogether interdicted the execution of the decrees of the papal functionaries, without their being first approved by the native magistracy; finally, in Venice, some of the clergy who had been guilty of serious offences, had been put on trial before the civil courts. The general prevalence of this opposition to the ecclesiastical government, instantly inflamed the pope's official zeal and indignation. In all quarters he threw himself among the offending parties with severe orders and threats. Nay, at this very moment, he even extended the claims of ecclesiastical authority as they had existed till now. Among other things he said what had never been heard of: that it was no part of the state's business to forbid its subjects to hold intercourse with protestants; that that was an affair of the church, and belonged exclusively to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Most of the Italian states regarded these measures as extravagancies, which farther experience would cause to be abandoned of themselves. None wished to take the lead in breaking with the pope. The grand duke of Tuscany declared, that he had matters in hand which must confound the pope, but he wished to keep them back: that Paul V. was a man who judged of the world as he would of one of the towns belonging to the church's territories, where every thing was done according to the letter of the law;[2] in this respect there must soon be a change: that the Spaniards would find themselves caught, and would either be let free of their own accord, or tear the net: that people must

[1] Les ambassades du cardinal du Perron, II. 683, 736.

[2] Relatione di IV ambasciatori. "Il granduca ricordava che il pontefice non era uso a governar come principe grande, perchè aver avuto qualche governo di città della chiesa, dove si procede col rigor ecclesiastico e da prete, non basta per saper governare come capo supremo."—[The grand-duke remembered, that the pontiff was not accustomed to govern like a great prince, by having had some government of a city in the states of the church, where one proceeds with ecclesiastical and sacerdotal vigour, he was incapable of knowing how to govern as supreme head.]

look for such an example. Thus thought almost all the rest, and at first submitted. Genoa recalled her ordinance; the duke of Savoy allowed the contested benefices to be given over to a nephew of the pope; the Spaniards themselves consented that their regent should sue for and receive absolution in the presence of numerous witnesses.

The Venetians alone, at other times so prudent and accommodating, refused to observe this policy.

But, in point of fact, Venice had received greater provocations than the rest, and presents a complete example of the injuries that a neighbouring state, in particular, was liable to suffer from the encroachments of the Roman court.

Already had this neighbourhood of itself proved very inconvenient, especially after the acquisition of Ferrara by the church. Those disputes about their boundaries, which the republic had had with the dukes, were maintained much more warmly by the Roman court; it was disturbed in the regulation of the river Po, which it conducted even at a heavy cost; and in the possession of its fisheries, which it had enjoyed from ancient times. It could finish its operations only by protecting them with armed vessels, and by way of reprisal for some of its fishing boats which the legate of Ferrara had carried off, it had caused some of the papal subjects to be seized.

Meanwhile Paul V. laid claim also to their rights of superiority over Ceneda, which rights it had quietly exercised for centuries before: he made an attempt to draw to Rome the appeals from the episcopal courts to which the jurisdiction there belonged. Upon this there was much mutual exasperation. The papal nuncio proceeded to excommunications; the Venetian senate took measures to secure that these should not draw after them any civil effect.[1]

And not less bitter were the contentions about the tithes of

[1] Niccolò Contarini: "Mentre si disputava, pareva che da alcuno fusse fuggita la conversatione de' censurati; (functionaries of the republic who opposed appeals being made to Rome;) la qual cosa giudicando il senato apportarli offesa, primieramente fece publicare un bando contra chi li havesse a schivo, e dopo a questi tutti in vita li fu data annua provisione quale era corrispondente alla loro fortuna."—[During the discussion it appeared, that the discourse of the censurati was shunned by all: which thing the senate judging would bring them harm, first of all caused a proclamation to be published against all who should bear them ill-will, and after that there was an annual provision granted to all of them for life, corresponding to their fortune.]

the clergy. The Venetians maintained, that they had from an early date appropriated these without consulting the pope on the subject, and they would not acknowledge that the pope's consent was required in order to the raising of that impost. But what touched their susceptibility still more, was, that the Roman court from day to day extended the exemptions from that tax. The cardinals, to whom very rich benefices belonged, the knights of Malta, the monasteries, to the amount of a half, the begging orders, besides all persons employed externally in the church's service, or who, under any title whatever, could be reckoned as attached to the papal court, finally, those too, to whom the court had assigned pensions chargeable on Venetian benefices, were declared to be exempted. The consequence was, that the rich used to pay nothing, and the whole burden fell on the poor who had nothing to pay. The revenue of the Venetian clergy came to be reckoned at eleven million of ducats; the tithes actually yielded not more than 12,000 ducats.[1]

And now there were added to these an immensely greater number of disputed points affecting private people, than what directly concerned the state itself. I shall only adduce one of these.

The flourishing condition of the Venetian letter-press printing, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, is matter of general notoriety, and the republic was proud of this honourable branch of trade, but in consequence of the ordinances of the Curia it was gradually ruined. There was no end of prohibitions against books in Rome; first, protestant publications were forbidden, then all writings reflecting on the manners of the clergy, and those against the ecclesiastical immunities, all that in the slightest degree deviated from the established dogmas, the

[1] From an exposition that had been given in at Rome: "Mentre s'esagera sopra la severità del magistrato, non si ritrovava fin hora esserai conseguiti più di 12 m. ducati, per li quali non si doveva far tanti richiami, e le fortune della republica per gratia di dio non erano tali che ne dovesse far conto più che tanto."—[While much was said about the severity of the magistracy, they have not until now been found to have obtained more than 12,000 ducats, for which there ought not to have been so many complaints, and the fortunes of the republic, by the grace of God, were not such as that there should be a work made about more than that.] Thereupon some measures were adopted to check the evil. But Contarini says: "In effetto montò poco, perchiocchè il foro era già fatto e l'abuso troppo confermato che distornarlo era più che malagevole."—[In effect it amounted to little, inasmuch as the market was already made, and the abuse too confirmed, so that to prevent it was more than difficult.]

entire works of an author who had in one instance been subjected to censure. The trade was now confined to Roman catholic articles which nobody could blame; in a mercantile point of view it actually maintained itself a little by the manufacture of costly and splendid missals and breviaries which found a ready sale, in consequence of the revival of church feelings. But even this trade now came to be curtailed. An improvement in such books was taken in hand at Rome, and in their new forms they were to be issued from Rome itself.[1] The Venetians observed, with the indignation ever called forth where the public authority is made to subserve private interests, that some functionaries appointed by the congregation of the Index, which superintended matters connected with the press, shared in the profits of the Roman printing press.

Under these circumstances the relation subsisting between Rome and Venice became thoroughly one of hatred and constraint.

But how very much must all this have promoted that spirit of opposition, partly ecclesiastical, partly secular, which since 1589 had come in aid of Henry IV. It was confirmed and nourished by Henry's triumph and the entire development of European affairs. These differences with the pope contributed to bring it about that the representatives of that spirit gradually advanced to the direction of affairs. Nobody seemed better fitted to guard the interests of the republic against the encroachments of the spiritual authority. In January 1606, Leonardo Donato, the head of the party opposed to Rome, was elevated to the office of doge, and he admitted to a share in the management of public affairs, all those friends through whose warm interest he had succeeded in the conflicts of internal partisanship.

While a pope entered on the scene, who with reckless zeal overstretched the disputed pretensions of his government, the Venetian administration fell into the hands of men who accommodated the opposition felt towards the Roman see, to their own personal convictions, who had owed their rise to that opposition, and who now maintained its principle so much the more sturdily,

[1] Contarini. "Al presente s'era devenuto in Roma in questo pensiero di ristampar messali et altro, levando di poterlo far ad altri."—[At this time the idea was entertained in Rome of reprinting missals &c., depriving others of the power of doing so.]

from its being of use to them at the same time in guarding against, and in keeping down their adversaries within the republic.

It was involved in the nature of both governments, that the collisions betwixt them should every day become more hostile and threaten more extensive results.

The pope insisted not only on the delivering up of all ecclesiastical offenders; he likewise demanded the repeal of two laws that had been lately before renewed by the Venetians; laws by which the clergy were forbidden to alienate real property, and the erection of new churches made dependent on the approval of the secular authorities. He declared that he could not tolerate ordinances in such decided contradiction to the decrees of councils, to the constitutions of his predecessors, and to all the canonical maxims of law. The Venetians would not yield a hairbreadth. They said that these were fundamental principles of their state, laid down by their predecessors of old, who had deserved so well of Christendom, and that for the republic they were inviolable.

But parties did not keep long to the immediate objects of the contest; on both sides they proceeded directly to complain of further grievances. On the part of the church, people thought that they were wronged by the constitution of Venice in general. That republic prohibited recourse being had to Rome; it excluded from the council for ecclesiastical affairs, those who from the possession of spiritual offices were thrown into connection with the curia, under the title of papalists, and even burthened the clergy with imposts. The Venetians, on the contrary, declared these limitations to be far from adequate. They insisted that ecclesiastical benefices should be bestowed on natives only, that they alone should have any share allowed them in the Inquisition, that every bull should be submitted to the approval of the state, that every ecclesiastical meeting should be superintended by a civilian, and that all sending of money to Rome should be prohibited.

But matters did not stop here; from the questions immediately agitated, people went on to the general principles they involved.

Already had the Jesuits for a long time past, deduced from

their doctrine on the power of the pope, the most important consequences as respects the rights of the clergy, and delayed not to repeat them.

The spirit, says Bellarmin, guides and controls the flesh; not the reverse. Just as little must the civil power raise itself above the spiritual, guide it, command it, punish it; this would amount to a rebellion, a heathenish tyranny.[1] The priesthood has its princes, who command it not only in spiritual but also in secular concerns; it were impossible for them to own any particular secular chief, for no man can serve two masters. The priest has jurisdiction over the emperor, not the emperor over the priest; it would be absurd were the sheep to pretend to jurisdiction over the shepherd.[2] Nor dare the prince derive any revenue from ecclesiastical property. From the laity he may take his tribute; from the priests there is granted him the far

[1] Risposta del C^l Bellarmino ad una lettera senza nome dell'autore—[Reply from Cardinal Bellarmin to an anonymous letter] (a pamphlet of 1606). "La ragione indrizza e regge e comanda alla carne e talvolta la castiga con digiuni e vigilie, ma la carne non indrizza nè regge nè comanda nè punisce la ragione: così la potestà spirituale è superiore alla secolare, e però la può e deve drizzare e reggere e comandare e punirla quando si porta male; ma la potestà secolare non è superiore alla spirituale, nè la può drizzare nè reggere nè gli può comandare nè punirla se non di fatto per ribellione e tirannide, come hanno fatto talvolta li principi gentili o heretici."—[Reason directs, and rules, and commands the flesh, and often chastises it with fasting and watching, but the flesh does not direct, rule or command, nor punish the reason: thus the spiritual power is superior to the secular, and therefore may and ought to direct, and rule and command, and punish it when it conducts itself amiss; but the secular power is not superior to the spiritual, nor can it direct and rule it, neither can it command nor punish it, unless by committing acts of rebellion and tyranny, as has been done so often by gentile and heretical princes.]

[2] Bellarminus de clericis I. c. 30. "Respondeo, principem quidem ovem ac spiritualem filium pontificis esse, sed sacerdotem nullo modo filium vel ovem principis dici posse, quoniam sacerdotes et omnes clerici suum habent principem spiritualem, a quo non in spiritualibus solum sed etiam in temporalibus reguntur."—[Bellarmin on the Clergy, I. chap. 30. I reply, that the prince, indeed, is sheep and spiritual son of the pontiff, but that the priest can nowise be said to be son or sheep of the prince, since priests and all clergymen have their own spiritual prince, by whom they are governed not only in spiritual but also in secular things.]—"Not only in spiritual but also in secular things." After so gravely delivered an opinion by one of the ablest and most learned doctors of the popedom, declaring that the entire body of priests and clergy, forming in some Roman catholic countries no small proportion of the adult inhabitants, and exercising, as in Ireland, an immense influence over the rest, are the secular subjects of the pope, can we any longer wonder that our forefathers on political as well as religious grounds, and in the interests of civil liberty and independence, as well as of the true faith, should have regarded popery as a public pest, and taken so many means to deliver the country from its presence and influence? But what would our ancestors have thought had they foreseen that their descendants were to cast to the winds all antipapal legislation, nay, make large public grants for the education of the pope's priests, without any security whatever as to the doctrines they learn, and though those of this same Bellarmin may be taught *ex cathedra?* Equality of civil privileges and public favour can be morally just and politically expedient in the one only case of there being an equality of allegiance rendered, which is here evidently wanting. Tr.

greater aids of prayer and sacrifice. The spirituality are exempted from all real and personal burthens; they belong to the family of Christ. Although this exemption does not rest on any express command to be found in Holy Scriptures, yet it rests on consequences deducible therefrom and on analogy. The spirituality of the New Testament possess the very same privileges that belonged to the Levites of the Old.[1]

This was a doctrine which adjudged to that spiritual republic to which so great an influence over the state was to accrue, a no less absolute independence of any counter-influence to be exerted by the latter over it; a doctrine which people in Rome endeavoured to establish with innumerable proofs from Scripture, councils, and imperial and papal constitutions, and which on the whole they held to be irrefutable. Who was there in Venice that durst venture to set himself in opposition to a Bellarmin or a Baronius?

The Venetians possessed in their state-consulter, Paul Sarpi, a man whom nature and circumstances had endued with a temper, and had placed in a position, which enabled him to venture upon taking up arms against the spiritual power.

Paul Sarpi was the son of a merchant who had wandered from St. Veit to Venice, and of a mother belonging to a Venetian family which enjoyed the privileges of cittadinanza,[2] and was a branch of the house of Morelli. The father was a little, black, impetuous person, a keen man in business, who had proved unfortunate through false speculations. The mother was one of those beautiful Venetians, of fair complexion, not unfrequently met with there, tall in stature, modest and intelligent. The son resembled his mother in outward features!

Now a brother of his mother's, called Ambrose Morelli, was then at the head of a school which enjoyed a high reputation, particularly for the education of the young nobility. It followed as a matter of course, that the teacher's nephew also shared in the instructions that were given. Nicholas Contarini and Andrew Morosini were his school-mates and became his intimate

[1] These axioms are to be found verbatim in the above-mentioned Risposta, or in Bellarmin's book de Clericis, particularly lib. I. c. 30.

[2] Sarpi was born 14 Aug. 1552. His father's name was Francis, his mother's Elizabeth. Fra Fulgentio: Vita di Paolo Sarpi. Griselini: Memorie di Fra Paolo Sarpi, German of Lebret, p. 13.

friends. At the very threshold of his life he formed the most important connections.

Nevertheless he would not suffer himself to be diverted by his mother, or his uncle, or these connections, from following out the propension he had for solitude, or from entering as early as in his fourteenth or fifteenth year a monastery of monks called Servites.[1]

A man he was of few words and at all times serious. He never ate animal food; up to his thirtieth year he had drunk no wine; he hated scandalous conversation; "there comes the virgin," his companions would say when he appeared, "let us talk of something else." Whatever he had of longing, natural inclination or greed, all bore upon his studies, for which he brought along with him great natural endowments.

He had the inestimable talent of a quick and sure apprehension, recognising every body whom he had once seen, and when he happened to enter a garden he surveyed at once and observed every thing; he was both mentally and bodily endowed with a keen sharp eye.[2] Hence he devoted himself with particular success to the natural sciences. His admirers ascribe to him the discovery of the valves in the blood vessels, the observation of the expansion and contraction of the pupil of the eye,[3] the first observation of the inclination of the magnetic needle, and several other magnetic phenomena, and it is not to be denied that he took an active and effective part in the labours of Aquapendente, and still more of Porta.[4] To physical studies he united

[1] Or servants of the Virgin Mary, instituted by one Fudert, a Florentine physician, who having applied himself along with some merchants to an eremetical life, gave them the rule of St. Augustine with some amendments. The famous imposture of a picture of the annunciation of the Virgin, in which the face was said to have been done by an angel, contributed much to the establishment of this order See d'Emillianne's Short History of the Monastical Orders. Tr.

[2] According to Fulgentio (p. 38) he spoke even of his "gran passibilità, perchè non solo l'oggetto in lui facesse moto, ma anco ogni minima reliquia. Come perito suonatore," Fulgentio proceeds to say, "ad un sol tocco fa giudicio dell'instromento, così con far parlar le persone, con prestezza ammirabile conosceva i fini, gl'interessi etc." —[great passibility, because not only would the object affect him, but further any the smallest particle of it. As a skilful musician judges of an instrument from a single touch, so when other persons began to speak to him, with admirable readiness he knew the objects, interests, &c.]

[3] See also Fischer: Geschichte der Physik, I. 107.

[4] "A quo," says Porta of him, "aliqua didicisse non solum fateri non erubescimus, sed gloriamur, quum eo doctiorem, subtiliorem, quotquot adhuc videre contigerit, neminem cognoverimus ad encyclopædiam."—[From whom, says Porta of him, we not only are not ashamed to have learned some things, but we glory in it, seeing

mathematical calculations and the observation of mental phenomena. In the library of the Servites at Venice there is preserved a copy of the works of Vieta, in which the various defects of that author have been amended by the hand of Fra Paolo. There was even at one time a small treatise of his on the rise and fall of opinions among men, which, to judge by the extracts taken from it by Foscarini, contained a theory of the powers of the understanding, which assumed sensation and reflection for its basis, and much resembled that of Locke,[1] although it may not have corresponded with it so entirely as has been maintained. Fra Paolo wrote no more than was necessary; naturally he had no turn for producing much; he was always reading; he appropriated to himself what he read and observed; his mind was sober and comprehensive, methodical and daring; he advanced along the paths of free inquiry.

Such were the powers with which he approached questions in theology and church law.

It has been said that secretly he was a protestant; yet his protestantism hardly went beyond the first simple positions of the Augsburg confession; if he really held even these. At least Fra Paolo all his life long daily read mass. It would be impossible to give a name to the creed to which in his own mind he was attached; it was a body of opinions, symptoms of which are often to be found in the men who at that period devoted themselves to the natural sciences; deviating from the common standards of orthodoxy, inquisitive and searching; yet in itself neither decided nor completely matured.

But this much is certain that Fra Paolo indulged towards the secular influence of the popedom a determined and implacable detestation. It was perhaps the only passion he cherished, and has been ascribed to his having been refused a bishopric, for which he had been proposed. And who would at once deny the influ-

that for general compass of knowledge we have known no one more learned or more subtile, of all men we have hitherto happened to see.]

[1] The explanation of substance is particularly striking. Paolo Sarpi in Foscarini and Griselini deduces substance from the multiplicity of ideas, without our being able to perceive the ground on which they rest, and in this ground, says he, consists properly what we call substance. Griselini, I. p. 46, of the translation. Locke: Human Understanding, B. II. chap. 23. "Not imagining how the simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum wherein they do subsist and from which they do result, which therefore we call substance."

ence of a perceptible neglect, crossing the course of a natural ambition? Here, however, we must look to a much deeper source. It lay in an opinion, partly political, partly religious, of a piece with all his other convictions, which had gathered strength from study and experience, and was held in common with friends and contemporaries, the men who used at one time to meet at the house of Morosini, and who had now come to hold the helm of the state. Those chimerical proofs with which the Jesuits endeavoured to confirm their assertions; those maxims whose proper foundation had to be sought for only in a devotion towards the Romish see, originating in social causes that had passed away, vanished before the keen eye of a searching scrutiny.

It was not without difficulty that Sarpi convinced the native jurists. Some, as Bellarmin did, held the exemption of the clergy to be an ordinance of divine institution; others maintained that it was at least in the power of the pope to command it; they appealed to those decrees of councils in which that exemption is pronounced; but what a council ventured to do, was much more within the attributions of the pope. It was easy to refute the first. What Fra Paolo mainly demonstrated to the others was, that the councils on which the question depended, were convened by monarchs, and might be regarded as conventions of the empire, from which a multitude of political laws proceeded.[1] This is a point on which, as Fra Paolo and his friends alledged, the doctrine mainly rests.

They started from the principle which had been successfully contended for in France, that the sovereign power proceeds immediately from God and is subject to no man. It is never the concern of the pope to inquire whether the proceedings of a state be sinful or not. For what would this lead to? Is there any state whatever which, in its ultimate aim at least, might not be guilty of sin? The pope would have to sift the conduct of all and to intervene in the affairs of all, which would lead to the dissolution of secular sovereignty.

[1] See Sarpi's letter to Leschaffer 3d February 1619, in Lebret's Magazine, I. 479; a remark for those times so much the more important, inasmuch as, for example, Mariana deduces the most extensive secular attribuitons of the clergy from the decrees of the Spanish councils. But it must always be noted that even in those times spiritual and secular claims were either confounded together or made matters of dispute. The old Gothic monarchy in Spain had in reality a strongly spiritual element. For the old laws are based in general on ancient conditions of things.]

Now, to that power, spiritual persons as well as secular are subject. All power, says the apostle, comes from God. From obedience to the higher powers nobody is excepted, any more than from obedience to God. The prince gives laws; he exercises jurisdiction over every man; he exacts tribute; in all which the clergy are bound to the same obedience as the laity.[1]

No doubt, they admitted that a certain jurisdiction belongs to the pope, but that merely spiritual. For did Christ ever exercise a secular jurisdiction? And he could not have transmitted to St. Peter, or to his successors, what he never laid claim to himself.

Never, accordingly, can the exemption of the clergy be derived from an original divine right;[2] it rests solely on the concessions of the monarchy. The monarch has granted to the church property and jurisdiction; he is her protector, her general patron; on him justly depends the nomination of the clergy and the publication of bulls.

The monarch cannot even resign this power if he would; it is a charge solemnly committed to him; he is bound in conscience to transmit it unimpaired to his successors.

Thus did the claim and the theory of the state boldly confront

[1] Risposta d'un dottore in theologia ad una lettera scrittagli sopra il breve delle censure. "Sono dunque tutti gli ecclesiastici et i secolari de jure divino soggetti al principe secolare. Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. E la ragione si è, perchè siccome niuno è eccettuato dall'ubbidienza che deve a dio, così niuno è eccettuato dall'ubbidienza che deve al principe; perchè, comme soggionge l'apostolo, omnis potestas a deo."—[Reply of a doctor in theology, to a letter written to him upon the brief of the censures. All ecclesiastical and secular persons then are subject *de jure divino* (by the law of God) to the secular prince. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." And the reason, indeed, is, that as no one is excepted from the obedience that is due to God, so no one is excepted from the obedience that is due to the prince; for, as the apostle adds, all power is of God.]

[2] Difesa di Giovanni Marsilio a favore della risposta delle otto propositioni, contro la quale ha scritto l'ill^{mo} e rev^{mo} Sr C^{l} Bellarmino, Venezia 1606,—[Defence of John Marsilio in favour of the reply of the eight propositions, against what has been written by the most Illustrious and most Rev. Lord Cardinal Bellarmino, Venice 1606,] explains the meaning of his author, who had expressed himself somewhat obscurely, and this explanation at least is authentic, since it comes from the same side, as follows: "Dice l'autore due cose: la prima si è che le persone ecclesiastiche non siano esente dalla potestà secolare, nè meno i beni di esse, intendendo in quelle cose alle quali la detta potestà si estende (i. e. not in what is purely spiritual): la seconda che l'esentione ch'hanno li detti ecclesiastici non è de jure divino, ma de jure humano" (p. 62).—[The author says two things: the first is that ecclesiastical persons are not exempted from being under the secular power, nor is their property any less exempted therefrom, meaning in such things as the said power extends to (i. e. not in what is purely spiritual): the second is, that the exemption enjoyed by the said ecclesiastical persons is not of divine right, but conferred by the laws of man (p. 62).]

the claim and the theory of the church. The tendencies of the conflicting powers were expressed in opposite systems. In the internal fusion of spiritual and secular interests in the European states, there is presented a wide domain of human actions where the two meet and mingle. The church had already, during a long period, laid claim for itself to that entire domain, and now it preferred this claim anew. The state likewise had at times on its side raised a like claim; but probably never before so boldly or so systematically, as on this occasion. These claims never admitted of being properly adjusted;[1] it was possible to do so only politically, by a mutual willingness to make concessions; as soon as there ceased to be any such disposition, a conflict ensued. Each side had to try how far its power could reach. Now that the struggle was about the right to obedience, it could not but soon be seen which would succeed in obtaining it.

On the 17th of April 1606, the pope pronounced excommunication in the strongest form of earlier centuries, and with express reference to so omnipotent a predecessor as Innocent III. had been, on the Doge, the senate and all the governing powers of Venice collectively, but expressly on the Consultores. He allowed the persons whom he thus condemned only the shortest respites, within which they could possibly have their sentence recalled, that is three of eight and one of three days. After these had expired, all the churches in the Venetian territory, not excepting those attached to monasteries and convents, or private chapels, were to be inhibited from being used for divine service, and laid under the interdict. The national clergy were commanded to publish this brief of condemnation before the assembled congregation, and to have it affixed to the church doors.[2] One and all of them, from the patriarch to the parish priest, were enjoined to do this under the penalty of severe punishment at the hand of God and man.

[1] This mutual adjustment, according to the respectable testimony of Mr. Sydow, chaplain to the king of Prussia, has never been so equitably arranged as on the old principles of the church of Scotland. Tr.

[2] "Mentre in esse si troverà adunata maggior moltitudine di popolo per sentir li divini officj."—[When there should be assembled in them the greatest number of people to hear the divine offices.] As was done in Ferrara with such important results. "Breve di censure et interdetto della Sta di NS^re P. Paolo V. contra li S^ri Venetiani, 1606."—[Brief of censure and interdict of His Holiness, our Lord Pope Paul V., against the Venetian Lords, 1606.]

Such was the attack. The defence was not marked by such violence.

It was proposed in the college of Venice, to put in a solemn protest, as had been done in earlier times; but this measure was not adopted, on the ground that the sentence of the pope was in itself null and void, and had not even the slightest show of justice in it. Leonardo Donato intimated to the clergy, in a short announcement, on a quarto sheet, the determination of the republic to maintain the integrity of the sovereign authority, "which in civil matters owned no superior but God; that their faithful clergy would already recognise of itself the nullity of the censures that had been issued against them, and would proceed without interruption in the discharge of their functions, the cure of souls and divine worship. No intimidation, no threat was expressed, nothing but a declaration of confidence, although something more, indeed, may have been done verbally.[1]

And hereby had the question of claim and of right passed into a question of power and possession. The Venetian clergy when thus required by their two superiors, the pope and the republic, to give contradictory proofs of obedience, had to decide to whom they would give these.

They did not hesitate, but at once obeyed the republic. Not a single copy of the papal brief was posted up.[2] The terms of respite appointed by the pope elapsed. Divine service went on in the usual manner in all quarters, and the monasteries followed the example of the secular clergy.

The lately instituted orders alone, specially representing the principle of the ecclesiastical reformation, that is the Jesuits, the Theatines, and the Capuchins, formed an exception. The Jesuits, in so far as they themselves were concerned, were not so decided; they first inquired what course they should take of their provincial in Ferrara, and their general in Rome, and the latter addressed himself to the pope. Paul V.'s reply was, that they must either obey the interdict or shake the dust from off their

[1] This announcement of the 6th of May 1606, is printed by Rampazetto, "stampator ducale"—[ducal printer]. On the title page there appears the evangelist Mark with the book of the Gospels, and the uplifted sword. In the senate, as Priuli says, "le nullite molte e notorie"—[the great and notorious nullity] of the papal brief was discussed.

[2] Paul Sarpi, Historia particolare, lib. II. p. 55, assures us that some persons who would have posted up the bulls, were laid hold of by the very inhabitants.

feet and leave Venice. This was certainly a hard decision, for they were told at once that they never durst venture to return again, but their principle left them no choice, and so they departed in some boats to the papal territory.[1] The two other orders were carried away by their example.[2] The Venetians did not consider a middle course, which was proposed by the Theatines, to be advisable; they would have no schism in their territory, but insisted on their either obeying or going away. The churches rendered vacant were easily supplied with other priests, great care being taken that there should be no trace of any deficiency. The next festival of Corpus Christi day was observed with particular pomp and a more than ordinarily numerous procession.[3]

But at all events the result was a complete schism.

The pope was confounded; his extravagant ideas were bluntly confronted by the real state of things; but were there any means by which this might be overborne?

Paul V. thought indeed occasionally of the application of military force; even in the congregations the warlike tone had at one time the preponderance. Cardinal Sauli exclaimed that the Venetians would be chastised; legates were dispatched and an army equipped. But at bottom this durst not be hazarded. There must have been room to fear lest Venice should seek protestant help and throw Italy, nay, the Roman catholic world at large, into the most perilous commotion.

Once more, as on former occasions, an adjustment of the questions respecting the rights of the church, had to be sought for at least in political negotiation; only this could not now take place between the parties themselves, for they were too keenly opposed to each other, but was naturally to be effected by the intervention of the two leading powers, Spain and France.

In both those kingdoms, it is true, there was a party which could have wished for the outbreak of actual hostilities. Among the Spaniards there were the zealous Roman catholics who hoped

[1] Juvencius: Hist. soc. Jesu V. II. p. 93.

[2] When V. Sandi (VI. 1110) mentions further, "i reformati di S. Francesco," this mistake into which so many other authors have fallen, has arisen from the Capucins being just reformed Franciscans, and from their being designated as such by A. Morosini, on this occasion.

[3] A. Maurocenus: Historia Ven. tom. III. p. 350.

to link anew the Romish see to the monarchy; also the governors of the Italian territories, whose power must have been enhanced by war; and even the ambassador Viglienna at Rome cherished this desire, thinking thereby to advance his family to ecclesiastical dignities. In France, on the other hand, this party consisted of the zealous protestants. Sully and his adherents would willingly have seen an Italian war, as likely to bring some alleviation to the Netherlanders, at this very time hard pressed by Spinola. On both sides, too, did these parties make demonstrations of their desires. The king of Spain dispatched a letter to the pope, in which, in general expressions at least, he engaged to assist him. In France the Venetian ambassador too had offers from persons of consequence; he considered that in the course of a month he might have collected an army of 15,000 French. These prospective measures, nevertheless, did not carry the day. The leading ministers, Lerma in Spain and Villeroy in France, wished to preserve peace. The former placed all his glory in having restored it; the latter belonged to the strict Roman catholic side, and never would have consented to the pope's being attacked by the French.[1] In these views the monarchs agreed with their ministers. Henry IV. justly remarked that were he to draw his sword in defence of the republic, he should jeopard his reputation as a good Roman catholic. Philip III. sent the pope a new declaration, to the effect that he would support him, but by no means without being made sure of compensation for the outlay, and even then for good and not for evil.[2]

[1] Relatione di Pietro Priuli ritornato di Francia 4 Sett. 1608—[The report of Peter Priuli on his return from France on the 4th of September 1608] contains a copious account of the interest taken by the French in this business. Villeroy declares: "esser questa opportunissima e propria occasione di guadagnare l'animo del papa. - - Il re, assicurato dal suo ambasciatore presso la republica che V. S^a non metteria in mano d'altri questo negotio che della Mª S., ebbe mira di guadagnare et obligarsi con questa occasione l'animo del pontefice."—[that this is the most opportune and the fittest occasion for gaining the mind of the pope. - - The king assured by his ambassador, now with the republic, that your Lordship will not place this affair in the hands of any other but his Majesty's, has it in view to make this an occasion for gaining and obliging the mind of the pope.]

[2] Francesco Priuli: Relatione di Spagna 20 Ag. 1608. "Venne il contestabile a trovarmi a casa, e mi disse costantemente che gli ordini dell'ammassar genti non erano per altro se non per non star in otio mentre tutte potenze del mondo si armavano, ma che però non s'erano proveduti di danaro: raccomandò la pace d'Italia non potendo perder la republica nell'esser liberale di parole essequenti, per haver in effetto quello che desiderava. - - In quel tempo che il duca di Lerma delle forze da amassarsi parlò iperbolicamente all'ambasciator d'Inghilterra, - - scrissono al papa

Thus were the possibilities of there being a war, dissipated The only rivalry between the two powers was which should contribute most towards the restoration of peace, and therewithal establish most surely its own influence. For this purpose Francis di Castro, a nephew of Lerma, went to Venice from Spain, and Cardinal Joyeuse from France.

Neither have I the inclination nor am I in a condition to analyze the general course of the negotiations; besides that it is sufficient to obtain a correct idea of the most important steps.

The first difficulty lay in the pope's insisting before all things on the suspension of the Venetian laws which had given him such offence, and his making the suspension of his ecclesiastical censures depend upon that.

But even the Venetians, not without a certain republican self-conceit, were wont to declare their laws to be sacred and inviolable. On the pope's demand being made the subject of deliberation in January 1607, although the college wavered, yet at last in the senate it was at once rejected.[1] The French, who had pledged their word to the pope, succeeded in having it once

che S. Mª gli aveva ben promesso d'ajutarlo, ma che ciò s'intendeva al bene e non al male, - - che il cominciar le guerre stava in mano degli nomini et il finire in quelle di dio."—[Francis Priuli's Dispatch from Spain, 20 August, 1608. The constable came looking for me at the house, and constantly told me that the orders for assembling troops were for no other object but that of not sitting still when all the powers in the world were arming, but that in fine they were not provided with money; he recommended the peace of Italy, the safety of the republic not being compromised by a liberal use of obsequious terms for the purpose of gaining in effect all that was wanted. - - At the time that the duke of Lerma spoke hyperbolically to the English ambassador of the forces that were to be raised, - - the pope was written to, stating that His Majesty had indeed promised to assist him, but meaning thereby for good and not for bad, - - that it lay with men to begin wars, but that God alone could end them.]

[1] Ger. Priuli: Cronica Veneta 20 Zener 1606 (1607): "Dopo lunga disputa di otto giorni e varie pendentie di giudicio deliberò il senato rispondere agli ambasciatori di Francia e di Spagna che il devenir a qualsivoglia forma di sospensione,non si può accomodar la republica, essendo cosa di perpetuo pregiudicio: il che fu proposto da S. Bembo et Al. Lorzi savj del consilio et A. Mula et S. Venier savj della terra ferma." —[After a long discussion, which lasted eight days, and various leanings of the judgment, the senate came to the conclusion that it should reply to the ambassadors of France and Spain, that the republic could not consent to come to any form of suspension, it being a matter of perpetual precedent; which (resolution) was proposed by S. Bembo and Al. Zorzi *savj* of the council, and A. Mula and S. Venier *savj* of the continent.] Others were for adopting a more moderate course. Nor did it appear unlikely that they would succeed. Nevertheless the news arrived that there was nothing to be feared from the Spanish arms on account of the Naples dissensions. "E fu perciò preso la total negativa di sospensione."—[And the total negative of the suspension was therefore adopted.] There being ninety-nine voices against seventy-eight, there was a majority of 21. Notwithstanding, on the 9th of March, Bembo himself had drawn back from that proposal. On the 14th of March the milder measure was carried in spite of the opposition of Zorzi, Mula and Venier.

more discussed in March. One at least of the four who had opposed it in the college then retracted; and after the reasons for and against, had for the second time been fully stated in the senate, even on this occasion, it is true, they did not go so far as to consent to a formal and express suspension; but a decision was taken, in which it was said that "the republic would conduct itself with its wonted piety." Dark as these words sounded, the ambassadors and the pope thought that they could perceive in them the fulfilment of their wish. The pope too then suspended his censures.

But there immediately occurred another and a very unexpected difficulty. The Venetians refused to receive back the Jesuits whom they had expelled, after their removal by a solemn decree.

Now, was it to be thought that the pope could allow his liege subjects, who had been guilty of no offence but that of inviolable attachment to him, to be placed in so very disadvantageous a position?

He employed every expedient to induce the Venetians to change their mind. The Jesuits had the French also on their side, having on this occasion likewise secured the king's favour by means of a special embassy, and Joyeuse took a great interest in their case. But the Venetians remained immovable.[1]

The only thing remarkable here was that the Spaniards declared themselves rather against than for them. The Dominican interest predominated in Spain; Lerma had no liking for the Jesuits, and, as a general maxim, did not think it well that a state should be compelled to take back disobedient subjects. Suffice it to say that Francis di Castro first avoided all mention of the Jesuits, and at last set himself directly to counteract the intercessions of the French.[2]

[1] Pietro Priuli: Relatione di Francia adds to this: "Solamente l'ufficio dell' ambasciatore ritenne la dispositione che aveva S. M^a, excitata dall'efficaci instanze che furono fatte da un padre Barisoni Padoano mandato in Francia espressamente dalla sua congregatione con pensiero d'ottener di interessarsi acciocchè fussero di nuovo ricevuti."—[Nothing but the office of ambassador restrains his Majesty's disposition, stimulated by the efficacious solicitations which were made by a father (Jesuit) called Barisoni of Padua, who was sent to France expressly from his congregation with the view of getting an interest excited in favour of their being received anew.]

[2] Francesco Priuli: Relatione di Spagna: "Sentendo (i Spagnuoli) che Francesi insistevano nell'introduzione de'Gesuiti, scrissero a Roma et a Venezia che non trattassero di ciò, dando ragione alla republica di non voler capitolare con gente

This phenomenon, though evidently originating in the actual condition of things, was so striking as to startle the pope himself, and as he suspected some deeper mystery he ceased to press the restoration of the Jesuits.[1]

But how much must this resolution have cost him. For the sake of a few insignificant laws, he had made up his mind apparently to set the world in a flame, and now he resigned himself to the perpetual exclusion of his most trusty adherents from a Roman catholic, nay, from an Italian territory.[2]

The republic, on the other hand, submitted to the liberation of the two clergymen whom it had apprehended.

On this occasion they only claimed the right of putting in an assertion of their legal rights, which the pope would have nothing to do with. Yet the expedient that was finally adopted is very singular.[3] The secretary of the Venetian senate conducted the prisoners to the palace of the French ambassador, and handed them over to him; "out of respect," he said, "for the most Christian king, and with the proviso that the right of the republic to exercise jurisdiction over its clergy, should not be impaired thereby." "Thus do I receive them," replied the ambassador, and conducted them to the cardinal, who was pacing to and fro in a gallery. "Here are the prisoners," said he, "who are delivered over to the pope;" but never thought of mentioning the proviso. The

suddita che l'aveva si gravemente offesa."—[(The Spaniards) perceiving that the French insisted on the introduction of the Jesuits, wrote to Rome and to Venice that they would not treat about that, giving as a reason to the republic, their not wishing to enter into terms with a body of people that had so seriously offended it.]

[1] Francesco Priuli: "Venuto l'avviso dell'intiero accomodamento, desisterono dal procurare che si trattasse di loro con la Sta V., non solo per non aver voluto parlar di loro, ma per essersi attraversati alli gagliardi ufficj di Francesi; che fece dubitare il papa di qualche recondito mistero, e non vi volse insistere, con che essi non sapevano che dire."—[Advice having arrived of the entire accommodation (of the dispute) they desisted from pressing for a negotiation between them and your Serenity, not only by not having wished to speak of them, but by being opposed to the eager officiousness of the French; which made the pope doubt that there was some deep mystery, and he did not wish to insist on that point, so that they knew not what to say.]

[2] Ger. Priuli: "Pesò molto a S. Sta questa cosa de' Gesuiti, non per loro, ma per la sua propria riputatione."—[The pope felt much this affair of the Jesuits, not on account of their but his own reputation.]

[3] Joyeuse speaks of it as a condition: "che levandosi le censure siano consignati li due prigioni a chi li riceve in nome di S. Santità, li quali, se bene S. Serenità (Venice) dice di darli in gratificatione di S. M. Chr^ma, si dovessero consignare senza dir altro."—[that on the censure being taken off, the two prisoners should be consigned to whoever should receive them in the name of his Holiness, and the said prisoners were to be consigned without saying another word, although its Serenity (Venice) professed to give them as a gratification to his most Christian Majesty.]

cardinal then caused them, without adding a single word, to be handed over to the papal commissioner, who received them with the sign of the cross.

Still how far were the parties from having come to any degree of unanimity. All that was meant was the restoration of mere external harmony.

In order to that there was now further requisite the removal of the censure and the giving of absolution.

But the Venetians had objections to make even against this; they persisted in maintaining that the censure in itself was null and void, and did not at all affect them; that therefore they stood in no need of any absolution. Joyeuse told them, he could not alter the forms of the church. At last it was agreed that the absolution should not be accompanied with the usual publicity; Joyeuse appeared in the college; and pronounced it there as it were privately. The Venetians have constantly maintained that they came off without any absolution.[1] It was not, indeed, given with all the formalities, but given it certainly was.

On the whole it will be seen that the points in dispute were settled, not so entirely to the advantage of the Venetians as is generally maintained.

The laws of which the pope complained were suspended; the clergymen whom he required to be liberated, were delivered over to him; even the absolution was received. Nevertheless every thing was done under extraordinary restraints. The Venetians conducted themselves as in an affair of honour, with an anxious care for their reputation; every concession they clogged as much as possible with conditions and reservations. The pope, on the other hand, had so far the disadvantage that he had to make up his mind to a marked and not very honourable concession, which attracted the attention of the whole world.

After that the relations betwixt Rome and Venice, at least externally, resumed their old course. The pope called out to the first ambassador from the Venetians; "Old things are passed away, all things have become new;" he complained at times that Venice would not forget what he had forgotten; that he had

[1] At the close of his 29th book Daru gives the letter of Joyeuse; without doubt the only important one he adduces in this affair; only he brings against it what to me appear very untenable objections.

exhibited as much mildness and docility as any one of his predecessors had ever done.[1]

Fundamentally, all this came to nothing more than that new hostilities were avoided; the essential points of opposition remained as before; any genuine mutual confidence was not so soon restored.

DECISION OF THE AFFAIR OF THE JESUITS.

THE controversy betwixt the Jesuits and the Dominicans was meanwhile decided in a similar way, that is, imperfectly.

Clement, as we have seen, died before pronouncing a judgment in the case. Paul V., who took it up with all the zeal that, generally speaking, marked the commencement of his administration, for it was the subject of no fewer than seventeen meetings, held in his presence from September 1605 to February 1606, inclined no less than his predecessor to the old system, on the side of the Dominicans. In October and November 1606, meetings were held for the purpose of fixing the form in which the Jesuit doctrine was to be condemned; so that the Dominicans considered the victory actually theirs.[2]

But it was just at this time that the Venetian affairs issued in the manner we have been considering; the Jesuits had given the see of Rome a proof of their attachment, in which they had far surpassed all the other orders, and for that Venice had made them suffer.

Under these circumstances it would have seemed a piece of cruelty, had the Roman see wished to inflict a decree of condemnation on its most trusty servants. When all was prepared for it, the pope recoiled. For a time he let the matter rest; but at last on the 29th of August 1607, he came out with a declaration by which the Disputatores and Consultores were sent home; the decision was to be announced at its proper time, but meanwhile it expressed the earnest desire of his Holiness that neither party should detract from the other.[3]

[1] Relatione di Mocenigo, 1612. The pope declared, "che conveniva per servitio d'Italia che fosse sempre buona intelligenza fra quella sede e questa republica"—[that it was for the advantage of Italy that there should always be a good understanding between that see and this republic].

[2] Serry, Historia congregationum de auxiliis, has at p. 562, f. the document relative to this. "Gratiæ victrici," he even says, "jam canebatur Io triumphe."—[Hail to the victor, Io triumphe was already sung.]

[3] Coronelli, Secretary of the congregation, in Serry, p. 589. "Tra tanto ha ordinato (S. Sª) molto seriamente che nel trattare di queste materie nessuno ardis-

In this way the Jesuits even derived an advantage from the loss they had suffered in Venice. It was a great gain for them to have the doctrine they had contended for, not indeed sanctioned, but still not rejected. They even boasted of victory; and with the prepossession in favour of their orthodoxy which they had once enjoyed, they now, without impediment, pursued still further the doctrinal direction they had once taken.

It remains only to be inquired whether they were also to succeed in fully composing their own internal contentions.

A violent fermentation still prevailed. The changes in the constitution proved insufficient, and the Spanish opposition did not desist from their grand aim, which was to remove Aquaviva. At last, what had never happened before, the procurators of the provinces as a body, even declared a general congregation to be necessary. In 1607 it met, and thorough changes again fell under discussion.

We have often remarked already the close alliance into which the Jesuits had entered with France, and the favour which Henry IV. had conferred upon them. He took an interest likewise in the internal contentions of the order, and was entirely for Aquaviva. In a letter written expressly for the occasion, he not only gave the latter assurance of his friendly regard; he even intimated to the congregation his wish that no modification should be proposed in the constitution of the society.[1]

Now it was that Aquaviva knew how to take excellent advantage of so powerful a protection.

The opposition he experienced had its chief seat in the provincial congregations. He now carried through a law in virtue of which no proposition in a provincial assembly should be considered as admitted, unless approved by two thirds of all the votes, and, further, even a proposition that had been adopted in this manner, could come under deliberation at a general meeting only in case of the majority there first giving their consent.

ca di qualificare e censurare l'altra parte."—[Among so many (His Holiness) has ordained very seriously, that in treating these matters neither party shall dare to qualify and censure the other.]

[1] Literæ christianissimi regis ad congregatos patres, IV. Kal. Dec. 1607.—[Letter of the most Christian king to the assembled Fathers,] in Juvencius V. II. lib. IX. n. 108. "Vosque hortamur ad retinendam instituti vestri integritatem et splendorem."—[And we exhort you to retain the integrity and splendour of your institution.]

These regulations, it is evident, curtailed in an extraordinary degree the influence of the provincial congregations.

But over and above this, a formal sentence of condemnation was pronounced on the general's opponents, and the superiors in the provinces were expressly directed to proceed against the disturbers of the peace as they were called. Thereupon tranquillity was gradually restored. The Spanish members submitted, and ceased any longer to oppose the new turn which things had taken in the order. A more docile generation grew up by degrees under the dominant influence. The general, on the other hand, endeavoured by redoubled devotedness to recompence Henry the IV. for the favours he experienced at his hands.

CONCLUSION.

SUCH was the manner in which all these contentions once more tended to subside into peace.

But if we reflect on their development and general result, we shall find that they were attended with the greatest alteration in the internal structure of the Roman catholic church.

We started from the moment in which the papal power, while engaged in a triumphant struggle, was advancing to ever greater amplitude of power. Intimately bound up as it was with the policy of Spain, it conceived the design of hurrying along all the Roman catholic powers in one direction, and of overwhelming by some grand achievement those who had apostatized from it. Had it succeeded in this, it would have raised the impulsive force of the (so called) spiritual principle to an unlimited ascendancy, would have bound all Roman catholic states in one comprehensive unity, of ideas, faith, life and policy, and, together with that, have acquired a predominating influence in their internal affairs

But at this very crisis the strongest internal oppositions appeared.

In the French affair the feeling of nationality rose up in opposition to the pretensions of the hierarchy. Even those who in point of creed were Roman catholics would not submit to be guided in all particulars by spiritual motives, or to be directed by the church's supreme head; there were other principles of secular policy and national independence which opposed the designs of the popedom with invincible energy. We may say in

general, that these principles carried the day; the pope was obliged to acknowledge them; the French church even owed its restoration to its adopting them as the basis on which it reposed.

But the consequence of this now was, that France again threw herself henceforward into hostilities with the Spanish monarchy; that two great powers, naturally rivals, and at all times peculiarly prone to contention, appeared as mutual antagonists in the midst of the Roman catholic world. So small was the possibility of maintaining unity! Nay such was the relative position of Italy that this antagonism, and the balance of power resulting from it, secured an advantage to the Romish see.

Meanwhile fresh theological dissensions broke out. However acute and precise the determinations of the Tridentine council might be, yet these they could not prevent; for even within the limits which they had drawn, there was room enough for new theological controversies. The two most powerful of the religious orders entered the lists as antagonists; those two monarchies even in a certain measure took part with them, and there was wanting at Rome sufficient courage to pronounce a decision.

To this were now added the dissenting opinions regarding the limits of the spiritual and secular jurisdiction, and which, although they had a local origin and began with by no means so very powerful a neighbour, yet were advanced with a spirit and an effect which obtained for them an universal significancy.[1] The memory of Paul Sarpi is justly held in high honour throughout all Roman catholic states. He it was that fought for and won the fundamental principles, to which we may refer the spiritual privileges which they all enjoy in common. The pope found it beyond his power to set him aside.

Here we find contradictions in ideas and in doctrine, in constitution and in power, violently conflicting with the ecclesiastico-secular unity which the popedom was endeavouring to establish, and threatening to subvert it altogether.

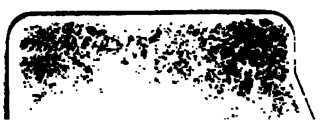
The course of things betokens nevertheless that those ideas which maintained a mutual consistency with each other, proved

[1] "V. Sta," exclaims P. Priuli on his return from France, "ha dichiarito, si può dire, sin a quai termini sia permesso al pontefice estendere la sua temporale e spirituale autorità."—[Your Holiness has declared, it may be said, how far a pontiff may be allowed to extend his temporal and spiritual authority.] (Relatione di Francia 1608.)

once more the strongest. To conciliate the internal antagonism was beyond the power of man, but the endeavours made to avoid an actual conflict were successful. Peace betwixt the two great powers was restored and maintained; Italian interests did not yet rise to a full consciousness of their existence and practical influence; silence was imposed on the contending orders. The controversies betwixt church and state were not carried to extremities: Venice accepted the proffered mediation.

The policy of the popedom lay in taking a position as much as possible above the contending parties, and in composing their dissensions. It still had sufficient authority to be capable of doing this.

Undoubtedly, the great struggle outwards, the advancement towards a reformation actually made, and the contest against protestantism being incessantly maintained, caused a re-action on this policy, from which in their turn they mainly sprang.

To this and its development we must now return.

GLASGOW:
W. G. BLACKIE AND CO., PRINTERS,
VILLAFIELD.